History
of Muslim Civilization

HISTORY OF
MUSLIM CIVILISATION
IN
INDIA AND PAKISTAN

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To

Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace

Director

School of International Affairs,

and

My Colleagues and Students

at

The Near and Middle East Institute

Columbia University, New York.

S. M. Ikram

PREFACE

This sketch of the political and cultural history of Muslim India has grown out of a course of lectures delivered at the Columbia University in 1953-54.

There are, in existence, two or three comparatively full accounts of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but the present work is planned on somewhat different lines. It provides in brief the basic details of political history, especially in so far as the different rulers made a more or less permanent impress on the course of events and their reigns affected general administrative policies and institutions, but the political history is only one of the many sectors covered in this book. Political activity is an important aspect of national life, and provides the basic framework within which other fields of human activity can be conveniently studied, but the glut of material on the subject provided by the contemporary court chroniclers has led the modern historians of Muslim India to concentrate on the politics and even petty details of the work of the individual rulers to the exclusion of more important aspects of national history. Even a perspicacious scholar like Stanley Lane-Peoole observes: "*The history of the Muhammadan Period is therefore necessasily more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth*".

This has been sought to be avoided in the following pages. In addition to the political narrative which furnishes the essential background, the book gives an account of the cultural developments, the changes in political philosophy and institutions, the rise of Indo-Muslim law, and above all, those religious and intellectual movements which in the long run proved more powerful than the mighty rulers.

The general features of the cultural, administrative, social and economic history have been outlined in separate chapters, but the developments in these fields which were closely associated with any particular period or regime have been summarised along with the political narrative of that period.

Apart from a general broadening of the scope and a greater emphasis on social and cultural history, certain other considerations have also been kept in view. The approach, for one thing, has

been more "practical" than is usual in the subcontinent. In the course of my work at Columbia, I was forcefully impressed by the view, more generally accepted in the American than in the British or Commonwealth universities, that the primary utility of the study of the past is in the understanding which it affords of the present. Study of history can be a good intellectual discipline and a fascinating pursuit, but its real usefulness consists in the manner in which it illuminates the present in the light of the past. Hence, while treating different periods and events, attention has been concentrated on those developments in the past which provide a link with the present. Episodes like the conquest, loss and reconquest of forts like Ranthambhore, the palace intrigues and the ephemeral, ineffectual conflicts on which the older histories dwelt at such length have been treated very summarily. An attempt has also been made to give a fuller background of events relating to the areas which have recently gained in importance. For example, there is no doubt that the history of Oudh, of Gujarat, of Malwa, of the Bahamani Kingdom and the succession states can easily be made more interesting—simply because of the availability of larger material than that of the Punjab, Bengal and Sind, but the importance of a study of the Muslim tradition in the latter areas is obviously greater than in the regions where Muslims built up great kingdoms, but owing to the play of bigger forces their work has been submerged by other traditions. Special attention has, therefore, been given in this book to the treatment of the areas, like Muslim Bengal, which have gained in importance with the birth of Pakistan, and which did not receive adequate attention in the old historical works.

This narrative naturally involves going over the past, but the ground has been covered. so to say, "facing forward". The interest in the happenings of the past is on account of their contribution to the making of the present. This has been constantly kept in view, and has incidentally led to devotion of greater space to the political and cultural developments in the Eighteenth Century than is customary. It was a period of transition and confusion, but modern Muslim India is more closely rooted in the Eighteenth Century than in the palmy days of the Grand Mughuls, and the present cannot be understood without a satisfactory study of the period which saw the rise of Urdu and the systematization of the local Islamic tradition by Shah Waliullah.

Greater attention has also been given to the developments in the neighbouring Muslim countries than was done in the histories written during the British period. Not only is this desirable in view of the growing closer contacts between the people of different parts of the world, but such study is also useful in understanding the course of events within the subcontinent.

Every writer dealing with the Muslim rule has to give some thought to the date of the close of the period. The British replacement of the Mughuls was a slow and gradual process, extending over a century. The newcomers did not attack the trunk first, but cut off the branches, and the determination of the stage at which they may be taken to have acquired Indian hegemony is a question, on which opinions differ. In the past, however, there was less difference of opinion than exists at present. Keene, for example, had no hesitation in fixing the fall of the Mughul Empire with the British occupation of Delhi in 1803. Even some years before this, the Mughul Emperor was practically a pensioner under the control of Sindia, but as Keene pointed out, that was a phase which may or may not have lasted and in any case, the Mughul Emperor had formally conferred power on the Maratha chief. The position was somewhat different with Lord Lake, though he also observed the courtesies traditionally paid to the Mughul King.

We agree with Keene, but for practical reasons have ended our narrative not at 1803, but in 1858, when the last Mughul Emperor was exiled from Delhi. The period between these two dates is one of interregnum, described in that happy phrase, "The Twilight of the Mughuls", by Dr. Percival Spear. With the overthrow of Sultan Tipu in 1799 in the South, and a few years later, of Sindia in the North, the British overlordship of the subcontinent was secure. Owing to their deliberate policy of slow and gradual extension of power, however, they did not exercise full power of sovereignty even at this stage. Till 1833 the coins were issued in the name of the Mughul Emperor and in 1827, the meeting between Akbar Shah II and the British Governor-General had to be abandoned, as the Mughul Emperor refused to acknowledge the Governor-General as his equal, wanted him to present a *nazar*, and refused to give him a chair on the same platform on which he himself was to take a seat. Large areas of the country were, yet outside the British control in 1803. Sind was not

occupied till 1843. Punjab, Kashmir and the north-western areas remained outside the British influence till 1848-49 and Oudh was not annexed till 1854.

In selecting 1858 as the date at which to close our narrative we have also been guided by more practical considerations. In a subsequent volume we propose to deal with the developments in modern Muslim India and the rise of Pakistan, which can best be studied from 1858 onwards. To secure continuity of narrative and to leave no substantial period uncovered, it has, therefore, been thought desirable to deal with the major developments concerning Muslim political and cultural history till 1858.

This book has been completed during a period of long leave (1953-55) and my second visit to Columbia in 1858, but material for it has been gathered and published, mainly, in Urdu, over a number of years. My religious history of Muslim India (Urdu) which originally appeared in two medium sized volumes in 1940 has now grown to three bulky books. It was written by a layman for the laymen, but being the first study of the subject, was adopted as a text book by a number of Universities in the subcontinent and at the Islamic Research Institue, Mcgill University. *Armughan-i-Pak*, an anthology of Persian poetry, the main literary expression of the Muslim period, was issued in 1949, and has been recently followed up by *Darbar-i-Milli*, a sort of source-book of Indo-Muslim history containing original excerpts from contemporary Persian accounts. A work on the *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* dealing, as was explained in the Preface, very largely with the heritage of Muslim India and containing numerous chapters by the present writer, was edited in collaboration with Professor Spear in 1955. My Urdu studies of Ghalib and Shibli, and the pseudonymous book on "Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India" are also concerned with the Muslim tradition and activity in the subcontinent, though they deal with a more recent period. No effort has been spared to study the original Persian source-material, and as the readers of my Urdu books would have noticed, some of it, relating to religious and cultural history, was used first by me, but as the copious references and quotations will show, full advantage has also been taken of recent researches in the subject. As a matter of fact, quotations from other works are more numerous than I would have liked, but such misconceptions regarding the Muslim performance in the subcontinent have

become generally current, that a statement of the correct position had to be adequately documented and supported.

My basic draft was completed some time ago, but it needed a thorough revision and the preparation of the manuscript for the press, for which I lacked the necessary leisure. I have, therefore, taken advantage of the presence in Lahore of Professor S. A. Rashid, Director of Historical Research, Punjab University, Lahore and former Professor and Head of the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh. He very kindly undertook to examine and revise the text, check dates, references and transliteration of names and Oriental terms, compile an index, get the maps prepared, and see the book through the press. My deep gratitude is due to him as well as to Dr. P. Hardy of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, who saw the draft at one stage and made valuable suggestions. I also acknowledge, with thanks, a grant made by the Rockefeller Foundation to the Columbia University, which enabled me to visit libraries in England and India and obtain copies of the material needed by me. Acknowledgments are also due, for help received during the printing of the book, to Qazi Mahmud-ul-Haq M. A., Research Scholar, M. Muhammad Azam M. A., Haji Muhammad Amin Bhatti the publisher and Mr. Shan Elahi the printer of book.

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P. S.—References to citations in the text, except those relating to the preliminary chapter on Historiography, are given at the end of the book. The footnotes, containing additional information or comments are given on the page to which they relate.

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BOOK II

THE MUGHUL PERIOD

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MUSLIM INDIA

A study of modern historical literature pertaining to Muslim India makes melancholy reading. The story is so full of stirring incidents and picturesque personalities, and has attracted such talented writers (Elphinstone, Lane-poole, and Laurence Binyon, to name only a few), that make it interesting to read, but if the object of the study of History is to know and understand a people, to learn about their ideas, institutions and movements, or even to have a true understanding of the leading characters, the historical literature produced during the last hundred years affords little real help. The relevant volumes of the Cambridge History of India represent the high watermark of Anglo-Indian scholarship during this period, but not without justification does Wilfred Cantwell Smith bemoan its narrow approach. "It is nothing short of ridiculous that the large Cambridge History of India's Volume, "The Mughul Period," should not so much as mention either Tulsi Das (surely one of the most influential poets in the history of mankind......) or Virji Vora (at the time "reputed to be the richest merchant in the world"), or Imam Rabbani (the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani)."[(a)]

Modern study of Muslim India began with Sir Henry Elliot, who undertook to make available in English selected portions of the native historical works written during Muslim rule. It was an ambitious undertaking, and one cannot but admire the grand project, to the implementation of which Elliot brought extraordinary industry, resourcefulness and perseverance. He utilised all the influence he possessed as Secretary to the Government of India to trace and procure rare and in many cases, little-known manuscripts of various historical works. His strenuous labours—coupled possibly with some basic

(a) Islamic Culture (1944), page 349. Dr. Smith has possibly not noticed that Prof. Beni Prashad, who got a Ph. D. from London University for a special study of Jahangir's period, writes about Imam Rabbani's Maktubat: "My inquiries after Shaikh Ahmad's book have proved futile." (Vide, Beni Prashad's History of Jahangir—first Edition P. 337). When the learned professor wrote these lines, at least a dozen editions of Shaikh Ahmad's epoch-making book, both in Persian and in translation, and summaries of the same had already appeared and were widely read.

physical deficiency—sent him to an early grave, but with the accumulation of the basic material and the preliminary work which he had already completed, and above all, with the assumption by the Government of India of the responsibility to finance the ambitious scheme, its implemnentation was ensured. The work was carried on, after Elliot's death, by Professor Dowson, and between 1867 and 1877, eight bulky volumes of "The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians" were published.

The publication of this work ushered a new era in Indo-Muslim historiography. It brought within the reach of Englishmen and other English knowing scholars, material which was hitherto available only in Persian and Arabic, and laid the basis of the modern Indo-Muslim historical studies. The importance of Elliot's work and the influence it has exercised on generations of historians during the last century is too obvious to need any emphasis, but unluckily, the project was conceived in a spirit and completed in a manner, which has seriously detracted from its worth, and has impaired the value of all works depending wholly or largely on this source-material. The editor leaves no doubt that the main object of his undertaking was to show the deficiencies of the Muslim rule, and thereby bring into relief the benefits of the British administration. In the 'General Preface' Sir Henry Elliot says about these translations:

"They will make our native subjects more sensible of immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule......We should no longer hear bombastic *babus*, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position." [1]

Sir Henry Elliot's work in opening up the source-material of Indo-Muslim history to Western scholarship is of such an epoch-making character, and he accomplished it with so much zeal and self-sacrificing devotion, that one would like to think well of him and believe that the cynical and utilitarian considerations mentioned by him were to soften the resistance of a "tight-purse" Finance Department to the approval of his scheme, but unluckily, this is not the case. Elliot leaves no doubt about his personal bias and motivation. Apart from the Preface, in which he has spelt out in great detail, the considerations underlying his historical

method, even in the notes and appendices to the first volume of the series, which alone he was able to complete, he points out how "expedient" it is that the darker side of the Muslim rule "should be often brought back to remembrance" to silence "the inhabitants of modern India as well as our clamorous demagogues at home."[2]

Equally revealing of Sir Henry Elliot's attitude (and of the balanced, non-communal writing of Indo-Muslim history, prior to his day) are his remarks criticising the Hindu historians of the Mughul period for adopting the same style and conventions as the Muslims. "He usually opens with 'Bismillah' and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of God-head, followed by laudation of the Holy Prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans."[3] He was even more angry with the Hindu historians of the British period for not reviling the Muslims and dropped more than a general hint as to what they should do. "Even at a later period, when no longer "*Triberilac Neronis rest ob metum false*, there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the hearts, without restraint and without adulation."[4]

The inevitable result of Sir Henry Elliot's basic approach is not hard to see. The manner in which portions from various historical works were selected and translated, further affected the worth of the compilation. So numerous mistakes were committed through insufficient knowledge of the original language and the defective reading of the manuscripts, that professor Hodiwala has had to bring out a bulky volume to correct these errors. These, however, are bonafide mistakes, inevitable in such an ambitious undertaking. Equally serious defects arose on account of the method adopted in translation. These translations were purposely made too literal. "The versions are inelegant, as in order to show the nature of the original they keep as close to it as possible." The metaphors, the hyperboles and figurative expressions of the original language, which nobody acquainted with Persian would think of taking literally, were transferred into

a foreign language, with a completely different genius and idiom. The result was that what was straight-forward narrative in Persian, became quaint in a foreign garb, and what was only a silly mannerism in the original, appeared now to involve moral turpitude.

What was even more serious was that only excerpts dealing with political events and endless wars were selected for publication. Works which had a bearing on the cultural, literary, religious, and administrative history were ignored. This seems to have been done deliberately and as a matter of policy. Dr K.M. Ashraf, who has examined Elliot papers in the British Museum Library, says that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Nawab Zia-ud-Din had collected historical material of every type including extracts dealing with "arts and sciences, tales and romances, poetry, table-talk of the saints, travel, ethics, biography, politics, but Elliot selected only that material for inclusion in his book, which was useful from the imperial point of view."[5] The result was that not only the original compilation, but works of all those writers, who ignorant of Persian, had to depend on Elliot and Dowson's work contained nothing but a catalogue of wars and endless slaughter.

The result of the new influences and considerations introduced by Sir Henry Elliot in the study of the past becomes clear, if we compare earlier works like Elphinstone's History with Vincent Smith's Oxford History of India, which may be regarded as the culmination of the new historical school. Smith combined a prodigious industry with a flagrant lack of scholarly detachment and objectivity. He went farther than Elliot and Dowson, and utilized the accounts of European travellers and the Jesuit missionaries to lend colour and point to his story, but the treatment followed the lines envisaged by Elliot, and was calculated to attain the same object Smith's work, with all its faults, had some redeeming features. The same could not be said about others—the Lethbridges and the Marsdens—who wrote for the Indian schools. Indeed such was the trend of the writings of those who had drawn upon Elliot and Dowson for their material and had followed their approach, that Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, who was for long the Head of the History Department of the Delhi University, said about the results of their efforts,"...School-boys were taught text books which from every point of view were

libels on the noble art of history."[6]

The effect of the admittedly political aims pursued by Elliot and Dowson becomes apparent, if the works based on their selections are compared with the studies of those Western scholars, who had different material to work upon. In recent years there have been some excellent accounts of fine arts, mainly paintings and architecture, in Muslim India, by scholars like Fergusson, Sir Thomas Arnold, Laurence Binyon, Goetz, and Percy Brown. Their studies are not mere catalogues of names or formal descriptions of the objects they deal with. The authors have tried to see in these creative works the vision and skill of the men behind them and the civilizations which they reflect. And how different in understanding and assessment is their picture from what emerges from the pages of the Oxford History of India !

On the questions of the narrowing of the scope of historical studies, by leading Anglo-Indian historians, it would be fruitful to quote at length from Dr. Wilfred C. Smith :

"The study of history, during the past fifty or a hundred years, has been undergoing a revolution ; one as profound and as far-reaching as the Baconian revolution in the study of the natural sciences. The question need not yet be answered whether or not the new history is a science. At least, all will admit that it is interested in a great deal more than kings, court annals, and military tactics. Modern historians are social-minded, and dynamically minded. They concern themselves with culture, the life of the people, the methods of production ; and above all with the basic processes of transformation in a country's life, and the causal inter-relation of specific events with broad developments. But in general, this revolution in the study of history has not yet hit India, or indeed the study of Oriental development at all. In fact, by some it has been deliberately resisted. Vincent Smith the Oxford historian of India, after quoting with approval the similar views of Lane-Poole writes : "The history of India in Muhammadan period must necessarily be a chronicle of kings, courts, and conquests, rather than one of national and social evolution " This attitude is to be deplored ; also to be corrected. " The history of India has been the story of a broad social development, which needs careful study, and which will lavishly repay that study. Those who approach Indian history with proper understanding, and with minds alert to and inquisitive about social processes,

will find that Mr. Smith's statement is totally wrong, and that instead there awaits uncovering a fascinating, and instructive picture of economic and social evolution."

The most serious weakness of this school of writers is, however, not their bias or even disregard of sectors of vital importance, but their superficiality and a glaring lack of insight. Perhaps they were not interested in understanding the people and events they dealt with or the inability to read and properly comprehend the original source-material was responsible for this. Certainly Elliot and Dowson contributed to this situation. As stated by us they methodically omitted the material, which would illuminate the happenings they recorded. For example, although the editors claim that "the whole pith and marrow" of Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi has been incorporated in their version, yet all the long passages in which rulers like Balban explain their policy, political philosophy and principles of government were systematically omitted. Similarly, all works of a general nature, outlining the basis and institutions of the Muslim government, like Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's Adab-ul-Muluk, written for the first Muslim ruler of Delhi, were totally disregarded. The result is that with rare exceptions, the historical works of this school are either a string of disjointed episodes, or present a blurred picture, in which neither the lineaments of the principal actors nor the paths which they sought to tread are visible. Indeed, the unpleasant truth is that if the object of the study of history is to develop an insight into the past of a people, the modern historian has almost to begin at the beginning.

The influence exercised by Elliot School of historiography was tremendous and far reaching. Indeed, it would be interesting to speculate on what would have been the subsequent history of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, if these dragon's teeth had not been sown, but the infection was not universal. Even while the different volumes of Elliot and Dowson were in the process of publication, painstaking Raverty criticised them—largely on technical grounds—and scholars like Beveridge, who had direct access to Persian sources remained immune from their influence. Real progress in the study of Indo-Muslim history was, however, not made till the foundation of the London School of Oriental Studies, which brought together scholars like Sir Thomas Arnold, Sir E. Denison Ross and Sir Wolseley Haig. Perhaps none amongst

them had felt the influence of what James Robinson called "the New History", but they were all accomplished scholars, and, what was equally important,had a thorough command over the languages of the source-material, and did not have to depend on the versions provided by Elliot and Dowson. Their approach was also different and (in spite of its numerous shortcomings) one has only to compare the Cambridge History of India especially the third volume, which alone was handled by Haig with the corresponding sections of Oxford History of India to appreciate the difference in point of view. After a lapse of more than thirty years Cambridge History of India is naturally out of date—thanks, partly to the work done by the students and scholars trained by Haig and his colleagues—but in its day it fulfilled a great need. Since the days of Elliot the history of Muslim India had become such a controversial subject that to provide a detailed historical framework, acceptable to the British, Hindu and Muslim scholars was no small achievement. The relevant volumes of the Cambridge History supplied this essential need, and made possible elaboration and improvement on a generally acceptable basis.

The establishment of the School of Oriental Studies resulted in the publication of some major works, written or edited by the members of its staff. It also provided a centre, where senior Indian scholars could complete their researches under expert guidance and with excellent library facilities. The work of these scholars has been generally of a high order, and if we overlook the narrow range of interests, it may be true to say that the golden era of Indo-Muslim historiography was the period beginning with the foundation of the London School of Oriental Studies and ending with the outbreak of the Second World War.

The weaknesses of Indian historiography were aggravated by the method and objective adopted by Elliot and Dowson, but there is no doubt that the chronicles, which they set out to summarise and translate greatly contributed to these defects. These chronicles may be, as Dodwell thought, "better than anything in contemporary Europe" but they suffered from very serious handicaps. Many of those writers were in the service of the state and only saw things through the eyes of their royal patrons. They concentrated on items of interest to the court, and tried to justify and praise their patrons in every possible way.

They rarely mentioned the defects and reverses suffered by the Muslim kings, and often attributed to religious or public zeal, campaigns undertaken for sheer self-agrandisement. These defects are common to court chronicles in general and are a marked feature of the Persian chronicles in particular, but in Muslim India, where historians represented a group living in the midst of a large antagonistic non-Muslim population, the tendency was greatly aggravated.

The attempts made by the court chroniclers to establish the extreme orthodoxy of Muslim monarchs often take ludicrous and even morbid forms. Pannikar has thus warned us at length about the historians of the Sultanate period : "We shall get a very inaccurate and false view of the situation of the Hindus during the first period of Islamic empire in Hindustan (1210—1370) if we depend on the court chroniclers and annalists of Delhi. Historians like Barani were primarily anxious to picture their heroes as the patterns of Islamic orthodoxy and virtue."[8] Haig repeated the same warning about the assessment of the accounts of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, but in this respect the Mughul historians were not very different. Although instances of actual misstatements would be hard to find in their pages, as in the writings of the Sultanate period, yet they had a distinct point of view, which coloured their interpretation of events, and even inclusion or omission of information. Aurangzeb, for example, attempted to suppress *sati* amongst the Hindus. All European travellers of the period mention this, and accounts of the royal orders received by the provincial officers confirm their statements. It was an important measure, but the chroniclers, unwilling to attribute to Aurangzeb any solicitude for the Hindus, omit all references to this order. Even more selective is the author of Padshah Nama, the court history of Shahjahan's reign. It deals at length with the development of arts under Shahjahan and contains long notices of his building activity in Delhi and Agra, but as Dr. Saksena notes, there is "curiously enough no mention of painting, which also reached the highest perfection during his reign." Similarly although Shahjahan patronised a number of Hindu scholars, and in fact had a Hindi poet-laureate at his court, "there is not a single Hindu name included in the list of poets, scholars, etc.," attached to Padshah Nama. In the same way, although the court historian of Shahjahan had so much to say about Dara Shukoh, the king's

favourite son and heir-apparent, he is "so silent on the literary and spiritual life" of the prince. The reasons are obvious. The historians, or men like Sadullah Khan and Fazil Khan, who probably "vetted" the text, were so keen to give an impression of the "emperor's orthodoxy" that they omitted these important details. Their account can, therefore, hardly be considered a complete picture, and shows how much one has to be on one's guard in making use of the works of the court historians.

Muslim chronicles leave such gaps in the story and adopt such a peculiar approach in their annals that the value of what little is available from the Hindu sources is greatly enhanced. Lately, with the study of Hindu inscriptions, tribal ballads, works in Sanskrit and regional languages and historical accounts of Hindu sects (like the Jains, the Vaishanawas and the Sikhs) much material has been scraped together, which gives the Hindu side of the picture. This material, except for many valuable works in Persian by Hindu writers, is not historical in a formal sense and is often vague and occasionally full of visible inaccuracies, but its sifting and careful analysis is yielding fruitful results. Curiously enough, these sources indicate a much healthier state of Indian society during the middle ages than is depicted in the Muslim chronicles. Of course, it would not be reasonable to expect perfect peace and tranquility in those harsh times, but it is pleasing to turn from the endless wars and slaughters of the Persian chronicles to the inscription on the old *baoli* at Palam (near Delhi), indicative of the prosperity of the Hindu donor and of the love for justice of the reigning monarch, Balban ;[9] or to read in Jain chronicles as to how well their religious leaders were treated by Muhammad bin Tughluq or the numerous temple grants made by Aurangzeb and Tipu Sultan. Even the Sikh accounts of the relations of their *gurus* with the Mughul emperors show the Mughuls in a more human light than the 'rhapsodies' of the court chronicles trying to prove that even the easy-going Jahangir was waging an endless holy war for the extirpation of the infidles.

Some use has been made of the material from the Hindu sources, especially in so far as it has a bearing on political history. It is, however, yet to be recognized that this material and even the vast literature relating to the Hindu *bhagats* and the Hindu religious history can occasionally throw useful light on the cultural and religious history of Muslim India. The dangers

inherent in the process are obvious. Even Muslim Sufi literature is full of forgeries and pious frauds. The position is worse with the *Bhakti* literature, the product of a society, which did not have a well-developed historical tradition. Muslims and Hindus were, however, not living in completely water-tight compartments during the Muslim period, and the Hindu religious literature occasionally yields items of information of considerable value to the historian of Muslim society. This is particularly the case with regard to Muslim Bengal, of which the cultural and even political history is most difficult to reconstruct, and for which very limited contemporary information is available from Muslim sources. In this situation a student of history has to tap all possible sources and the search in the Hindu biographical literature is not always unrewarding. For example, it is from Vaishnava sources that we learn that in the Fifteenth Century there were celebrated teachers of Persian and Arabic at Satgaon, (like Sayyid Fakhr-ud-Din) and that Vaishnava leaders, Rupa and Sanatana were proficient in Persian and originally occupied important posts at the Muslim court of Gaur.[10] Similarly the Sikh Adi Granth compiled by Guru Angad in the Sixteenth Century contains a wealth of material on linguistic and literary history of the period, and contains amongst other things some more authentic compositions of Sheikh Farid and Kabir.

Some illuminating books have appeared from the pen of modern Hindu historians, particularly those who knew Persian and had direct access to the original sources. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, inspite of its poor printing, is a masterly study of the Sultanate. Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, although incomplete is another classic of Indian history. Similarly Saran's, *Provincial Government of the Mughuls*, Topa's, *Society and Kingship in Mediaeval India*, Khosla's *Mughul Kingship and Nobility* and studies of Jahangir and Shah Jahan by Beni Prasada and Benarsi Prasada Saksena, greatly add to our knowledge and understanding. Amongst shorter histories, Tara Chand's *History of the Indian People*, and Pannikar's brilliant *Survey of Indian History*, are eminently objective and fair. It is, however, doubtful whether this high level of objectivity and understanding will be maintained in future. Apart from the bitterness created by recent political controversies, where are the successors of those Kayasths and Kashmiri Brahmins, who

knew Persian like a mother-tongue, and had a complete mastery of the original source-material ? Future generations, increasingly ignorant of Persian will have to depend more and more on Elliot and Dowson, and their studies will be limited and coloured by the material, which its editors have selected and arranged for them.

Nor is there much hope at present that the modern Muslim historian, with better access to the Persian originals, will be able to fill the gap. Books based on Elliot and Dowson and written with similar objectives have been so markedly unfair to the Muslim rulers of India and have led to such a revulsion of feelings that a defensive reaction has set in and the modern Muslim historians, particularly those writing in Urdu, have often adopted an attitude which would have shocked Khafi Khan and the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari.* The current trend is to consider all Muslim monarchs as infallible, particularly in the proportion in which they are maligned by the Anglo-Indian historians. Shibli, with his brilliant essays on Aurangzeb, led the way in this direction. There is a fair case for redressing the balance unfairly upset. At any rate, there is every need for collecting as much data as possible, and viewing events in their proper perspective and interpreting them with understanding, and intelligence. It is also reasonable to hold that a proper history of Muslim India, or of any people, can only be written or even grasped, with that degree of positive understanding, to say nothing of complete elimination of all conscious or unconscious hostility which, for example, Trevelyan displays in the writing of British history or Allan Nevins in his account of the U. S. A. The purpose and method of Sir Henry Elliot or Vincent Smith have no place in scientific historiography, but many Muslim historians, especially those writing in Urdu are inclined to swing the pendulum to the other extreme. The tendency, for example, to consider Mahmud of Ghazni and Aurangzeb as infallible is being carried to pathetic limits Both were very great men, but it is not possible to hold that either they or their policies were perfect, without ignoring vital facts and doing violence to truth.

Romanticism is not history. What makes it dangerous is that historical phenomena have a tendency to reappear in a slightly altered garb. History often repeats itself, and if we learn to see the past happenings through coloured glasses, we also miss the

true shape of things around us. Let us take, for example, Aurangzeb's fiscal policy of remitting all taxes not authorised by *Shariat*, or the basic question of the place of the ecclesiastical ideas in the ordering of government. These questions are live issues in Pakistan today, and if no lessons are learnt from the true facts of history, and old attitudes are repeated, the consequence must follow a similar pattern.

Another major handicap of the Urdu historians has been their reluctance to utilise the material coming from contemporary Western sources—the accounts of Jesuit Fathers, European travellers and factory officials. These western writers were practically ignorant of the local language and usage, and "howlers" contained in their books are numerous and well-known. The language used by many—especially the Jesuit Fathers—about Islam and its founder is so offensive that their books are not a pleasant reading for a Muslim. Patience and discretion are needed in the use of this material, and its limitations have been pointed out by responsible Indian historians like Sarkar, Tara Chand and Saran, but it is a serious loss to ignore it completely. Much of this material is based on bazar rumours or comes from an obviously prejudiced source, but its judicious and careful study can help in filling many important gaps left by the court chronicles, and indeed a true, complete and comprehensive history of the times cannot be written without a judicious use of this material.

In Pakistan the promotion of historical studies is faced with peculiar problems. In West Pakistan good knowledge of Persian is not scarce, but apart from the dearth of the trained historians of the requisite stature, where are the libraries and the original source-material ?

The outlook for Indo-Muslim historiography is bleak indeed, but there are a few glimmers of hope. For one thing, one may hope that the most blatant manifestations of the Elliot tradition are a thing of the past. It will die hard, especially as so much later work has been built upon the foundation provided by Sir Henry Elliot, and even now the students, who do not know Persian have to operate within this framework. To some extent, the tradition may even represent a basic Western approach towards Islam and Muslims, and not merely an Imperial policy.

It is to be remembered that the failure to understand and properly assess the Muslim performance in the Indo-Pak. sub-

continent is paralleled by the more general European inability to make a just appraisal of Islam.(b) Even in the sphere of political historiography, the failure of Western scholarship to properly assess events in Muslim countries has been, at least in some cases, very marked. We would only quote from Lord Eversely, the well-known author of "The Turkish Empire". He writes in the Preface of his book, "I will only add that I commenced my studies under the impressions derived in part from the common tradition in Western Europe—dating probably from the time of Crusades—that the Turkish invasions and conquests in Europe were impelled by religious zeal and fervour and by the desire to spread Islam. I have ended them with the conviction that there was no missionary zeal whatever for Islam in the Turkish armies and their leaders."

The existence of precisely the same type of impressions and beliefs about Muslim Turkey—now discovered to be false even by Western scholars—as have been created by the Anglo-Indian historians regarding Muslim India would show how widespread has been the failure of Western "scholarship" to make a proper appraisal of Islam and Muslims and Eversely's remarks indicate how deep-rooted are the causes of this misunderstanding.

With this background it is difficult to be optimistic. The tradition of Elliot and Smith may survive, and only take subtler forms, but its political basis has disappeared, and let us have faith in human fairness and the forces of progress, and at any rate not miss such encouraging signs as are visible on the horizon.

For one thing, it is being generally recognised that the past study of Muslim India has been in very narrow ruts and that this was due, at any rate, partly to what Dr. Hardy calls the "contemporary political interest or political pride"[11] animating many British historians since Elliot's day. One may hope that a realization of the deficiencies of the past would lead to some improvement in the future.

It has also to be recognised that whatever the shortcomings of the mordern Indo-Muslim historiography, an immese amount of work has been done in determining the main course of political events, in locating the source-meterial of various types and in training a large body of Indian and Pakistani students and scholars in historical method. The preparatory work, for which gratitude is due

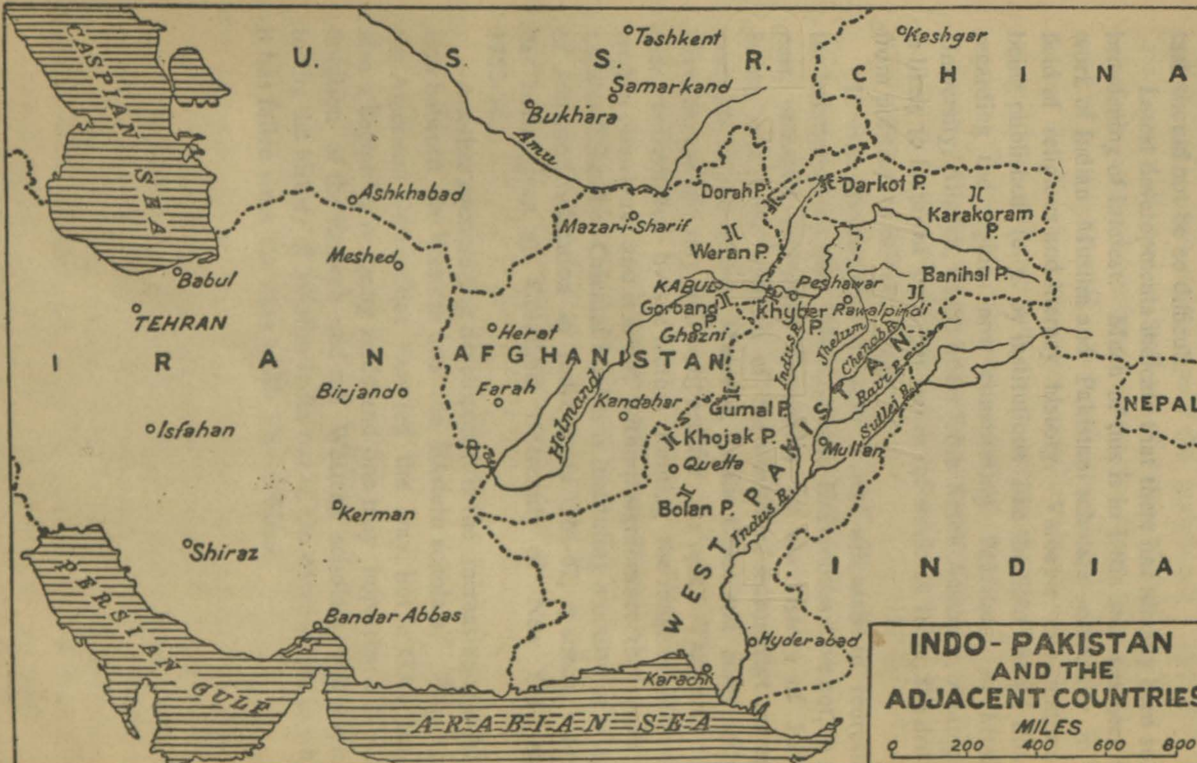
(b) Those who are interested in knowing how wide of truth Europe has been in assessing Islam and its founder may see Bosworth Smith's Muhammad and Muhammadanism, pages 63-69.

to Sir Henry Elliot and a large number of British historians and teachers, should prove of great value to the future student, and his task should not be so difficult.

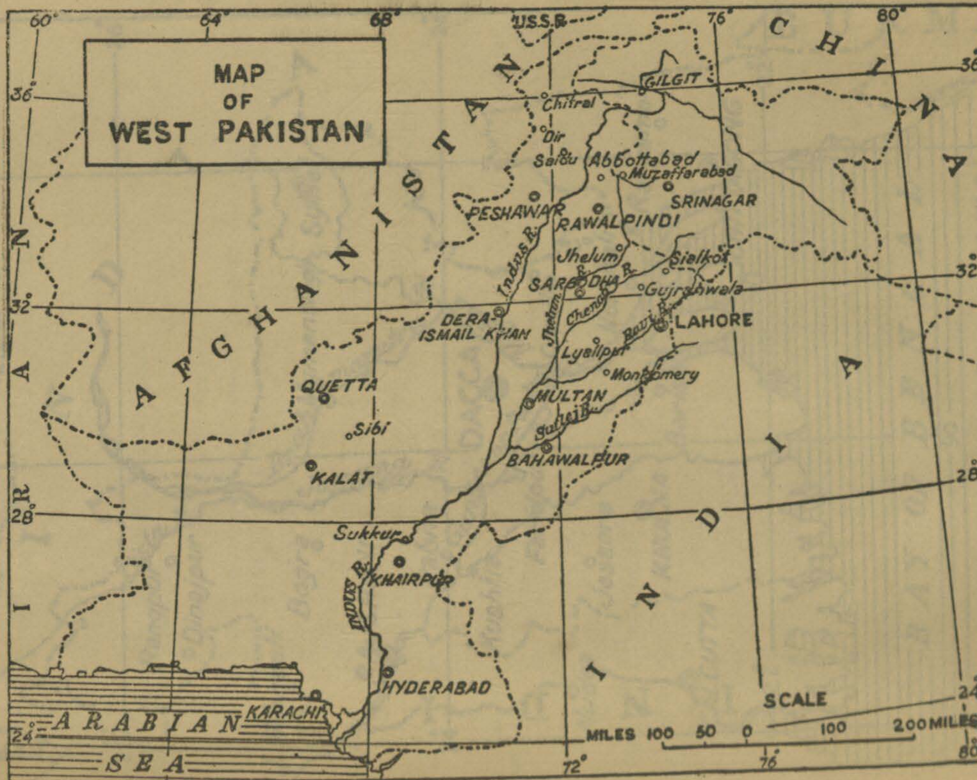
Latest developments indicate that there has already been some broadening of interest. Much of this is in Urdu and has been the work of Indian Muslim and Pakistani scholars—especially in the field of religious and literary history. Valuable new material is being published (e. g. by institutions like the Sind Adabi Board) regarding the regions now constituting Pakistan. At Muslim University, Aligarh, which apart from Shibli Academy, Azamgarh is likely to form the principal centre of work in India, the drift is from political to cultural history.

It even appears that the new world will assist in redressing the balance of the old. The American Universities have not, in the past, seriously interested themselves in the history of Indian Islam, and in the absence of the wealth of manuscript material available in the British Museum, India Office and some Indian libraries, are not very well-equipped for the task. They are, however, untramelled by the factors limiting the range of historical studies elsewhere and it is not without significance that while the London School of Oriental Studies is instituting a course in history of Muslim Civilization in India from 1961-62, a similar course has been given at Columbia University of New York since 1953-54.

Another encouraging development is the increasing collaboration between the Western and the Eastern scholars. Here again the American Universities have led the way, but in Great British also a beginning is being made and one may hope that this collaboration of the Eastern and the Western scholars will result in taking the history of Muslim India out of the narrow ruts in which it has fallen since the days of Sir Henry Elliot.



(To face page 1)


MAP OF WEST PAKISTAN
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
U.S.S.R.
CHINA
INDIA
ARABIAN SEA
Chitral
Dir
Saidu
Abbottabad
Muzaffarabad
GILGIT
SRINAGAR
PESHAWAR
RAWALPINDI
Indus R.
Jhelum
Jhelum R.
SARGODHA
Chenab R.
Sialkot
Gujranwala
LAHORE
DERA-ISMAIL KHAN
Lyallpur
Ravi R.
Montgomery
MULTAN
Sutlej R.
BAHAWALPUR
QUETTA
Sibi
KALAT
Sukkur
KHAIRPUR
INDUS R.
HYDERABAD
KARACHI
SCALE
MILES 100 50 0 100 200 MILES

EAST PAKISTAN



CHAPTER I

THE ARABS AND THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUBCONTINENT.

CHRONOLOGY

A.D.	570	Birth of the Holy Prophet.
	622	Hijrah.
	632	Death of the Holy Prophet.
	712	Arab Conquest of Debul, Nerun & Brahmanabad.
	713	Brahmanabad Settlement.
	713	Arab Conquest of Multan.
	750	The Abbasids replace the Omayyads.
	771	Delegation of Indo-Pakistani scholars at Baghdad.
Circa	825	Arabs in Malabar.
	871	Sind and Multan virtually independent of Baghdad.

The Background

Contacts between the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the Arabian peninsula date from ancient times. The geographical position of these areas is such and the coasts of Sind and Southern Arabia are so near, that growth of close commercial and cultural relations between the two was inevitable. Since times immemorial, spices and other articles of "the Indies" have been in great demand in Egypt and the countries of Southern Europe. The transit trade between these areas was mostly in the hands of the Arabs, who used to carry Indian merchandise from the Indian ports to Yemen in Southern Arabia, from where the goods were carried by land to the Syrian ports to be shipped again to Egypt and Europe. This trade continued after the Arabs had embraced Islam and the first major conflict between the Indian subcontinent and Muslim Arabia arose out of developments connected with the Arab sailors plying in the Indian Ocean. They operated as far as Ceylon and even farther, and when some of them died in that island, the local ruler thought it expedient to send their widows and orphans to Arabia, with gifts and letters of goodwill for Hajjaj (661-714), the powerful viceroy of the eastern provinces of the Umayyad Empire. Unfavourable

winds drove the vessels carrying the gifts and the survivors close to the shores of Debul (an inland port near modern Karachi). Here pirates attacked them, plundered the gifts and took the Muslim women and children as captives. Hajjaj, on learning of this protested to Dahir, the ruler of Sind (669-712), and demanded the release of the prisoners and restoration of the booty, but he received an evasive reply. This enraged Hajjaj, famous in Arab history as much for his severity as for his administrative ability, and he persuaded the unwilling Khalifa to authorise punitive measures against Dahir.

Conflict between the Arabs and the ruler of Sind started on account of this 'incident', but it is doubtful if drastic action would have been taken but for the fact that under the redoubtable Hajjaj, the Arabs were starting on the second phase of their expansion in the eastern direction. In the period of their early brilliant victories in Iraq, Syria, Iran and Egypt, some adventurous Arabs had led "probing expeditions" to the Indian coast, but a vast sea separated it from the Arab mainland, and Caliph Umar and his successors firmly discouraged such ventures. Even the overland reconaissance of the border of Sind did not reveal alluring prospects. The Arabs, therefore, lost interest in the subcontinent, except for occasional frontier raids between Makran which was included in Sind, and Seistan which was then under the Muslims. The situation changed when in 699 Hajjaj entered on his long tenure (693-714) of the viceroyalty of Iraq, Iran and other eastern territories. He is one of the most controversial figures in Muslim history, and though he is condemned for his cruelty and persecution of the Banu Hashim, even his critics have to admit his great administrative ability. He greatly strengthened the administration, inspired his officers with a new zeal, and initiated a strong line in dealing with his non-Muslim neighbours. Some of his Arab enemies had escaped and taken service with the Raja of Sind, and this might have been an additional reason for his anxiety to deal firmly with Dahir.

The first two expeditions sent against Dahir ended in failure.[a]

Conquest of Sind.

Next, Hajjaj sent a picked body of soldiers under the command of his son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qasim. The Arab general with 6,000 horsemen, a camel corps of equal strength and a baggage train of 3,000 camels marched against Debul by way of Shiraz and through

(a) This was due to the fact that these erlier expeditons were sent against the pirates and were not well equipped.

Makran. He received reinforcements on the way and in the autumn of 711 appeared before Debul. Hajjaj, who had made very thorough preparations, sent by sea the siege artillery, including a huge balista, affectionately called al'Arus, "the Bride," which was so big as to be worked by 500 men. Debul was protected by strong stone fortifications and the garrison offered stiff resistance, but ultimately the fort was captured and the Muslim flag was hoisted for the first time on the soil of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Dahir made light of the fall of Debul as a mere commercial town, and made plans to give battle before the strong fortress of Brahmanabad. The Arab general after accepting the surrender of Nirun (near modern Hyderabad) and Sehwan moved in 712 to the place where Dahir had mustered his army on the other side of the Indus. A decisive encounter did not occur for several months, owing to the difficulties confronting the Arabs. Apart from the bigger forces assembled by Dahir, an epidemic of scurvy broke out among Arab troops and the horses also suffered from sickness. Hajjaj sent reinforcements, but perhaps even more valuable, was the assistance he rendered in dealing with the scurvy. He sent a large supply of vinegar, much in use amongst the Arabs, in concentrated form which was transported in a manner that illustrates the resourcefulness of the early Arabs. Cotton was soaked in thick concentrated vinegar and dried. This operation was repeated until the cotton could hold no more liquid and was sent to Sind, where vinegar was extracted by soaking the cotton in water. With this supply of vinegar scurvy was brought under control and in the extreme heat of June, 712 the Arabs crossed the river and faced Dahir's army. The battle was fought with great vigour on both sides, but the superior Arab generalship and the skill of the Arab archers gave them the victory. Dahir lost his life on the battlefield, ahd with his death the Hindu army lost heart and fled from the field. Muhammad captured Brahmanabad, married Rani Ladi, widow of Dahir, and became the master of Lower Sind.

The Arab general spent time in organizing the administration of the conquered area, and on October 9, started for Aror (near modern Rohri), which was the capital of Dahir and was now held by one of his sons. After a brief siege, the town surrendered and soon Muhammad proceeded to complete the conquest of Upper Sind. He next turned towards Multan. The city was well-fortified,

but a deserter brought information about a stream which supplied water to the city, and by diverting it the Arabs were able to force the garrison to surrender (713). After the occupation of Multan, Muhammad "carried his arms to the borders of the kingdom of Kashmir. Threatened by the Arab advance, the Raja of Kashmir sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor asking for help". He received no aid but the Arab general's own dismal fate stopped further Arab advance. Muhammad was now master of the whole of Sind and part of the Punjab, up to the confines of Kashmir in the north and the borders of Rajputana in the east, but a tragic end awaited him. Hajjaj died in 714, and next year Walid also died, to be succeeded by Sulaiman, a bitter enemy of Hajjaj's family. The policy of extremism, partisanship and violence which Hajjaj had followed now brought its nemesis. Death saved him from the new Caliph's wrath, but his family had to pay the penalty. Sulaiman appointed a new governor, recalled Muhammad bin Qasim, and handed him to an officer, who had the young conqueror of Sind tortured to death in an Iraq prison.

Causes of Arab Success.

The comparative ease with which the Arabs defeated the Indian forces and occupied a large territory was due to the quality of their troops, the ability of the military commander and the superiority of the Arab military technique. The conciliatory policy which Muhammad bin Qasim adopted towards all those who submitted to the Arabs also facilitated his task, and the Arab conquest was noteworthy more for voluntary surrenders than for bloody battles. At Nirun, the Buddhist priests had welcomed the general, and at Sehwan the populace revolted against the Hindu governor and submitted to Muhammad bin Qasim.

The popular dissatisfaction with the former rulers also contributed to the success of the Arabs. A large bulk of the population of Sind and Multan was Buddhist, but in 622, Chach, a Brahmin minister of the Buddhist king, had usurped the throne, and the ruler of his dynasty was naturally not popular with large sections of the people. Even the chiefs and officials were quick to change over to the Arabs. As Professor Majumdar remarks, "To the inexplicable want of strategy on the part of Dahir and the treachery of the Buddhists of the south, we must add the base betrayal of the chief officials and grandees of Sind to account for its ignominious end. All important chiefs and officials seem to have deserted

his cause. This is partly accounted for by the superstitious idea prevailing among the people that according to the Hiudu Sastras (sacred books) the country was destined to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, and it was, therefore, useless to fight. But the attitude of chiefs was perhaps also due to personal feelings against the son of the usurper who had driven out the old royal family."

Dahir's hold over southern Sind, largely Buddhist, was also very feeble, as this area had come under his rule only a short time before the Arab invasion. Chach (622-666) had tried to buttress his position by a policy of ruthless suppression of the dissident groups. He inflicted great humilitation on the Jats and the Meds, who were "forbidden to carry arms, wear silk garments, or ride on horseback with saddles and they were commanded to walk about bare-headed and bare-footed and accompanied by dogs".[2] Muslims who were fighting his son easily won the sympathies of the oppressed classes and perhaps, the most important cause of the Arab success was the support of the Jats and the Meds. At an early stage, they started enlisting under Muhammad bin Qasim's banner, "which independent of its moral effect in dividing national sympathies, and relaxing the unanimity of defence against foreign aggression, must have been of incalculable benefit to him, in his disproportionate excess of cavalry, which could be of little service in a country intersected by rivers, swamps and canals".[3]

Personality and methods of Muhammad bin Qasim.

Muhammad bin Qasim was only seventeen years of age when he was appointed to a hazardous military command in a distant and little known territory. Apparently he was selected because of his kinship with the all-powerful Hajjaj, but he had already been a successful governor of Shiraz and the way he carried out his assignment in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent fully justified the choice. His great achievement was, of course, as a military commander and the way in which he and his troops overwhelmed bigger forces. Preparations for the expedition were made by Hajjaj with his usual thoroughness, down to the provision of needles and thread, but there were many unforeseen and unforeseeable contingencies which the young commander had to face and tackle with his own resources. His strategy was faultless and he combined great courage and resourcefulness with moderation and statesmanship of a high order. We do not have a full account of his personality and methods of work, but enough is

on record to show that he was a methodical, disciplined, shrewd and humane individual, displaying political sagacity and military skill far above his years. He had a warm, humane personality ready to enjoy the humour of new and odd situations and exchange jokes with his companions. With all this, he was a disciplined soldier as is evident from the manner in which he carried out Hajjaj's directions, and later quietly and without demur submitted to the orders of the new Caliph in his last supreme act of self-renunciation.

Muhammad bin Qasim was the leader of a punitive expedition. At Debul where he had to blot out the memories of the defeat and massacre of the Arab forces sent earlier against Dahir, and later at Multan where he was stubbornly resisted, he was harsh and ruthless, but such occasions were exceptional. Normally he was humane and considerate, and though no subordinate of Hajjaj could afford to show any weakness, Muhammad achieved his object more by negotiation and grant of liberal terms than by sanguine warfare.

The administrative structure built up by Muhammad bin Qasim has been described elsewhere. Essentially, it was on the pattern followed by early Muslims in other conquered countries like Egypt. Muhammad's personal contribution lay in his quick grasp of the situation and the manner in which he handled it. He made systematic efforts to seek out the officers of the old regime, showered honours and favours on them, and made them his collaborators in the task of administration. First amongst them was Moka, claimant to the chieftainship of Bait, a fortress on the banks of the Indus. He was captured and brought before Muhammad, who treated him with utmost kindness and consideration. His territory was restored to him "and a hundred thousand *dirhams* were given as a reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Thakurs were favoured with robes and saddled horses." After this treatment Moka naturally became a faithful ally. Even more important was the submission of Sisakar, the minister of Raja Dahir. He offered to surrender if his life was spared. Muhammad bin Qasim not only promised this, but conferred "the office of wazir" on him. Sisakar brought the widows and children, whose capture by the pirates had brought Hajjaj's wrath on Dahir, and became the principal adviser of

the Arabs in affairs relating to northern Sind. When the Arabs reached northern Sind, they needed some body well acquainted with the condition of that area. About this time a messenger from Kaksa, a nephew of Dahir, arrived at the Arab camp. Muhammad received him cordially and tickled his vanity by saying that "the princes of Dahir's family were all wise, learned, trustworthy and honest."[5] He offered to make Kaksa his counsellor and this offer was accepted. "The minister Kaksa was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad bin Qasim used to make him sit before the throne and then consult him, and Kaksa took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country and the treasury was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad bin Qasim in all his undertakings, and was addressed by the title of *Mubarak Mushir* (Prosperous Counsellor)."[6] Trust begets trust and the generosity shown by Muhammad to the leading Indian administrators was rewarded by their loyal and enthusiastic cooperation. Guided by their advice and by his own noble impulses Muhammad followed a policy which was greatly appreciated by the local population. His benevolent and sympathetic regime was so popular that the historian Biladhuri, dealing with the sad end of the Arab general, says, "The people of Hind wept for Muhammad bin Qasim and preserved his likeness at Kiraj."[7]

Arab Administration.

The Arab administration in Sind, as already observed, followed the general pattern adopted by the early Arabs in other countries. The normal rule was to employ local talent to the fullest and make the minimum changes in local practices. The Arabs established themselves in large towns which were also military cantonments. Hazrat Umar (634—644), acknowledged as " the chief creator" of the Arab system of administration, and regarded by a non-Muslim scholar as "the greatest and most far-sighted statesman amongt the Arabs"[8] had laid down the working principle that the Arabs should not acquire landed property in the conquered territories. Under the system evolved by him the general of the army conquering a new territory became its governor, but "most of the subordinate officers were allowed to retain their posts." Such evidence as is available about Sind shows that these injunctions were observed. The Arabs provided the military garrisons, while the

civil administration was left largely in the hands of the local chiefs, only a few of whom had accepted Islam.

The Umayyads who succeeded the *Khulafa-i-Rashidin* and moved the Arab capital from Madina to Damascus, made a few changes in the system of government under the influence of the Byzantine civilisation to which they became heirs. They produced some gifted administrators, but under them the administration was not so elaborate and highly departmentalised as it became under the Abbasids who drew upon the experience of the Sassanid emperors. The pattern of the Arab administration in Sind also remained simple and free from over-centralization and complicated departmentalisation.

The Umayyads were worldly in their outlook and practical in their approach. They represented the old tribal aristocracy of the Arabs, and in their handling of the conquered territories the virtues of the Arab aristocracy are visible. Besides the normal features of Arab administration evolved in the days of Hazrat Umar and the Umayyad Caliph, Abdul Malik, the arrangements in Sind were influenced by the advice of Hajjaj to whom many problems were referred. His political sagacity and the realistic approach to politics is evident in the guidance which he gave to his nephew on numerous occasions. *Chach Nama* gives an interesting account of the general principles which Hajjaj emphasised in a letter to Muhammad bin Qasim. "You must know that there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom :—firstly courtesy, conciliation, gentleness, and alliances ; secondly, expenditure of money and generous gifts ; thirdly, sound judgment in the opposition of the enemies, and in understanding their behaviour ; fourthly, the use of overawing force, power and strength and majesty in checking and expelling the enemy."[9]

The Brahmanabad Settlement.

Under the administrative arrangements which Muhammad bin Qasim made with the non-Muslims after his victory over Dahir, and which are often referred to as the Brahmanabad Settlement, the basic principle was to treat them as "the People of the Book," and conferring on them the status of the *zimmis* (the Protected). In some respects the arrangements were even more liberal than those granted to the People of the Book by the later schools of Islamic law. For example, according to the later opinion the *zimmis* could not repair their places of worship, though the old ones were allowed to exist. The

question of repairing a damaged temple came up before Muhammad who referred the matter to Hajjaj. The latter consulted the *ulama* of Damascus, and sent the reply granting the permission asked for and in fact, laid down that so long as the non-Muslims paid their dues to the state they were free to live in whatever manner they liked. Hajjaj wrote: "It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanabad had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can properly be required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden and prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like."[10]

The Arab conqueror even maintained the privileged position of the Brahmins, not only in religious matters, but also in the administrative sphere. "Muhammad bin Qasim maintained their dignity and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Qasim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. Like Rai Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty. He ordered all the Brahmins to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dahir, and that they must be well acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice so that favours and rewards might be bestowed on him. As he had entire confidence in their honesty and virtue, he had entrusted them with these offices, and all the affairs of the country would be placed under their charge. These offices were granted to them and their descendants, and would never be resumed or transferred."[11] Even the 3% share of Government revenue, which they had been getting during the ascendency of the Brahmin rulers of Sind was conceded to them.

Apart from general religious tolerance and patronage of non-Muslim priests, Muhammad bin Qasim's arrangements for the collection of government dues must have provided safeguards against oppression. "He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the

cities and the villages, so that there might be the feeling of strength and protection."[12] To these officials, many of whom were Brahmins, Muhammad bin Qasim issued a directive, "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan,[(b)] and if distribution is required, make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay."[13] Orders were also issued to pay compensation to those whose property had been destroyed during hostilities. For payment of *jizya*, three grades were fixed. "The first grade was of great men, and each of them was to pay silver, equal to 48 *Dirhims* in weight, the second grade 24 *Dirhims*, and the lowest grade 12 *Dirhims*". Muslims were exempt from this tax, but they had to pay *zakat* and *sadaqah*.

Some Western writers have observed that in granting the rights of the *zimmis* to the Hindus and the Buddhists of Sind, Muhammad bin Qasim deviated from the provisions of Islamic law. Historically this is not correct. When the Arab conqueror made his administrative arrangements (in 93 A. H.) Islamic law had not been codified, and the four schools of Islamic Law—Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi and Hanbali had not come into existence. Muhammad and Hajjaj were guided by the Quran, Sunna and the practice of the early Caliphs, and their arrangements were approved by the *ulama* of Damascus. The fact that the provisions of Islamic Law, as codified later, were not as liberal as these early arrangements, was presumably due to the influence of other legal systems[(c)], and the position accorded to the Muslims and other minorities in Christian and other societies.

Chach Nama[(d)], the main source of information regarding the

(*b*) There seems to be an insertion of later nomenclature and usage—possibly an interpolation in this paragraph of Chach Nama. The term "Sultan" could not have been in use in the days of Muhammad bin Qasim, and even the precribed scale of *jiyza* belongs to a later period. For general authenticity of Chach Nama, however, see E & T Vol. 1' p. 135, and the Indus Delta Country (M. R. Haig) p. 41, Ft. Note.

(*c*) Dr. Joseph Schacht of Leyden University told the writer that the regulations regarding non-Muslims in Islamic Law closely followed the regulations governing the position of the Jews in the Roman Empire.

(*d*) This is a remarkable book, practically the only memento of Arab rule in Sind. The Arabic original was written shortly after the Muslim conquest, but is now lost. The Persian version, undertaken in 1216 has, however, survived. From the Arabic title, "Minhaj-ul-din-wal mulk" (The Path of Religion and Empire) it appears that the author intended the book to be a work of history as well as of statecraft. The translator emphasises

Later Arab Rule in Sind and Multan.

Arab conquest and administration, ends its account with the recall of Muhammad, and for subsequent developments one has to depend on stray remarks in the general histories of the Caliphate. In 717, Umar II (717-720) wrote to the non-Muslim princes of Sind, inviting them to embrace Islam, and amongst those who responded to the invitation was Jaisinha, son of Dahir. He, however, later recanted and rebelled against Arab authority, losing his life in the conflict. Junaid, who was sent as Governor in 724, was not only able to deal with the rebellion of Jaisinha and his companions, but undertook many expeditions outside Sind. He is said to have conquered Rajputana, Kathiawar and north Gujrat, and sent expeditions as far as Ujjain and Malwa[(e)]. An echo of his victories is found in the history of Kashmir, whose ruler was so troubled by the Arab pressure from the south and danger from the Turkish tribes and the Tibetans in the north, that he "had to invoke the help of the Chineses emperor and to place himself under his protection". Later, however, Junaid suffered defeats, and was recalled in 740. After him, the position of the Arabs deteriorated, and their posts in Marwar and other places had to be evacuated. In Sind, also, there was a vigorous attempt to expel the Arabs and they had to withdraw from the areas to the south of Indus. Junaid's successor died within a year of his appointment, and the difficult situation had to be faced by the next governor, Hakam, who was ably assisted by a son of Muhammad bin Qasim who later acted as governor on Hakam's death. The first step that Hakam took was to rescue the Arab troops stranded in the midst of a hostile population. Near the old city of Brahmanabad, and at a site, nearly 40 miles north-east of modern Hyderabad he established a stronghold, where all the withdrawn forces were collected. This was called Mahfuza, the Abode of Safety. When this operation was completed he reorganis-

this dual role of the book at the end of his translation :—"It is based on the foundation of laws of Government and on the strength of constitutional administration. It contains eloquent discourses on religious and state matters, and treats of territorial and national peculiarities."

(*e*) Indian rulers realised the danger from the brilliant successes of Muhammad bin Qasim and Junaid. "The extent to which the Indians realised the nature of this danger appears from the fact that sometime between A. D. 713 and 741 a king of Central India sent an ambassador to the Chinese emperor with a view to make a common cause against the growing menace of Islamic power." (Majumdar, The Arab Invasion of Sind, p. 50.)

ed the army and opened an offensive. Before long, Hakam was able to restore Arab domination in Sind and opposite the town of Mahfuza he established a new town, Mansura, the Abode of Victory, which became the new Arab capital.

In 750, the Abbasids overthrew the Umayyads and sent their own officers to Sind. The Abbasid Governor Hisham, who came to Sind in 757 carried out successful raids against Gujrat and Kashmir, but no permanent additions to Arab dominion were made. Later, through Arab preoccupations at home, their control over Sind became slack. The process of disintegration was accelerated by tribal conflicts amongst local Arabs, who became divided into *Yemni* and *Hijazi* groups, and at one time the Arab governor revolted against Khalifa al-Mamun (813-833). The rebellion was put down but Musa, son of Yahya the Barmakid, the famous wazir of Harun Rashid, who was now placed in charge of the affairs of Sind, nominated on his death in 836, his son Amran as his successor. The Caliph recognised the appointment, but the beginning of hereditary succession to governorship meant a weakening of the hold of Baghdad. Amran was an energetic ruler, and firmly dealt with the disturbances of the Jats and the Meds, but the internecine quarrels of the Arabs flared up in his day, and he lost his life after a brief reign. In 854, the Hibbari family became hereditary rulers of Sind, with Mansura as their capital. In course of time, Multan became independent, and the Hindus re-established themselves in Rohri.

The severance of contacts with Baghdad made Sind and Multan the happy hunting ground for the emissaries of the rivals of the Abbasids, the Fatimid rulers of Cairo. Their first *dai* (missionary) came to Sind in 883, and started secret propaganda in favour of the Fatimid caliph. After the ground had been prepared, military aid was obtained from Cairo, and through a *coup d' etat* Multan was captured in 977. Ismaili doctrines were now adopted as the official religion, and the *khutba* was read in the name of the Fatimids. The Ismailis destroyed the old historic temple of Multan, which Muhammad bin Qasim had spared and left in charge of the Hindus, and built a mosque on its site. Mansura remained with the Hibbari family, at least till 985, but at a later date, this also became a small Ismaili stronghold. The Ismailis suffered a setback with the rise of Mahmud of Ghazni, who in 1005 compelled the ruler of Multan to recant from Ismaili beliefs and

some 20 years later conquered Mansura on return from Somnath. The Ismaili creed regained its former position when the Ghaznavids became weak, but in 1175 Sultan Muhammad Ghuri captured Multan, appointed an orthodox Sunni as governor, and the area was incorporated in the Sunni Sultanate first of Ghazni, and later of Delhi.

Indo-Arab Intellectual contacts.

During the Umayyad and the early Abbasid period, not only were the Arabs at the height of their political power but were also very active in the intellectual field, and made every effort to acquire knowledge from all sources. Sind became the link through which the fruits of Indian learning were transmitted to the Arabs, and by them made available to the civilised world. So long as the seat of the Caliphate was at Damascus, most of the scientific books translated into Arabic were from Greek and Syriac, but when the Abbasid Caliphate was established at Baghdad, greater attention was paid to the books in Iranian and Indian languages. Indo-Arab intellectual collaboration was at its height during two distinct periods. It began during the reign of Mansur. (753-774). "As Sind was under the actual rule of Khalifa Mansur, there came embassies from that part of India to Baghdad, and among them were scholars"[14] who brought important books with them. The second fruitful period was the reign of Harun-al-Rashid (780-808) when the famous Barmakid family, which provided *wazirs* to the Abbasid Caliphs for half a century, was at the zenith of its power. Arab bibliographers specially mention Harun's *wazir*, Yahya the Barmakid, his son Musa and grandson Amran both of whom governed Sind for some time for their interest in India and Indian sciences. The Bramakids sent scholars to Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to study medicine and pharmacology. "Besides, they engaged Hindu scholars to Baghdad, made them chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other subjects."[15]

The earliest Indo-Arab intellectual contact recorded in history began in 771, when a Hindu scholar of astronomy and mathematics reached Baghdad with a deputation from Sind, and took with him a Sanskrit work (*Siddhanta* by Brahmagupta)[f] which he

(*f*) Brahmagupta (Circa 628) the astronomer and mathematician lived and worked in Ujjain. He wrote an astronomical manual called the Brahma Siddhanta in twenty-one chapters. This work formed the basis of the work Sindhind.

translated into Arabic with the help of an Arab mathematician. Titles of three other astronomical works translated from Sanskrit have been preserved by Arab bibliographers, but *Siddhanta*, which came to be known in Arabic as "Sindhind", had the greatest influence on the development of Arab astronomy. In mathematics the most important contribution of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to Arabic learning was the introduction of what are known in the West, as "Arabic numerals," and what Arabs themselves call the "Indian numerals" (*al-Ruqum-al-Hindiyyah*). The Indian system of medicine received even greater attention, and the titles of at least fifteen works in Sanskrit which were translated into Arabic have been preserved. These included books by Sushruta and Charak, the foremost authorities in Hindu medicine. One of the translated books was on veterinary science, and another dealt with snakes and their poisons. None of these translations are now known to exist, except a rendering of Shanaq's book on poisons. It was originally translated into Persian in 815 for Khalid-al-Barmaki, the Abbasid *wazir*, and ten years later was translated into Arabic. Indian doctors enjoyed great prestige at Baghdad. Their names, like the titles of their works, have been mutilated beyond recognition in the Arab bibliographies, but their number was very large. One of them, Manka, was specially sent for from India when Harun-al-Rashid fell ill and could not be cured by the doctors at Baghdad. Manka's treatment was successful and he was not only richly rewarded by the grateful Khalifa, but was entrusted with the translation of medical books from Sanskrit. Another Indian physician was called in when a cousin of the Caliph suffered from a paralytic stroke, and was given up for lost by the Greek court physician. Many Indian medicines, some of them in their original names like *atrifal* which is the Hindi *tri-phal* (a combination of three fruits) found their way into Arab pharmacopoeia.

Astrology and palmistry also received considerable attention at Baghdad, and titles of a large number of books translated from Sanskrit on these subjects have been preserved. Other subjects on which books were translated were, logic, alchemy, magic, ethics, statecraft and art of war, but the books which gained greatest popularity were linked with literature. Some of the stories of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* are attributed to Indian origin, though evidence on this point is not conclusive. Arabic translations of Panchtantra, popularly known as the story of Kalila and

Dimna, have become famous in various Arabic and Persian versions. The games of chess and *chausar* were also introduced from India, and transmitted by Arabs to other parts of the world.

In spheres other than science and learning also Sind had its contribution to make. Some Western scholars think that several elements in Islamic Sufism are of Indian origin. This view is largely speculative but the links of Sind with Islamic Sufism are definite. The great early Sufi, Bayazid of Bistam had a Sindhi as his spiritual teacher. He said, "I learnt the science of annihilation (ilm-i-fana) and Tauhid (unitarianism) from Abu Ali (of Sind) and Abu Ali learnt the lessons of Islamic unitarianism from me".[16] Referring to this, Professor Nicholson says, "The Sufi conception of the Passing-away (*fana*) of individual in 'Universal Being' is certainly, I think, of Indian origin. Its first great exponent was the Persian mystic, Bayazid of Bustam who may have received it from his teacher Abu Ali of Sind."[17] The close association of Sind with Sufism is maintained to this day, and one of the most marked features of Sind is the dominant place which Sufism occupies in her literature and religious life.

The above account of the Indian impact on Arab cultural life is based on contemporary Arab sources, but it is far from complete. No title of any Sanskrit book on music translated at Baghdad is available, but it is known that the music of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent had its impact on Arab music, and was appreciated in the Abbasid capital. The famous Arab author, Jahiz (869) wrote in his account of the people of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent: "Their music is pleasing. One of their musical instruments is known as Kankalah[(g)] (?), which is played with a string stretched on a pumpkin". An Arab author from Andalusia (Moorish Spain) refers to an Arabic version of an Indian book on music dealing with tunes and melodies.[18]

Professor Halim, who has made a special study of Indo-Muslim music, is of the opinion that the Arab and the Indian systems of music influenced each other. The geographer, Masudi refers to the musical instruments of the Arabs, the Persian, Nabataeans, and "of the people of Sind and Hind" in his Muruj-uz-Zahab indicating that the Arabs were not uninfluenced by Indian music. Professor Halim quotes Lane as

(*g*) This is 'Kingari' or 'Kingar' "name of a musical instrument made of two gourds, used in Hindustan" (Steingas, 1056).

saying that most of the technical terms for Arab music "are borrowed from the Persian and the Indian influences", and adds, "Furthermore, Indian music itself has incorporated certain Perso-Arab airs, such as *Yeman* and *Hijj* from Hijaz and *Zanuglah* corrupted into *Jangla.* Again Arab music is similar to the system of the Greeks and the Indians, being based on melody and not on harmony. Like the Indian and the Greek systems, Arab music believes in its being in consonance with nature and expressive of varied feelings, such as pleasure, sadness, fury, slumber, ecstacy and is also capable of producing wonderful effects. Consequently, the airs are sung, as in Greek and Indian systems, at fixed hours of the day and night".[19]

Social and cultural conditions

No connected history of Sind and Multan, after the recall of Muhammad bin Qasim, is available but works of Arab travellers and geographers enable us to fill the gap. In particular Masudi,who visited what is now West Pakistan in 915-16, A.D., has left a "brilliant account" of the conditions in the valley of Indus, from Waihind in the north to Debul in the south. According to him, and Ibn Haukul who visited the area some years later, the principal Arab colonies were at Manśura, Multan, Debul, and Nirun where large Friday mosques were built. Non-Muslims formed the bulk of the population, and were in a preponderating majority at Debul and Alor. The relations between the Arabs and the non-Muslim population were very good. Unlike the historians of the Sultanate period the Arab travellers refer to the non-Muslims as *zimmis* and not as *kafirs.* Soon after the conquest of Sind and Multan, cow-slaughter was banned in the area. This might have been due to a desire to preserve the cattle-wealth, but regard for Hindu sentiments may also have been partly responsible for this step. The Hindu chiefs, also, showed, a sympathetic interest in Islam, and in 886, a Hindu raja got from Mansura an Arab linguist, who translated the Holy Quran into the local language at his request.[20] The Arabs and the local population became so closely integrated that the Sindhi troops fought on behalf of the Arabs in distant countries even as far as the Byzantine frontier.[21]

The Arab rulers adopted local practices to a much greater extent than the Ghaznavids did later at Lahore, or the Turks and the Afghans at Delhi. According to Masudi, the ruler of Mansura had eighty war elephants and occasionally rode in a chariot drawn

by elephants. Like the Hindu rajas he wore ear-rings as well as a necklace, and wore his hair long. The Arabs of Mansura were generally dressed like the people of Iraq but the dress of the ruler was similar to that of the Hindu rajas.[22]

After Muhammad bin Qasim there were no large-scale Arab immigration and Arab influence was gradually diluted, but Sind and Multan remained in close contact with the Arab countries, particularly Iran and Egypt. At the time of Masudi's visit Arabic and Sindhi were spoken in Sind but Iranian influences were also effective, particularly after the rise of the Dailamites when the use of Persian became more prevalent, especially in Multan.

Arab rule produced men of note in Sind and Multan, and some of them achieved fame and distinction in Damascus and Baghdad. One of them, Abu Maashar Sindhi (787 A. D.) was an authority on *Hadis* and the life of the Holy Prophet, and was so eminent that when he died in Baghdad the reigning Caliph led the prayers at his funeral. A number of other scholars and poets connected with Sind are also mentioned in Arabic anthologies. Some of them were from the immigrant families but many were of Sindhi origin and included descendants of captives taken as slaves during the Arab conquest or the later wars. They included Imam Auzai, (707-773 A. D.) who figures in the history of *fiqh*, and at one time, had a large number of followers in Syria and Andalusia. The most notable Arabic poet of Sindhi origin was Abul Ata Sindhi, who was taken to Syria as a captive during his childhood, and earned his manumission with a *qasidah*. In spite of his command of literary Arabic, his pronunciation of Arabic words bore such traces of his origin that he had to engage a *ravi* to recite his verses. He wrote forceful *qasidas* in praise of the Umayyad rulers, and poignant elegies on their downfall. Imam Abu Hanifa, the great founder of Hanafi school of Islamic law was born in Iraq, but his family is stated to have migrated there from Sind.

Life in the Arab dominion of Sind and Multan was simple, but agriculture and commerce were highly developed. Masudi mentions a large number of hamlets in the principalities of Multan and Mansura, and apparently "the whole country was well-cultivated, and covered with trees and fields". There was active commerce between Sind and other parts of the Muslim world. "Caravans were often passing and repassing that country and Khurasan, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bamian.

She also had communications with Zabulistan and Sijistan by way of Ghazni and Kandhar". Sindhi Hindus, who were excellent accountants and traders, had a major share in this commerce, and Alor is mentioned as a great commercial centre. The prosperity of the area may be judged by the fact that Sind and Multan contributed eleven and a half million *dirhams* to Abbasid revenue, while the total revenue from Kabul area in cash and cattle, was less than two and a quarter million *dirhams*.[23]

Significance of the Arab Rule in Sind.

Time, man, and natural calamities have dealt harshly with the traces of Arab rule in Sind. In 893 Debul was visited by a terrible earthquake, in which practically the whole city was destroyed, and the number of deaths was estimated at 1,50,000.[24] A similar calamity affected Brahmanabad at a later date,[25] but more permanent causes of damage were the floods and the changes in the course of the Indus. The cumulative result is that not one of the Arab cities has survived, and their very sites have become subjects of controversy.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the historians attach little importance to Arab rule in Sind, but though the visible traces of Arab ascendancy have been obliterated, its invisible effects were many and far-reaching. Most of them, of course, relate to the former province of Sind, which has been called "the Hijaz of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent". The script adopted for the Sindhi language is Arabic—not the Perso-Arabic script used for other Muslim languages of the subcontinent,—and it contains a large proportion of Arabic words, mutilated or intact. Several leading Sindhi families were of Arab origin, and many more although indigenous, have changed their geneological tables to claim Arab ancestry. Until recently, the social pattern in Sind was largely tribal, the place of the Arab Shaikh being taken by the Sindhi *Wadera* (the word itself is a literal translation of the Arabic counterpart). Such Arab virtues as hospitality have always distinguished Sind, and the standard of Arabic scholarship has also remained high. Even the landscape, before the recent construction of two barrages in Upper and Lower Sind, contained much to remind one of Arabia—the desert, the pastoral scene, many large groves of date-palm trees, and the strings of camels.

In two important spheres the impact of the Arabs was felt far beyond Sind and Multan. In the political field, the arrangements

made by Muhammad bin Qasim with the non-Muslims provided the basis for later Muslim policy in the subcontinent.

By the time Muslim rule was established at Lahore and Delhi, Islamic law had been codified, and contained stringent provisions regarding idol-worshippers (*e.g.* the Hindus). The fact that those provisions were not followed and the Hindus were treated as "the People of the Book", was largely due to the circumstance that they had been given this status by Muhammad bin Qasim, and for centuries this liberal practice had been built up in Sind and Multan.

The intellectual and cultural contacts of the Abbasids with the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent which gave to the world the so-called "Arabic numerals", chess, stories of Kalila and Dimna etc. were also facilitated by the Arab occupation of Sind. They came to an end when the political hold of Baghdad over this territory slackened. After dealing with the most fruitful period of Indo-Arab intellectual collaboration, Sachau says "Soon afterwards when Sind was no longer politically dependent upon Baghdad, all this intercourse ceased entirely. Arabic literature turned off into other channels. There is no more mention of the presence of Hindu scholars in Baghdad, nor of the translations of Sanskrit".[26]

Arab Coastal Settlements.

The Arab conquest was confined to the southern part of what is now West Pakistan, but peaceful contacts of the Arabs were far more extensive. Arab sailors and traders plied their trade in the coastal area of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and soon after the rise of Islam we find colonies of Muslim Arabs at a number of major ports like Cambay, Chaul, Honawar etc. Muslims had reached Ceylon even earlier, and the Arab invasion of Sind was a measure of reprisal for plunder and imprisonment of Muslim widows and orphans returning from Ceylon. Hajjaj, who organized the expedition to Sind was also responsible, though indirectly, for the establishment of a large colony of Muslim Arabs in the south. When he became the viceroy of Iraq, many members of Banu Hashim, of whom he was a sworn enemy, migrated from his jurisdiction, and sought refuge on the southern coast of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. They form the nucleus of the important Nawayat community which is found on the Konkan coast of Bombay and in Tinnevelly district of Madras.

Before the introduction of the steamship the small sea-going

boats had to keep close to the shore and small colonies of Arab sailors and traders were to be found at all important ports along the shores of the Indian ocean and in the Bay of Bengal. Probably there was a substantial Arab colony at Chittagong in East Pakistan as may be inferred from the existence of an unusually large number of Arabic words in the local dialect, the Arab influence on pronunciation and even the fact that more Bengali manuscripts written in Arabic script are found in the areas round Chittagong than in any other part of Bengal. The earliest recorded reference to a visit of the Arabs to this region according to Arakanese sources, relates to the reign of a local ruler, who ascended the throne in 781 A.C., and describes the shipwreck of several Arab boats near Ramri, south of Chittagong and the settlement of the survivors in the interior. Later, Muslim influence increased in Arakan and by the thirteenth century the coast from "Assam to Malaya was dotted with the curious looking mosques known as Budder makans".[27] This influence is held responsible for women living in greater seclusion in Arakan than in other parts of Burma.

The most important Arab coastal settlements were in Malabar[(h)] where Muslims now form a substantial part of the population and where a local ruler adopted Islam in early part of the Ninth Century. The Arab colonies did not disturb the general tenor of life in the Indian subcontinent but they made the local inhabitants familiar with the new religion of the Arabs. Some scholars are of opinion that the powerful Hindu religious movement initiated in the Ninth Century by Shankracharya who himself was born in Malabar may have been facilitiated by the religious ferment caused by the entry of Islam in that area.

Muslim colonies on the coast are also of interest as they provided the base from which missionaries, traders and sailors went to the Far East and spread Islam in Malaya and Indonesia. The movement to the East was not only a result of the Arab share in the "spice trade" of South-east Asia but was a continuation of the traditional Indian relations with the countries farther east. South-east Asia has since ancient times been greatly influenced by Indian religion, literature and art and with the spread of Islam to the key points of contact, Muslim influence replaced that of Brahminism and Buddhism. Bali remains Hindu to this day, but

(*h*) For further details rearding Arabs in Malabar (see Tara Chand's "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture," pages 32-36).

Malaya, Java and Sumatra are predominantly Muslim and largely owe their present religious and literary tradition to the influences emanating from the Muslim colonies on the coast-line of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Emigrants who brought about this transformation in South-east Asia included Arab and Persian sailors and traders, but the role of Muslims of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent particularly from Gujrat, Malabar, Coromandal and Bengal, was not less important.[28]

CHAPTER II.

YAMINI DYNASTY OF GHAZNI AND LAHORE

CHRONOLOGY

870	Muslim conquest of Kabul.
"	Foundation of Ghazni.
874-999	Rise of Bukhara as a great political and cultural centre.
977	Subuktigin's elevation to the throne of Ghazni.
986-87	Subuktigin annexes territory between Lamghan and Peshawar.
997-998	Death of Subuktigin. Accession of Mahmud.
1008	The Battle of Waihind.
1020	Annexation of Lahore.
1026	Sack of Somnath.
1030	Death of Mahmud.
1048	Death of al-Biruni.
1072	Death of Data Ganj Bakhsh.
1121-22	Death of Masud Sa'd Salman.

Islam in Central Asia.

The Arab conquest of Sind and South-Western Punjab was complete by 714, but for nearly three centuries after that there was no further extension of Muslim dominion. The second phase of Muslim expansion began with the establishment of a Turkish Muslim dynasty in Ghazni, and followed the traditional north-western routes for the invasion of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

In 642 the Arabs had defeated Yazdgird, the Sassanid ruler and become masters of Iran. After this, operating from Fars by way of Kirman, they set about conquering the eastern provinces of the Iranian empire. They followed two main lines, the northern through Nishapur to Herat, Merv and Balkh, and the southern by way of Sistan to the Helmand and Bast. They progressed rapidly under Qutaiba bin Muslim who conquered Transoxiana as far as Khwarizm and Samarqand (711-12), and within a century of the death of the Founder of Islam, the Arabs were masters of Khurasan, Balkh and Mawara-un-Nahr (Transoxiana). They did not subjugate Kabul or any part of the Sulaiman Mountain area, but

operating through Seistan, exerted constant pressure on the non-Muslim rulers of Kabul and are even stated to have raided areas as far as Bannu and some other areas on the north-west frontier.(*a*) There are also indications of considerable traffic of a peaceful nature, between the Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Arab geographers give detailed accounts of the north-western areas of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, which would not have been possible if the Muslim and non-Muslim areas had been separated by an iron curtain. According to the author of Hudud-ul-Alam, written in 982, some Muslims were even settled in Hindu cities such as Waihind.

It was the Arab occupation of Transoxiana which paved the way for the Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. This established a link between the Turkish homelands and the Muslims, and from then onwards the Turks were to play an important role in the Muslim world, and were the main force behind the conquest of this subcontinent.

The first inroad into the heart of the area which is now Afghanistan, was made by Yaqub ibn Lais, the Saffarid, who became the Amir of Sijistan in 861. He captured Kabul nine years later, and founded Ghazni about the same time. Kabul was, however lost by Yaqub's successor to the Hindu Shahis. In the meanwhile the Samanids (874—999) established themselves at Bukhara (874) and gradually brought the greater part of the area to the east of Baghdad under their sway. In the beginning of the Tenth Century the Saffarids (868—903) gave way to the Samanids, who established a great political and cultural centre at Bukhara. They were Persian in origin, and patronised Persian langugage. Rudaki (940—1) the Chaucer of Persian poetry, flourished at the Samanid court, and Persian replaced Arabic as the official language. Under them the Turkish slaves gained great political and military importance. One of these, Alptigin, rebelled against his Samanid masters and established himself at Ghazni in 962.

Subuktigin and the rise of Ghazni. (977—997 A.D.)

Towards the end of the Tenth Century the north-western part of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was under the Hindu rulers known as the Hindu Shahis, whose capital was at Waihind (Ohind) near modern Peshawar and whose rule extended to Kabul in the west and the river Bias in the east. In 977, Subuktigin, a Turkish slave

(*a*) For details, see Caroe, The Pathans pp. 95-97.

upon whom Alptigin had bestowed the hand of his daughter, ascended the throne of Ghazni, and started expanding the kingdom by annexing adjacent areas in Khurasan, Seistan and Lamghan. He was busy consolidating his empire, when in 979, alarmed at the rising power of the new Turkish principality, Jaipal, the Hindu raja of Waihind, took the offensive and advanced towards Subuktigin's capital. The two armies met between Lamghan (modern Jalalabad) and Ghazni. Jaipal was defeated, and had to agree to pay a large indemnity to the Turkish ruler. He defaulted and tried to avenge his defeat, but was again decisively defeated, and Subuktigin followed up his success by forcing him to cede the territory between Lamaghan and Peshawar. Later Muslim historians often represent Subuktigin as "champion of faith, whose chief occupation was the propagation of Islam with fire and sword among the idolators of India," but as pointed out by Sir Wolseley Haig, he never crossed the Indus, and the only two expeditions, in which he took the initiative "were undertaken rather as measures of reprisal and for the purpose of securing his dominions than with any intention of propagating his faith."[1]

Subuktigin, however, paved the way for the more active efforts of his son, Mahmud. Not only did he occupy the key city of Peshawar, but he built roads leading to the Indian frontiers, on which his son marched during his numerous expeditions.

Even more important than Subuktigin's military success in the east was the development of Ghazni, the base of operations against Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It reached its zenith in the succeeding reign, when it became the centre of political power, organised administration and literary culture second in importance only to Baghdad in Muslim Asia. Even under Subuktigin it had surpassed Bukhara in importance, and had begun to attract a large number of Turks, who were to form the spearhead of the attack against the Indian subcontinent.

Not only did the political and military importance of Ghazni greatly increase in the days of Subuktigin, but the area was in the throes of a religious movement, which must have influenced the policies of its rulers. Little is known about the Karramiya sect[(b)] but there are enough references in the contemporary political history

(*b*) A full account of the sect is contained in the suplementary notes added by Professor Said Nafisi to Tarikh-i-Baihiqi, Volume II (Published by the University of Tehran 1326 A.H.), pages 915—965.

(*e.g.*, Tarikh-i-Yamini) to indicate its nature and influence. It was a revivalist movement, bitterly opposed to the Ismailis and their doctrine of allegorical interpretation of the Quran. It was also active amongst the non-Muslims, and Abu Bakr Ishaq bin Mahamshah who was the leader of the sect in the time of Subuktigin, is said to have converted 5,000 Jews, Christians, fire-worshippers etc., to Islam. Subuktigin held Abu Bakr Ishaq in great esteem, and according to one account he himself had joined this sect.[2] Abu Bakr Ishaq died in 993. After him, his son constantly urged Mahmud to take action against the Ismailis. The extremist and the peculiar views of the sect such as the views regarding the physical nature of Divinity ultimately estranged Mahmud, but the sect remained a powerful factor against the Ismailis and Mutazilites. It is not impossible that their influence was a factor not only in the expeditions which Mahmud led against the Ismailis of Multan and Mansurah, but also against the non-Muslims of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Karramiya doctrines continued their sway for some centuries.[c] Sultan Muhammad Ghuri and his brother, like other people of Ghur, originally belonged to this sect, but when the two brothers established themselves at Ghazni where Hanafi and Shafi schools had gained ascendency, they abandoned Karramiya doctrines.[3]

Sultan Mahmud.

Subuktigin died in August 997, and was, after a brief struggle for the throne, succeeded by his brilliant and ambitious son, Mahmud of Ghazni. He had taken part in all his father's campaigns against Jaipal and was as cognisant of the weakness of the Indian army as of the riches of the Indian rajas. On ascending the throne he launched a series of invasions against Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Mahmud's early expeditions were directed against the neighbouring terrritory of the Punjab. His first important battle was fought against Jaipal, in the vicinity of Peshawar (Nov. 28, 1001). Jaipal was defeated and captured with his kinsmen. He obtained his release on the promise of paying a ransom, but his subjects refused to acknowledge him as king after his repeated defeats and captivity.

(c) Prof. Said Nafisi thinks that the sect lost its importance during the upheaval caused by the Mongol invasion. It is more likely that it was superceded and its adherents absorbed by the Hanbali and Ashirite schools of thought, which continued the struggle against the Ismailis and the Mutazilites.

He thereupon named his son, Anandpal as his successor and immolated himself in the flames according to the Rajput custom. Three years later, Mahmud defeated the raja of Bhatiya, (modern Bhera). who had been on friendly terms with his father and was expected to aid him against Jaipal, but had not fulfilled these expectations. While returning from Bhatiya Mahmud lost much of his baggage in crossing the rivers of Western Punjab, and was attacked by Abul Fath Daud, the Ismaili ruler of Multan. In 1005 Mahmud returned to punish Daud. His passage was obstructed by Anandpal, but Mahmud defeated him. Daud shut himself up in the fort of Multan and obtained pardon on payment of ransom and the promise to abjure Ismaili doctrines. Mahmud appointed Sukhpal, a grandson of Jaipal, who had accepted Islam and was now known as Nawasa Shah, as governor of Waihind (Ohind) and returned to Ghazni. This first attempt to establish a centre of Muslim authority east of Indus through a scion of the old ruling family did not succeed. Nawasa Shah apostatised, started expelling Muslim officers, and proposed to rule either as an independent king or the vassal of his uncle, Anandpal. Mahmud returned in 1008 to deal with the situation, and found Anandpal fully prepared. He had obtained help from the Hindu rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kannauj, Delhi and Ajmer. It appears that by now Hindu India was alive to its peril Not only did the rulers of northern and central India send their contingents, but, according to Firishta, there was great enthusiasm even among the masses. Hindu women sold their ornaments to help the national effort, and sent their savings to the army. The battle was fought at a place between Peshawar and Waihind (Ohind). In view of the odds confronting him Mahmud took special precautions, and his army was breaking down under the charge of the warlike Khokhars when a fortunate accident decided the day in his favour. Anandpal's elephant took fright and fled with the rider, converting what looked like a Hindu victory into a defeat. The army of the Rajputs, believing the Raja's flight to be intentional, broke up and dispersed hotly pursued by the Muslims.

The defeat of the great Hindu confederacy was a turning-point in Mahmud's career. So far his campaigns had been confined to the neighbourhood of the Indus. The break-up of the Hindu army emboldened him, and now he marched against the more distant Nagarkot (Kangra), where there was no resistance. Nagarkot

contained an ancient temple, which like other Hindu temples of the period, was a great repository of jewels and other wealth donated by rich votaries. Mahmud returned laden with rich booty and henceforward the ancient Hindu religious centres with their hoards accumulated over centuries were to exercise a powerful fascination over him. His future expeditions were even farther afield. Tarain (1010), Thanesar (1014), the distant Kannauj (1018) and Kalinjar (1022) were the future scenes of Mahmud's exploits in which he was uniformly successful. He did not try to establish his rule at any of these places but in 1020 left a governor at Lahore, which now became incorporated in the Ghaznavid empire.

The most dramatic of Mahmud's campaigns was against Somnath, the wealthy religious centre on the shores of the Indian ocean. The dash to this distant goal, through an unknown and unfriendly area, across the deserts of Rajputana and marshes of Cutch, was a remarkable feat of courage, planning, resourcefulness and tenacity of purpose. In spite of the hardships which Mahmud and his army had to suffer on the return journey, the expedition was completely successful in its object. Mahmud returned laden with vast riches, till then unknown and unheard of in Ghazni.

Mahmud, who set out on the expedition to Somnath on 17 October, 1024, did not return to his capital till the spring of 1026. Except for a brief punitive expedition in the autumn of the same year against the Jats of Sind who had harrassed him during his return from Somnath, Mahmud did not return to India. Henceforth affairs in Central Asia occupied him till his death.

In death as in life, Mahmud displayed his indomitable will. During his long illness, he refused to lie in bed like a sick man. "He sat day and night propped up with pillows, and breathed his last in this posture" on 30 April, 1030.

Mahmud, as Gibbon remarks, was "undobtedly one of the greatest kings of the world." He was a brave and resourceful general, who during thirty years of ceaseless warfare never suffered defeat. He was a cultured monarch, and by his munificience attracted great poets and scholars to his court, and made Ghazni the rival of Baghdad in regard to the splendour of its edifices and the number of men of culture and learning. He lacked the constructive genius of Muhammad Ghuri, and in spite of having overrun a great part of Northern India established Muslim dominion only up to Lahore, but he made the work of the later conquerors easier. He

gave support to the Sunni Khalifa of Baghdad by defeating his Ismaili opponents at Multan and Mansura. His victories in Indo-Pak subcontinent certainly raised the prestige of the Muslim arms, but it is difficult to accept the claim made by his court historians that his expeditions to this subcontinent were undertaken solely for the glory of Islam. Mahmud waged wars not only against the Hindu rajas, but fought even more tenanciously and purposefully against the Muslim rulers in Persia and Central Asia, where he tried to establish a permanent empire. The extent to which religion motivated his actions may be judged by the fact that he maintained a large number of Hindu officers and troops, who were certainly not expected to abandon the religion of their forefathers.

AL-BIRUNI (Circa 973-1038)

Abu Rayhan al-Biruni's stay in what is now West Pakistan could not have been very long, but as his most famous work concerns Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and formed an important source of information to writers like Abul Fazal, it may not be out of place to briefly refer to him. He was born in about 973 in Khwarizm (modern Khiva) and soon distinguished himself in astronomy, mathematics, logic and history. Sometime before 1017 Mahmud was able to get him at Ghazni, but evidence of close contact between the Sultan and al-Biruni is lacking. He was evidently in greater favour with the next ruler, Masud, to whom he dedicated Qanun-i-Masudi. His other works include the Chronology of Ancient Nations, an introduction to astrology, a treatise on Materia Medica, astronomical tables, a summary of Ptolemy's Almagest, and several translations from Greek and Sanskrit.[4] He must have written some books in Sanskrit as at one place he writes of "being occupied in composing for the Hindus a translation of the books of Euclid and of the Almagest, and dictating to them a treatise on the construction of the astrolabe, being simply guided herein by the desire of spreading science."[5] The work, however, which is of special interest to a student of civilisation in Indo-Pak subcontinent is his famous Kitab-ul-Hind which is a masterly survey of the religion, sciences and social customs of the Hindus, and which was completed shortly after Mahmud's death. About this work Sachau writes: "If in our day a man began studying Sanskrit and Hindu learning with all the help afforded by modern literature and sciences, many a year would pass before he would be able to do justice to the antiquity of India to such an extent and with such a degree of accuracy as

Al-biruni has done in his Indica." Pannikar calls al-Biruni "the most observant scholar who studied Indian things", and there is little doubt that as a study of an alien civilisation, not only does his book represent the peak of Muslim scholarship, but remains unsurpassed till today, as a masterpiece of erudite learning, penetrating observation and cool unbiased appraisal. In the preface to his book al-Biruni discusses the principles which should guide a scholar in treating of societies and religious systems other than his own.(*d*) He criticised the tendency to misrepresent other societies or to depend on "second hand information which one has copied from the others, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination." The principle which he adopted was to adhere to the accounts of the Hindus as given in their own authentic works. He says about his own work: "This book is not a polemical one. I shall not produce the arguments of our antagonists in order to refute such of them as I believe to be in the wrong. My book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts. I shall place before the reader the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are, and I shall mention in connection with them similar theories of the Greeks in order to show the relationship existing between them."[6]

Al-Biruni codsidered the Hindus excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and sound astrologers. He fully appreciated their mental achievements, and when he came across anything noble in sciences or practical life he did not fail to praise it. Writing about the large-sized Hindu tanks at holy bathing-places he says: "In this they have attained a very high degree of art, so that our people (*i.e.* the Muslims) when they see them wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them."[7]

Al-Biruni was eminently fair and even sympathetic to Hindus, but he fearlessly analysed their weaknesses, intellectual and others, A long section of Chapter XVI of his book deals with "strange manners and customs of Hindus" and contains such devastating observations that Sachau, the translator of the book had to give many passages in Latin rather than in plain English. His translation of al-Biruni's sarcastic remarks "regarding the horrid practices of Rasayana, *i.e.* the art of making gold, of making old people

(*d*) Observance of these principles, uncommon even at present, was of course rare in the Middle Ages. In Dabistan-i-Mazahib, however, we find an approach similar to that advocated by al-Biruni.

young etc." also contains a toned down version of the original. Al-Biruni had no patience with humbug. The first chapter of the Kitab-ul-Hind, dealing with the Hindus in general is also a penetrating analysis of the intellectual weaknesses of the Hindu society. One of the passages deserves to be quoted at length. "We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner."[8]

In dealing with the Muslims al-Biruni displays similar objectivity and detachment. He repeatedly refers to matters in which Muslims could justly claim superiority over the Hindus of his day. He contrasted the democratic equality of the Muslim society with the Hindu caste system, and the cleanliness and decency of Muslims with many filthy customs current among the Hindus.[9] But he pointed out Muslim weaknesses also. While appreciative of Mahmud in many respects, al-Biruni did not hesitate to point out the complications created for the students of Hindu sciences by Mahmud's military expeditions. "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places, which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places."[10]

Mahmud's Successors.

On Mahmud's death, there was a struggle for the throne in which his eldest son Masud was successful (1031 A.D.) Affairs at Lahore were soon to receive Masud's attention. Being dissatisfied with the Ghaznavid governor of the place, he recalled him and later sent Ahmad Niyaltgin, his father's treasurer, in his place. The instructions issued to the officers at Lahore at the time of this administrative reorganization are interesting. "They ware not to undertake without permission expeditions beyond the limits of the Punjab, but

were to accompany Ahmad on any expedition which he might undertake; they were not to drink, play polo, or mix in social intercourse with the Hindu officers at Lahore, and they were to refrain from wounding the susceptibilities of these officers and their troops by inopportune display of religious bigotry." Ahmad Niyaltgin soon got into difficulties with Abul Hasan, "The Shirazi Qazi", who had been sent to collect the revenue and inquire into the affairs of the earlier administration. In 1034, Ahmad returned from a very successful raid against Benares, but failed to remit the spoils of victory to Ghazni. This gave an opportunity to the Qazi who sent reports to Masud that the governor was utilising the plunder of Benares to raise a powerful army and was on the point of revolt. Masud decided upon punitive action against the governor, and the command of this responsible and hazardous expedition was entrusted to Tilak, one of his Hindu generals. Ahmad Niyaltgin was defeated, and his head was sent to Ghazni. In 1037, Masud came to India and in fulfilment of a vow taken during an illness attacked and captured the fortress of Hansi, hitherto considered impregnable by the Hindus. During his absence the Saljuq Turks invaded the western and northern territory of the Ghaznavid empire and occupied Nishapur. Masud returned to deal with them, but his Hindu contingent failed conspiciously against the Saljuqs, and Masud fled towards Lahore. When the royal party reached Marigala pass between Rawalpindi and Attock, Turkish and Hindu guards mutinied, and the Sultan's brother was placed upon the throne. Masud's son Maudud, however, defeated his uncle and in 1042 occupied the throne. During his reign Mahipal, the raja of Delhi, made a determined attempt to oust the Ghaznavids from the Punjab. He recaptured Hansi, Thanesar and Kangra and besieged Lahore, but was unable to take the town. In Lahore there is an old graveyard, known as "Ganj-i-Shahidan," (The Repository of Martyrs) and according to local tradition the Muslims who lost their lives while defending Lahore are buried there. In 1048 Maudud appointed two of his sons to the government of Lahore and Peshawar, and sent Bu Ali Hasan, the *kotwal* of Ghazni to deal with the Hindu resurgence. These measures were successful, but Maudud died shortly thereafter (December, 1049).

The next important ruler was Sultan Ibrahim, whose long and peaceful reign of forty years (1059-1099) constitutes the golden period of Ghaznavid Punjab. Ibrahim had ensured the stability of

his northern and western frontiers by entering into a treaty with the Saljuqs and his son Masud II married the daughter of Sultan Malik Shah. Secure at home, Ibrahim could pay attention to India, and in 1079 crossed the southern border of the Punjab, and captured Ajodhan, now known as Pakpatan. His military commander at Lahore, the brilliant Abul Najm Zarir Shaybani was constantly on the offensive, and carried successful raids against Benares, Thanesar and Kannauj, but the main achievement of Ibrahim's reign was Lahore's rise as a great cultural centre under the viceroyalty of Shirzad, his grandson. Ibrahim was succeeded to the throne by his son Masud III, who also ruled peacefully for sixteen years (1099—1115). Shirzad succeeded him, but he was deposed in the following year, and after the brief rule of Arsalan Bahram came to the throne.

Conflict with Ghur and destruction of Ghazni.

In 1118 Bahram ascended the throne of Ghazni and had a long troubled reign of 33 years. He was a patron of letters. Amongst the poets who wrote penegyrics in his praise were Hakim Sanai, (the author of the famous mystical *masnavi* Hadiqa) and Hasan Ghaznavi, but he got into serious trouble with the chiefs of Ghur, which proved fatal to his dynasty. Ghur is the hilly area between Herat and Kabul, and was conquerred in the days of Mahmud, but owing to inaccessibility many parts remained virtually independent. There was repeated fighting between the Ghaznavids and the chiefs of Ghur who gradually grew powerful, while the reigning dynasty was weakened by protracted fighting with the Saljuqs. During Bahham's reign Qutb-ud-Din Muhammad, a Ghuri chief took the title of Malik-ul-Jabal (the King of the Mountains). Bahram gave him his daughter in marriage, but latter, suspecting trouble had him poisoned. To avenge his death, his brother Saif-Ud-Din collected a large body of men at Firuz Kuh, the capital of Ghur and set out for Ghazni. He defeated Bahram and forced him to flee to India but in 1149 Bahram returned suddenly to Ghazni, surprised Saif-ud-Din and re-occupied his capital. Saif-ud-Din, who had surrendered on the promise of his life being spared was put to death under revolting circumstances. This aroused the ire of his brother, Ala-ud-Din Husain, known in history as Jahan Soz, or the World-Burner, who took a terrible vengeance. He captured Ghazni in 1151 and set fire to the splendid capital which was reduced to ashes. The remains of the Ghaznavid kings other than

Masud I, and Ibrahim were dug up and burnt and their tombs destroyed. The same process of destruction was repeated in the provinces. Bahram, who re-occupied what remained of Ghazni when Ala-ud-Din Husain was defeated and temporarily imprisoned by Sultan Sanjar Saljuqi, died in 1152 and was followed by Khusrau Shah. During his reign a horde of the Ghuzz tribe of Turkmans occupied Ghazni and Khusrau escaped to the Punjab, now the sole possession left to the Ghaznavids. He died in 1160 and was succeeded by Khusrau Malik in whose days the power of the Ghurids was revived. By then the hardy mountaineers had become more cultured and civilised and started their conquests on a more systematic basis. Their capital, Firuz Koh[e] attracted men like Nizami Aruzi, the author of Chahar Maqala "one of the most interesting and remarkable prose works in Persian." After the death of Ala-ud din Jahansoz, his son succeeded him, but ultimately the authority at Ghur fell into the hands of his two nephews, whom Ala-ud-din had kept imprisoned, but who were released by his son. In 1173 Ala-ud-din's nephews drove out the Turkmans from Ghazni and the younger brother Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam, (better known in Indo-Pak subcontinent as Muhammad Ghuri) was stationed there as the lieutenant of the elder brother Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad, who governed the extensive Ghurid dominion from Firuz Koh. From his base at Ghazni Muhammad Ghuri undertook the conquest of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In 1186 he captured Khusrau Malik, annexed Lahore, and brought to end the rule of the Yamini dynasty.

Hindu-Muslim relations during the Ghaznavid period.

Mahmud invaded the subcontinent several times and sacked many rich Hindu temples. His successors attempted to repeat his performance whenever an opportunity offered itself. This could not have endeared them to the Hindu rajas or even the general public, but there is plenty of evidence to show that even during the Ghaznavid period there were peaceful contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims. They were interrupted during military operations, but as soon as they were over and peace restored, "caravans travelled in full security between Khurasan and Hind."[12] When Masud I captured Benaras in 1033, he found Muslim merchants prisoners in

(e) This area is now known as Hazarajat. In the twelfth century it "was probably inhabited by an eastern Iranian people conveniently known to both Afghans and Turks as Tajiks" (Caroe : The Pathans p. 122).

the fort. According to Ibn-ul-Athir there were Muslims in the Benaras area "since the days of Mahmud bin Subuktigin who continued faithful to the law of Islam, and constant in prayer and good works."[13] There is a persistent local tradition in certain old centres in the heart of Uttar Pradesh that Muslim families had settled there long before the conquest of the area by Muhammad Ghuri. The Benaras Gazetteer, for example, states that in the city of Benaras there are Muslim *mohallas*, which are anterior in date to the conquest of Benaras by the Muslims. Similar traditions are current about Maner in Bihar.[14]

The only area of which anything like history for the Hindu period is available, is Kashmir, and there we get plenty of information regarding peaceful presence of the Muslims amongst the Hindus. "Muslim traders and soldiers of fortune began to enter Kashmir from an early date. Kalhana records that Lalitaditya's son and successor Vajraditya sold many men to the *mlecchas*, and introduced into the country practices which befitted the *mlecchas*. Later Harsa'[f] employed Turkish soldiers and under Muslim influnence adopted elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments. During the reign of Bhiksacara (1120-21) Muslim soldiers were again employed and sent to attack Sussala in Lahore. From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that already by the end of the Thirteenth Century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir, for he says that the people of the valley do not kill animals, but that if they want to eat meat, they get the Saracens, who dwell among them, to play the butcher. These "Saracens" must have been either emigrants from Turkistan or Hindus converted to Islam by the pietist missionaries from India and Central Asia."[15]

Apart from this peaceful co-existence at the economic level, the position of the Hindu generals, soldiers and scholars at the Ghaznavid court was very significant. Even Mahmud, the iconoclast, had a contingent of Hindu officers and soldiers. He richly rewarded at least one Sanskrit poet (at Kalinjar) and even issued coins with Sanskrit inscriptions. He had Hindu *pandits* at his court. The Hindu position seems to have greatly improved in the days of his successor, Masud. Only fifty days after the death of Mahmud, his son despatched Sewand Rai, a Hindu chief with a numerous body of Hindu cavalry in pursuit of the nobles who had

(f) This is Harsha the ruler of Kashmir (1089—1101), and should not be confused with the famous Harsha of Kannauj.

espoused the cause of his brother. Sewand Rai died in the ensuing battle but his selection for this important assignment indicates his position of trust and eminence. Five years later, Tilak, another Hindu general acquired a dominant position. He was the son of a barber but had a good personality and an eloquent tongue. He wrote an excellent hand both in Hindi and Persian. He became "one of the great confidants" of Khwaja Ahmed Hasan Maimandi, the influential wazir of Sultan Mahmud and his successor. The Khwaja made Tilak his secretary and interpreter between him and the Hindus. When in 1033 news was received from Lahore of the rebellion of Ahmed Niyaltigin, Tilak was sent to deal with him. The extreme measures, which according to the historian Baihaqi were taken by the Hindu general against the Muslim partisans of Ahmed, show his confidence and sense of security. "When Tilak arrived at Lahore, he took several Musulmans prisoners, who were the friends of Ahmed and ordered their right hands to be cut off that the men who were with Ahmed were so terrified at this punishment and display of power, that they sued for mercy and deserted him."[16] Tilak "in full confidence and power," pursued Ahmed with a large body of men, chiefly Hindu, till the erstwhile governor was killed in an encounter, and his head taken to Ghazni by the victorious Tilak.

The Hindu position in Masud's army may be judged by the fact that at the battle of Kirman they formed full one half of the cavalry, there being 2,000 Hindus, 1,000 Turks, and 1,000 Kurds and Arabs. They fared very badly in this battle, and later, six of their officers committed suicide in accordance with the Rajput practice. The Hindu contingent was equally ineffective at Merv some time later These repeated disasters must have led to the reduction of Hindu element in the army of Ghazni, but the contemporary evidence clearly shows that the position of the Hindus under the Ghaznavids was very much better than it became in the early days of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Lahore "The Smaller Ghazni"

Of more lasting importance than the vicissitudes of the house of Mahmud is the cultural heritage of Ghazni, particularly in relation to that part of the Ghaznavid empire which now constitutes West Pakistan. Unlucklily, the court chroniclers of Ghazni have not paid the subject proper attention, but there are ample indications in contemporary literature to show that the Muslim government at Lahore was

well-organised and vigorous. and the city had become a great cultural centre. Ghazni, was at this time the most important Muslim cultural centre east of Baghdad, and the Turkish and Persian officers who were posted at Lahore tried to make the city a miniature Ghazni. Usually a distinguished royal prince was appointed the Naib (viceroy) of the Punjab, and maintained an elaborate court. Conflicts with the neighbouring Hindu rajas necessitated that only trusted generals and experienced administrators should be posted at Lahore, and generally the regional capital had many distinguished residents. The long and peaceful reigns of Ibrahim and his successor (1059-1115) provided the background for the first golden era of Ghaznavid rule at Lahore. The cultural growth of the city owed much to Abu Nasr Farsi, the distinguished secretary of Shirzad who was viceroy of Lahore for many years. He established a *khanqah* (hospice) at Lahore which attracted scholars from far and near. "In large numbers seekers after knowledge from all parts of India, and territories Kashghar, Transoxiana, Iraq, Bukhara, Samarqand, Khurasan, Ghazni, Herat etc., benefited by the same. Consequently a new settlement grew up in the neighbourhood of Lahore.[17]" Equally distinguished in another sphere, was Zarir Shaibani, the local commander-in-chief, whose successful expeditions "revived the glories of Mahmud's exploits.' He and other distinguished officers and administrators maintained a quasi-independent government in the Punjab, and the court at Lahore was adorned by poets not much inferior to those living in Ghazni.

The first Persian poet of the area, to whom a reference is found in literary histories, was Masud Razi who was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud and his son Masud. In 1039, Razi recited a poem in the court of Masud in which he appealed to the king to deal with the growing menace of the Saljuqs. "The ants have become snakes" and "may become dragons, if neglected." The king resented this overt reference to his weakness, and exiled the poet to the Punjab.[18] Next year the king relented and appointed him in charge of the affairs at Jhelum, but did not permit his return to Ghazni. Masud Razi died in 1077. With the exception of a few verses his work has perished, but the *diwan* of his distinguished son Abul Farj Runi, who spent most of his time at Lahore, has survived, and has been published in Iran.

The most notable poet of tbe period, who was closely associat-

ed with Lahore was Masud Sa'ad Salman. His father held a high office under the viceroy of Lahore, and Masud was born in (circa) 1048 and educated there. He was a great favourite of Prince Saif-ud-daula Mahmud, son of Sultan Ibrahim (1059-1099). when the Prince was the viceroy of Hindustan, and composed many *qasidas* eulogising the victories of his patron. When the prince fell out of royal favour, the poet lost his *jagir*, and later remained imprisoned for 10 years on account of his suspected share in Saif-ud-daula's treasonable proceedings. He was released shortly before Sultan Ibrahim's death in 1099 and was given responsible posts, including the governorship of Jullundur. When his patron Abu Nasr Farsi incurred royal displeasure, Masud was again thrown into imprisonment. He was ultimately released in about 1007, became the royal librarian, and after a respite of some 15 years which enabled him to arrange his voluminous *diwan*, died in 1121-22. Masud wrote poetry in Persian, Arabic and (old) Hindi, but no specimen of his verses in the last two languages is extant. His Persian works, published in Iran, cover more than a thousand pages, and a modern Iranian critic has included him among the ten greatest poets of the Persian language.[19] His most moving poems are his Habsiyat, the poems composed in captivity in which he gives expression to a nostalgic longing for Lahore. Masud and his contemporaries represent the first phase of Persian poetry. This was the early virile age, which produced the great national epic of Iran. and Masud's poetry is marked more by rugged simplicity and vigour, than the more refined lyricism of the later date.

Amongst the prose writers of this period the most famous was the saint Ali Hujwiri, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh of Lahore, who died in 1071, He wrote both in prose and verse, but his *diwan* was lost during his lifetime. and the few verses that are quoted in his prose works are not of a high order. His fame as an author rests on *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, which is the oldest extant work on Sufism in Persian, and has been translated into English by Professor Nicholson of Cambridge University. The value of *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, lies not only in the authentic information which it gives about the earlier and contemporory mystic orders, but in being a systematic and sound exposition of *tasawwuf*, and it has been regarded as a standard text book in Sufi circles.

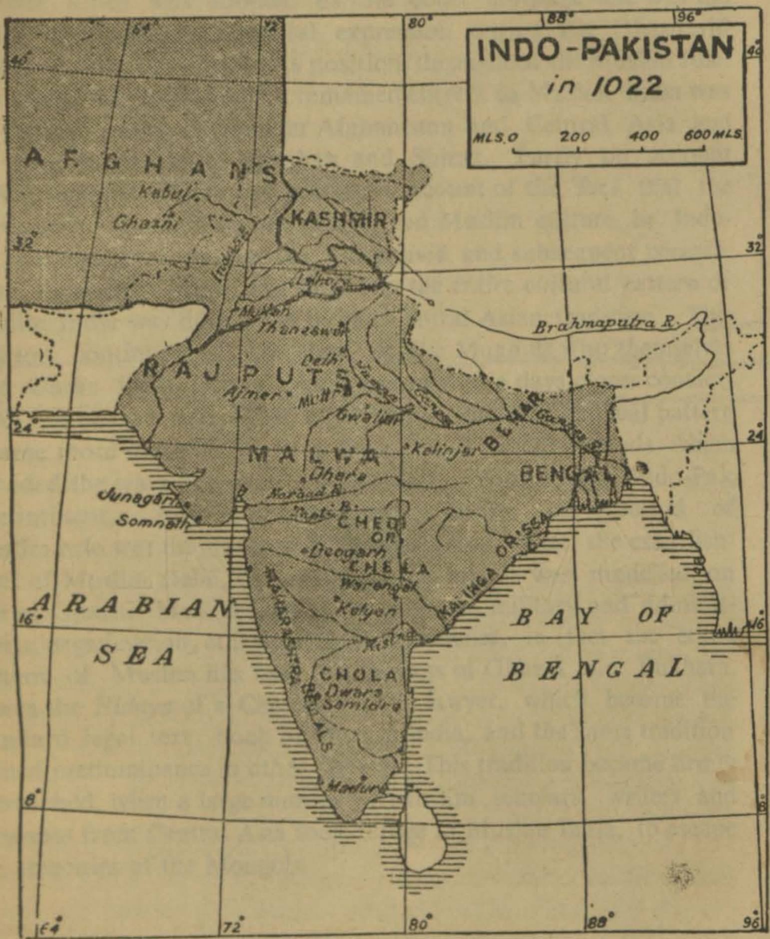
A later scholar who distinguished himself in the study of *hadis*, Arabic philology, and even practical diplomacy was Imam

Hasan al-Saghani. He was born at Lahore in 1181, and received his early education under his father, himself a scholar of distinction. By the age of twenty five he had so distinguished himself in Islamic law that Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Aibak wished to appoint him the Qazi of Lahore.[20] Al-Saghani, however, declined and left for higher studies for Ghazni, and later for Hijaz. He ultilmately settled down at Baghdad, where he was held in great respect. He was twice sent as an ambassador to Delhi by the Abbasid *Khalifa* and died at Baghdad in 1252. He wrote a large number of standard books on lexiocography, *hadis* and *fiqh*, and his *Masharaq- ul-Anwar* was long the principal text book of *hadis* in the Indian subcontinent. It gained popularity in foreign countries also, and is stated to have been the subject matter of 2,500 summaries and commentaries.

The cultural importance of Lahore did not decline on account of the vicissitudes which Mahmud's dynasty suffered in Ghazni. Indeed, when in 1151 Ghazni was reduced to ashes and the Ghaznavid kings had to flee from there, Lahore became the capital of the dynasty. Along with the Ghaznavid ruler, many important poets, writers and philosophers migrated to Lahore. Khusrau Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler, did not distinguish himself on the battlefield, but his court contained many distinguished men of letters, and since throughout his reign and even earlier the administrative capital of the dynasty was Lahore, these poets and writers must have been the residents of this place. Unluckily, their works have perished, except for a few poems recorded by Aufi. When in 1186 Sultan Muhammad Ghuri captured Lahore, and Khusrau Malik was imprisoned, the local population transferred their allegiance to him. Lahore retained its importance for some years longer, and in preference to Delhi, Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Aibak lived throughout his reign at the old Ghaznavid stronghold. Later, when Iltutmish made Delhi his capital, Lahore lost its central position and did not recover its importance till the days of Akbar.

Heritage of Ghazni.

Arab rule in Sind and Multan brought Islam to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent on an extensive and organized basis. It resulted in the adoption of Arabic script for the Sindhi language, set a liberal pattern for dealing with the Hindus and facilitated fruitful intellectual contacts between Baghdad and the subcontinent. The Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore and Multan had even more far-reaching



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results. To this period belong Masud Sa'ad Salman, the poet, and Data Ganj Bakhsh, the Sufi saint, two towering figures of Indo-Muslim literary and religious history. The invisible and indirect consequences of the Ghaznavid rule were even more profound. Persian, which was adopted as the court language and was the vehicle of literary and cultural expression during the Ghaznavid period, continued to hold this position throughout the Muslim rule. The branch of Persian which remained current in Muslim India was the eastern branch in vogue in Afghanistan and Ceniral Asia and not the pure Persian of Isphahan and Shiraz. Partly on account of the linguistic affinity and partly on account of the fact that the waves of the immigrants who established Muslim culture in Indo-Pak subcontinent during the Ghaznavid and subsequent periods, came through Ghazni and Bukhara, the entire cultural pattern of Muslim India was dominated by the Central Asian tradition. This position continued till the days of the Mughuls who themselves were Turks from Central Asia, but in whose days closer contacts were established with Iran and Arabia, and the cultrual pattern became more diversified. Even then, out of several strands which provided the warp and woof of Muslim civilization in Indo-Pak subcontinent, the most dominant during the period of Muslim rule was the influence of Central Asia. After the establishment of Muslim Delhi, the administrative system was modelled on that of Ghazni. Muslim political institutions, military and administrative organization, ethics and jurisprudence, in fact the entire pattern of Muslim life bear the impress of Ghazni and Bukhara. It was the *Hidaya* of a Central Asian lawyer, which became the standard legal text book in Muslim India, and the same tradition gained predominance in other spheres. This tradition became firmly entrenched, when a large number of Muslim scholars, writers and darvishes from Central Asia took refuge in Muslim India, to escape the atrocities of the Mongols.

CHAPTER III

SHAHABUDDIN GHURI AND THE CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA.

CHRONOLOGY

(i)	1175 A.D.	Muhammad Ghuri's conquest of Multan and Uch.
(ii)	1178 A.D.	Conquest of Upper Sind.
(iii)	1186 A.D.	Conquest of Lahore.
(iv)	1192 A.D.	Second Battle of Tarain.
(v)	1193 A.D.	Conquest of Delhi by Aibak.
(vi)	1201 A.D.	Conquest of Bengal by Bakhtiyar Khalji.
(vii)	March 15, 1206 A.D.	Assassination of Muhammad Ghuri at Damiyak.

Muslim Conquest of Northern India.

After the death of Mahmud in 1030, there were occasional incursions into the Hindu territory from the Ghaznavid base at Lahore, but no major territorial change took plaee and Hindu India enjoyed a respite from foreign invasion for a century and a half. This, however, did not lead to national consolidation, and a number of principalities grew up in different parts of the sub-continent. In the north the most important were the kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj, Bundhelkhand, Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal. On occasions, they would come together for common purpose, but normally there was no cohesion between them, and it was possible for a leader of determination to deal with them one after the other.

Shahabuddin Ghuri(a) who exploited this situation did not confine himself like Mahmud, to military raids and glory, but laid the firm foundation of the Muslim empire. To attain this object

(a) The name of the Ghuri king was Muhammad. As a prince and the deputy of his royal brother, his title was Shahabuddin. After ascending the throne in 1202, he took the title of Muizuddin, but as most of his conquests in Indo-Pak subcontinent were effected before this, he is often referred to as Shahabuddin Ghuri or simply as Muhammad Ghuri.

he had to bring under his control the Muslim kingdoms on the frontier, and soon after the conquest of Ghazni he occupied Multan and Uchch in 1175. At that time the most frequented route from Ghazni into India was not the well-known Khyber pass, or the Bolan pass in the south, but the Gomal, which led to the present Dera Ismail Khan and to upper Sind Sagar Doab. Shahabuddin followed this route, and for some years left Peshawar and Lahore undisturbed. After occupying Upper Sind he turned in 1178 to Anhilwara or Patan, the capital of Gujarat, possibly attracted by its riches which could provide an economic basis for his military schemes. He was, however, defeated and had to change his strategy. He now turned to the Khyber and the Punjab. Peshawar was taken in 1179, Sialkot fell in 1185, and Lahore was finally occupied in 1186. In the winter of 1190-91 Ghuri conquered the Hindu fort of Tabarhind (Sarhind) and placed it in charge of a governor. He was returning to Ghazni when he received informaton from the governor that Prithvi Raj the Raja of Ajmer and Delhi was on his way to Bhatinda, and immediate help was needed. Some of the Sultan's army had already dispersed, but in view of the danger to which Bhatinda was exposed Shahabuddin returned and met the forces of Prithvi Raj at Tarain (modern Taraori), near Karnal. The Rajputs attacked with such vigour that the Muslim forces were broken up, and both the wings of the Muslim army were driven from the field. The centre, however, stood firm under Shahabuddin, who in a determined charge against the Hindu centre in person attacked Govind Rai, the Raja's brother and the commander-in-chief of the Indian army. The Sultan struck Govind Rai with a lance, and shattered his front teeth but the Hindu general drove his javelin through his arm. The Sultan, faint from pain and loss of blood, was about to fall from his horse when a young Khalji, with great presence of mind sprang upon his horse, steadied him and carried him back to the place where the Muslim army had halted. Here a litter was hastily prepared for the king and the army returned to Ghazni in comparative order.

This was the first major defeat suffered by Muslims in Northern India, and it deeply hurt Muhammad Ghuri. On his return to the capital he meted out exemplary punishment to the army chiefs who had fled from the battlefield. The Sultan imposed a severe penance on himself, and did not wear fine clothes or engage in any festivities for one year, but concentrated all his energies on

preparations for a 'second round'.

In 1192, the two armies met again on the battlefield of Tarain. The Indian army far exceeded Muhammad Ghuri's forces in number, but his brilliant generalship and superior tactics gave him a decisive victory. The Indian commander-in-chief fell on the battlefield. Prithvi Raj was captured in the course of flight and the Indian army was completely routed. This victory made Shahabuddin master of Delhi and Ajmer. He left Qutb-ud-Din Aibak to consolidate the new conquests at Kuhram (in East Punjab), but, in conformity with Muhammad bin Qasim's policy of appointing local governors, a policy, which Mahmud had also unsuccessfully tried to adopt, a son of Prithvi Raj was appointed governor of Ajmer on his undertaking to pay tribute. Prithvi Raj himself was taken to Ajmer, where, after some time, being found guilty of treason, he was exectued. A few of his coins with the Sanskrit superscription 'Hammira' (i.e. Amir) on the obverse have been found, which suggest his having initially accepted Muslim suzerainty.

Conquest of Bengal.

Shahabuddin who returned to Ghazni after the battle of Tarain, was back again two years later to deal with the powerful Raja of Kannauj and Benares. This required elaborate preparations and the ensuing battle was severely contested, but the Muslims were victorious and added a great kingdom to their dominion. Meanwhile, early in 1193, Aibak had occupied Delhi, the future seat of Muslim power in India. Hazabr-ud-din Hasan Adib, an adventurous officer had conquered Badaun in the heart of the Gangetic Plain, even before Muhammad Ghuri had taken Sarhind and Malik Husam-ud-Din Ughulbak, another leader of the vanguard of Islam had established himself in Oudh.

These brilliant victories, indicative of the spirit and resourcefulness of early Muslim officers, were soon eclipsed by the exploits of Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khalji. He had been assigned certain villages in Oudh, and from his advanced base between the Ganges and the Son, carried on raids into Bihar and Tirhut. His success attracted to him a large number cf adventurous soldiers and with them he invaded and conquered southern parts of Bihar, probably in 1199. Later, he presented himself before Aibak, who conferred on him his recent conquests as fief. This encouraged Ikhtiyar-ud-Din who now planned to

extend the Muslim dominion to the most eastern parts of the sub-continent. In 1201 he left Bihar with a large body of horse and marched so rapidly against Nadiya, the capital of Bengal, that when he arrived at the city, only eighteen of his companions had been able to keep pace with him. Nadiya was partly deserted at this time, and the Muslim commander and his eighteen companions were able to pass through the city gates unchallenged, as they did not disturb anybody and were taken to be horse-dealers from the north. They reached the Raja's palace situated on the banks of the Ganges and cut down the guards. Raja Lakshmansena, the ruler of Bengal, was in the palace, but escaped through a postern gate by boat. They were able to hold their own until the rest of the army arrived, when they took complete control of the capital and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the north-western part of Bengal. The Raja moved to Vikrampur (near modern Dacca), where his family continued to rule for another three generations.

Muhammad Ghuri, after his victory over the Raja of Kannauj, remained pre-occupied with the affairs of Central Asia. In 1205, he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Qara Khitai Turks and rumours spread that he had been killed. The Khokhars and some other tribes in the Salt Range of the Punjab rose in rebellion under the leadership of a renegade Raja. The rebels defeated the deputy governor of Multan, plundered Lahore, and by stopping communications between that city and Ghazni prevented the remittance of revenue from the Punjab. The situation became so serious that it required the Sultan's personal attention, and in October, 1205 he left Ghazni for India. The battle with the Khokhars was severely contested, but after the arrival of Aibak with the army of Hindustan, the rebellion was completely crushed, and in February, 1206, Ghuri arrived at Lahore. He permitted his troops to return to their homes in order to make preparations for his projected operations in Central Asia, and was returning to Ghazni with a small contingent when on March 15, 1206, he was assassinated at Damiyak, probably by an Ismili heretic.

The death of Ghuri within fourteen years of the victory at Tarain was a great blow to the rising Muslim power in India, but it came after his task had been nearly accomplished. At the time of his death, practically the whole of northern India was under Muslim rule, and in Aibak, Iltutmish, Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha, and Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, Shahab-ud-Din was leaving a group

of capable officers who could complete his task. The Sultan was without a son but when a courtier sympathized with him on this, he smiled and said that the large number of slaves whom he had brought up and trained were like sons to him. This was not wishful thinking, for the Sultan's well-trained slaves who rose to high positions and later established the Slave Dynasty, proved worthy heirs.

Muhammad Ghuri's Character.

Muizzuddin was not such a brilliant general as Mahmud, but surpassed him in singlenes of purpose, strength of character and constructive ability. The reverses on the battlefield did not deflect him from his objective, and with his persistence and resourcefulness, he turned initial failures into fruitful victories. He was the founder of the Muslim empire in India, but he was free from fanaticism, and was not guided by hatred or prejudices against non-Muslims. He had the support of the Hindu rajas in several battles. In his war against Muslim kingdoms on the frontier the Hindu Raja of Jammu sided with him and according to Hindu writers, the Raja of Kannauj was his ally in the second battle of Tarain. After his victories the Sultan treated the old Hindu families with consideration. After defeating Prithvi Raj, he entrusted the government of Ajmer to his son, and only after the latter's treasonable conduct was Ajmer occupied and its administration entrusted to a Muslim governor. An interesting example of Ghuri's moderation, practical outlook and regard for local usage (and the transitional stages through which Muslim sovereignty passed before its ultimate consolidation) may be seen in his Indian coinage, which is in Hindi script and in some cases bears the names of both the Sultan and Prithvi Raj.

Aufi records an interesting anecdote, which not only throws light on Shahab-ud-Din Ghuri's equity and good sense but shows that peaceful commercial relations existed between Ghazni and Hindu India. When Ghuri was defeated in 1178 by the ruler of Gujarat, and returned crest-fallen to Ghazni, he was told that there was a rich merchant at the captial of Gujrat, who sent large consignments of merchandise to his agents and that at that time there was property belonging to him in Ghazni of the value of a million rupees It was suggested that if the king were to confiscate this money for his own use, he would be able to raise an army and replenish the exhausted treasury. Ghuri replied that if he were to conquer Gujarat, he might appropriate the merchant's wealth but to

seize it in Ghazni would be contrary to the dictates of justice[1].

The Sultan's other remarkable quality was his deep sense of personal loyalty. He achieved his victories in India, when his brother occupied the throne of Ghazni and was only his deputy. Nobody acquainted with the course of Oriental history would have been surprised if he had asserted his independence, but he remained content with the position of a deputy. The richest items in the booty after every battle were reserved for the elder brother in Firuz-koh, who never set foot on Indo-Pak sub-continent, but heads the list of the Muslim kings of Delhi inscribed on the Qutb Minar. On his brother's death in 1202, Muhammad Ghuri became the sole ruler of the Ghaznavid empire, but he entrusted vast territories to the sons of his brother.

Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji & the conquest of Bihar and Bengal.

The example of deep devotion and loyalty set by Ghuri was followed by his officers and generals with regard to him. They referred to him with almost filial devotion or the enthusiastic regard of a disciple for a *pir*. They attributed their victories to the Sultan's blessing, and their setbacks to its loss.

Bakhtiyar Khalji after his brilliant successes in the eastern parts of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, set about consolidating his position. His restless ambition and daring, however, took him into perilous paths. After the conquest of Bihar and Bengal, he first annexed parts of Assam and later attempted an invasion of Tibet. Owing to little known and perilous communications, the hostility of the hill tribes and other basic difficulties, the campaign was a disastrous failure, but even though unsuccessful, it gives some measure of the men who helped in establishing Muslim rule in India. An early British officer posted in the regions traversed by Bakhtiyar wrote:—

"When we reflect that this expedition was made before the invention of the firearms, and the invaders had therefore no advantage over the people of the country in regard to their weapons, while the country is in no part favourable for cavalry, we cannot but feel our respect for the skill, energy and enterprise of the early Muhammadan conquerors of India considerably elevated.[2]"

After losing the greater part of his army, Bakhtiyar returned heart-broken to Devkot, his headquarters in northern Bengal, and soon died of grief. Minhaj-us-Siraj, who visited Bengal shortly

after this, records that in those dark moments the Khalji chief would wonder why good luck had deserted him, and used to say that "something must have happened to Sultan Ghuri and that was why fortune had abandoned him." This was not incorrect as shortly before this disaster Ghuri had met this end in the other corner of the subcontinent.(b)

Causes of Muslim success.

The most important factor responsible for the phenomenal Muslim success in India was the quality of their human material. Some indication of this has been given in the preceding paragraphs. The second factor partly depending on the first, was the quality of Muslim leadership. The general impression that the Muslim victories were easy and uninterrupted is not correct, as may be seen from the career of Ghuri himself. They suffered reverses and later, there was a powerful Hindu counter-offensive in many areas. Muslim commanders were not only able to wipe out the effects of various set-backs, but a study of crucial battles, like that of Tarain, shows that the Muslim victories against heavy odds were due to the superior generalship of the Muslim commanders and the fact that they were able to exploit their limited resources to the fullest possible advantage by adopting the most suitable tactics, like the feigned withdrawal of Ghuri at Tarain and the shock of a sudden surprise at Nadiya by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.

Another factor which materially contributed to Muslim success was their superior horsemanship, and in fact the victories of Muslims over large Hindu hordes may be considered as the victory of the nimble-footed horse over the stately, but slow-moving elephant.

Other factors also contributed to Muslim success. The Muslims

(b) Referring to "the mosques, *madrassas*, and *khanqahs*" set up by Muhammad Bakhtiyar in north Bengal, Dr. Qanungo says: "These have all perished, and even his last resting place in Devkot or Bihar none of his countrymen remembers". (History of Bengal, Volume II; page 14).

We hope one day to write about "the mosques, *madrassas* and *Khanqahs*" which were established in the area round Devkot, but it is possible to quote from the Settlement Report about his countrymen's rememberance of Muhammad Bakhtyar's "last resting place". Mr. F.P. Bell, I.C.S. Settlement Officer, Dinajpur, writes in his Settlement Report published in 1940—"Two officers of our staff reported that there was a supposed grave of Bakhtyar Khalji at Narayanpur, west of Punarabk from Gangarampur". The busy Officer, however, dismissed the matter, with the remark "that the grave of such a celebritv" could not have been neglected by antiquarians for so many years.

were always on the offensive and had the advantage of greater initiative and selectivity. They were fighting hundreds of miles away from their homes, and had to fight desperately as they had no easy means of escape. Religious zeal must have also acted as a spur for their fighting qualities. The fighting men among Muslims were not confined to one class, like the Rajputs in India, and Muslim armies had picked and zealous soldiers from all classes and even different ethnic groups, such as the Turks, Tajiks, Khaljis, and the Afghans.

The factors outlined above were responsible for the speedy conquest of Northern India. The consolidation of Muslim rule, however, owed not a little to another event which was a tragedy for the Muslim countries of Central and Western Asia, but proved a blessing to Muslim India. This was the Mongol invasion, which drove a large number of refugees, amongst whom were princes, chiefs, soldiers, scholars and saints to Muslim India. Thus, a vast reservior of man-power became available to the new government at Delhi, and these people having suffered so much, did not spare themselves in making India a 'Citadel of Islam'.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SLAVE KINGS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DELHI SULTANATE.

(1206—1246 A.D.)

(i)	1206-1211 A.D.	Qutb-ud-Din Aibak.
(ii)	1211 A.D.	Accession of Iltutmish.
(iii)	1216 A.D.	Defeat of Yildiz.
(iv)	1228 A.D.	Defeat of Qabacha.
(v)	February 8, 1229 A.D.	Arrival of the Khalifa's envoy.
(vi)	April 29, 1236 A.D.	Death of Iltutmish.
(vii)	1236 A.D.	Death of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din.
(viii)	1236 A.D.	Death of Shah Tabrizi.
(ix)	October 14, 1240 A.D.	Assassination of Sultana Raziya and her husband.

Qutb-ud-Din Aibak (1206-1211A.D.)

The first independent Muslim king in Indo-Pak subcontinent was originally a slave, and the rulers who succeeded him for nearly ninety years were either slaves or sons of salves. Qutb-ud-Din Aibak had in his early life been sold to the Qazi of Nishapur, who impressed by his ability gave him high education. After the Qazi's death, he was sold to Shahabuddin Ghuri under whom he served with distinction, and in course of time was made the viceroy of his Indian possessions. On June 24, 1206, three months after Ghuri's death he was crowned at Lahore. The contemporary ruler of Ghur conferred on him the title of the Sultan, sent him the royal insignia and standard, but his formal manumission was not obtained till 1208(*a*). Owing to disturbed situation in Ghazni and Ghur, he never moved east of Lahore, which remained his capital throughout his reign.

(a) Under Islamic law an un-manumitted slave cannot be accepted as ruler, and the fact that Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was accepted as such has been a source of perplexity to the later jurists.



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The main work of Aibak had been accomplished as the deputy of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri. After his accession to the throne he made no new conquests, but consolidated the Muslim dominion by following a policy of conciliation and open-handed generosity, which earned him the title of *Lakhbakhsh*, or "the Giver of Lakhs". Aibak commenced the building of two magnificent mosques at Delhi and Ajmer. He was a patron of letters, and Hasan Nizami and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir have dedicated their histories to him.

Unluckily his career was cut short by early death in 1211, from the effects of an accident on the polo ground. He is buried not far from the Anarkali Bazar in Lahore.

Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.)

On Aibak's death, his son, Aram Shah occupied the throne at Lahore, but he lacked ability and the nobles at Delhi elected Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish, the competent governor of Badaon and son-in-law of Aibak as the ruler of Muslim India.

Iltutmish was faced with a very difficult task. Not only was the Muslim rule in India far from consolidated, but the powerful *muqtis* in Bengal, Punjab, and Multan challenged his claim. Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni, laid claim as Muhammad Ghuri's successor, to suzerainty over all the latter's Indian conquests. On the other hand, the Hindu chiefs had by now recovered from the stunning effects of Muslim victories, and were winning back many of the strongholds originally conquered by the Muslims. Kalinjar had been recovered by them as early as 1206, and in course of time Jalor, Ranthambor, Gwalior, and even Badaon, where Iltutmish held his last post before accession to the throne, were lost to the Muslims. In Oudh and the Doab the situation was most disturbed, and Minhaj-us-Siraj speaks of a Hindu chief named Baytu (Prithu) "beneath whose sword about a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmans had attained martyrdom."

Iltutmish, a wise and patient statesman, trained in the traditions of Ghuri and Aibak, took his own time in dealing with these problems but eventually overcame all of them. He first consolidated his authority in the areas of Delhi, Badaon, Oudh and Benares, and then dealt with his Muslim opponents one by one. In 1216 he defeated and captured Yildiz, who, after his expulsion from Ghazni by the Khwarizmshahis, had occupied Lahore. In 1225 he turned his attention to Bengal and forced the local ruler to abandon the

use of the royal title, acknowledge the authority of Delhi and pay regular tribute. After this, he dealt with Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha, the powerful and popular ruler of Sind and western Punjab. On February 9, 1228, Iltutmish arrived at Uchch, the capital of Qabacha and opened the siege. Uchch surrendered on May 4, and a few days later Qabacha, who had moved to the island fortress of Bhakkar (situated between modern Sukkur and Rohri), found a watery grave in the Indus.

Iltutmish's reign coincided with the Mongol invasion of the Muslim lands. In 1221 Prince Jalal-ud-Din of Khwarizm (modern Khiva), fleeing before the terrible Chingiz Khan, reached Lahore with 10,000 troops, and sent an envoy to Iltutmish, asking for asylum in his dominion. Iltutmish who did not wish to attract Chingiz Khan to India, put off Jalal-ud-Din, who, after nearly three years' stay in the Punjab in the course of which he entered into an alliance with the Khokhar Raja of the Salt Range, harried the dominions of Qabacha, and left for Persia.

Iltutmish was a pious ruler. He had a great regard for the Chishti saint Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, who came to Delhi from Ush, near Baghdad, and died on December 7, 1235. The Qutb Minar was built in 1231-32 in his honour and according to Sir Wolseley Haig "has no reference, as is commonly believed, to Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, the master and patron of Iltutmish."[1]

In 1234 an attempt was made by Ismaili fanatics to assassinate the king in order to establish their own faith as the state religion. Iltutmish used to attend the great mosque for Friday prayers like an ordinary Muslim and without any guards. One Friday, while the congregation was at prayers, a large body of armed Ismailis entered the mosque, drew their swords and cut their way through the congregation to the Sultan. Before they could attain their object, alarm was given, the Sultan effected his escape, and the insurgents were successfuly dealt with by the local people.

Organization of early Muslim Government.

Iltutmish can well contest with Balban the distinction of being the greatest of the Slave kings. They were opposites of each other in temperament and administrative policy, and to judge by later history though, Balban's metamorphosis of the royal position became firmly ingrained in the fabric of Muslim government, yet Iltutmish's work was historically of great importance. Aibak could

do nothing except to maintain the position as it existed during Ghuri's days, and Iltutmish was, for practical purposes, the first independent Muslim ruler of India. He had not only to deal with the opposition of powerful Muslim rivals, and the Hindu counter-offensive, but he had also to build up the fabric of a new administration, and organize different departments of the central government at Delhi. He was a cool, skilful organiser, and dealt with the problems of administration in the same statesmanlike manner in which he handled the threats to the security and integrity of the realm. In this his task was greatly facilitated by the model of government organization which had been established at Ghazni and the copious literature which had appeared on statecraft and the art of government in Muslim countries. By now some of the classics of Muslim political theory, like the Arabic *Ahkam-us-Sultania*, the Persian *Qubus Namah* (1082) and the Siasat Nama (1092), had already been written, in addition to other similar works which have perished. Iltutmish eagerly sought for them, and Barani quotes Balban as speaking of two works on statecraft—*Adab-us-Salatin* and *Maasir-us-Salatin*—which were brought from Baghdad in Iltutmish's reign. He also seems to have got the assistance of those well-versed in principles of Muslim political theory and governmental organization, and *Adab-ul-Muluk*, the first Indo-Muslim classic on the art of government and warfare was written for Iltutmish. With this background, Iltutmish was able to lay the basis of a well co-ordinated structure of government. During his lifetime the organization of the central government was completed, and various departments of state came into existence.

Apart from the model and technical guidance outlined above, the pattern of the new government established at Delhi was determined by Iltutmish's own temperament and the realities of the Indian situation. Much of the territorial expansion of Muslim India had been the work of individual nobles and resourceful adventurers. They or their successors, or others who had risen to prominence in Ghuri's or Iltutmish's service, were now in occupation of large tracts. Their privileges were not severely curtailed, and the system of administration which came into existence was a loosely knit decentralized form of government. Iltutmish's own temperament contributed to this. He made no attempt to weaken the position of his nobles, and indeed, felt like one of them. He used to admit openly that God Almighty had raised him above his

peers who were a thousand times better than him. Barani quotes him as saying: "When they stand before me in the durbar I feel abashed at their grandeur and greatness, and desire that I should descend from the throne and kiss their hands and feet."[2]

It was typical of Iltutmish's mild temperament that he did not adopt a hostile policy towards the Sufis He valued and respected them as source of spiritual and moral strength. The high education which Iltutmish gave to his daughter Raziya, and the fact that in his heart of hearts he preferred her as his successor to the throne would show that he was free from the prejudices of his Turkish nobles and was considerably ahead of his times. He tried to maintain a balance between the Turks who provided the all-powerful generals and governors, and the Persian-speaking Tajiks, who provided "penmen" and dominated the imperial secretariat. After his death the balance was seriously upset, but by then the basic task of organizing the new Muslim government had been accomplished.

Iltutmish had also to deal with the crucial question of the position of the Hindus. By then the Muslim law had been codified, and the freedom of action, which Muhammad bin Qasim enjoyed had disappeared. Three out of the four schools of Islamic Law favoured the extermination of all idolators, but the practice, initiated by Muhammad bin Qasim and maintained by the Ghaznavids, to treat the idolatorous Hindus at least as privileged *zimmis* proved more powerful. When the *ulama* urged Iltutmish to give effect to the opinion of the majority of the founders of Islamic schools of law, he convened a conference and called upon his *wazir*, Nizam-ul Mulk Junaidi to explain the position, The *wazir* ably brought out the peculiarities of the local contemporary situation and argued on the grounds of expediency, to shelve the question.[3] This move was successful, the status quo was accepted and the question was never raised again in this form.

Iltutmish had to deal with extremists and idealists like Nur-ud-Din Mubarik Ghaznawi, but his cool statesmanlike approach disarmed them. He also took other steps to strengthen the fabric of the new government. To give it a legal basis in the eyes of the orthodox, he is said to have sought from the Abbasid Khalifa of Baghdad, confirmation of his royal title. On February 19, 1229, the Khalifa's envoy arrived with a robe of honour, and delivered to Iltutmish a patent which conveyed the Khalifa's recognition of his

title as the Sultan of India. The Khalifa's recognition was largely formal, and this seems to be one of the two occasions when a ruler of Delhi troubled himself about obtaining foreign recognition, but in the initial stages of Muslim rule this step was useful. It confirmed the sovereignty of Delhi against the claims of Ghazni, gave it a legal basis in the eyes of the orthodox, and also silenced those local rivals who challenged the Sultan's authority.

After this investiture, Iltutmish attended to the coinage, an important symbol of sovereignty. The name of the Khalifa was inscribed on the coins issued from the royal mint and the Sultan was described therein as "Helper of the Commander of the Faithful." So far the Muslim rulers had issued small billion coins of the native form inscribed with their names in *Nagari* and sometimes in Arabic characters, and bearing symbols familiar to the Hindu population, that is the Bull of Shiva and the Chauhan horseman. Iltutmish now introduced purely Arabic coinage, discarded Hindu symbols and adopted as a standard coin, the silver *tanka*, the ancestor of the modern rupee.

Delhi was founded in the Tenth Century. Before Muslim occupation it was not a large-sized city, and ranked in importance below Ajmer even in the Chauhan kingdom. It could not meet the requirements of the large population attracted by the seat of the new government, and Iltutmish had to provide proper amenities and adorn the new capital. He built or completed Qutb Minar, greatly extended Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, giving it a distinctly Islamic look and constructed a large water-reservoir (Hauz-i-Shamsi) to meet the requirements of the citizens of Delhi. Educational needs of the people were also looked after, and Madrasa-i-Nasiri of which historian Minhaj-us-Siraj was the head at one time, was built in his reign.[4]

Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi.

Iltutmish's own outlook, temperament and political philosophy were reflected in the salient features of his administration, but he was fortunate in receiving competent assistance and guidance from some able and far sighted people.

Principal amongst Iltutmish's co-workers was his *wazir*, Nizam-ul-Mulk Kamal-ud-Din Muhammad Junaidi, who seems to have been a man of culture, a distinguished patron of learning and a statesman of strong views. Aufi dedicated his famous *Jawami-al-Hikayat* to him and in a number of verses and poems interspers-

ed in the book, has praised Junaidi's wisdom,(*b*) statesmanship, skill in warfare, and generosity. The contemporary poet Reza has also written many poems, praising these qualities of Nizam-ul-Mulk and has even mentioned his caligraphy and excellent literary style. Junaidi's strength of character may be seen from the fact that when on Iltutmish's death, his worthless son Rukn-ud-Din Firuz began to squander public money and misbehave, the *Wazir* risked his office and refused to side with Firuz. He also refused to take the oath of allegiance to Raziya who had ascended the throne without consultation with the provincial chiefs and the *Wazir.* The most fruitful part of Junaidi's career was under Iltutmish, when he was incharge of the entire government, both civil and military departments, and even the functions which were later entrusted to the Sadr-i-Jahan. Barani's account of the conference which was convened to determine the treatment of the Hindus shows that in such major political issues Nizam-ul-Mulk's opinion counted for much. He advocated a liberal, tolerant and humane line of action, and though he based his viewpoint on the grounds of expediency, he achieved the practical end he had in view. The prominent role which he played in dealing with this difficult and crucial question would suggest that he had an equally important part in the formulation of other decisions and actions of Iltutmish's goverment.

The Mongol Invasion and its consequences

An important development of the period, which directly affected only the border areas, but had far-reaching indirect consequences for the new empire, was the rise of the Mongols under Chingiz and Hulaqu and their "dance of death" in Central and Western Asia. It was the biggest blow which the Muslim world ever suffered and is the great dividing line in its history. A modern Western writer calls it " the supreme catastrophe of Islam," a blow from which the Muslim civilization "has never recovered," A contemporary, author. "the sober and careful historian, Ibn-ul-Athir" called it "the death-blow of Islam and the Muslims." It began in 1219 (*i.e.* barely 25 years after the foundation of the Muslim Empire of Delhi) whith Chingiz Khan's invasion of Transoxiana, and resulted in the destruction of numberless cities, the

(*b*) Isami also praises Nizam-ul-Mulk's "wisdom" and "integrity" in Futuh-us-Salatin, and mentions it was Nizam-ul-Mulk who purchased Balban as a slave and presented him to Iltutmish.

desolation of large cultivated areas, the ruin of libraries and *madrasas*, and then endless slaughter of men, women and children. It culminated in the sack of Baghdad. and the end of the Abbasid Caliphate at the hands of Hulaqu Khan in 1258.

An account of the Mongol invasion is outside the scope of this book, but it may be useful to quote from Professor E.G. Browne, to give some idea of the catastrophe which afflicted greater part of Asia, and but for the vigilance and resourcefulness of the Delhi Sultans might have involved the Indian subcontinent. He says,: "In its suddenness, its devastating destruction, its appalling ferocity, its passionless and purposeless curelty, its irresistible though short-lived violance, this outburst of savage nomads hitherto hardly known by name even to their neighbours, resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human history. The details of massacre, outrage, spoliation, and destruction wrought by these hateful hordes of barbarians, who, in the space of a few years swept the world from Japan to Germany, would, as d'Ohsson observes, be incredible were they not confirmed from so many different quarters."[5]

The new government experienced an early impact of this gigantic military movement, when Jalal-ud-Din, the ruler of Khwarizm, whose father had first attracted the wrath of Chingiz Khan, crossed the border and sought aid from Iltutmish. The latter refused to be embroiled in a dispute with the Mongol chief, gave evasive replies, and the danger of Indian subcontinent being involved in the first onrush of the Mongol invasion was averted. Still, the waves of the Mongol hordes continued to reach the subcontinent, and during the chaos following Iltutmish's death they destroyed Lahore (1241). They remained entrenched on the frontier for several years, and nearly for half a century the principal preoccupation of the Delhi Government was to defend the subcontinent from the fate which Central and Western Asia had suffered. Thanks to Balban's well-planned and efficient measures and Ala-ud-din Khalji's military prowess, this danger was averted, but the indirect consequences of the Mongol irruption and their activities beyond the border, were not small. Partly the danger in the north was responsible for Balban's ruthless policy of internal consolidation and centralization. The Mongol atrocities in the Muslim countries and the threat to their newly-won empire also steeled Muslim hearts in the subcontinent and inspired them to great efforts. Even more important

was the large influx of the refugees from Central Asia, Khurasan, Iran, Iraq and modern Afghanistan, who found a haven of refuge in the newly conquered territories. The arrival of soldiers, scholars, saints and citizens from the Muslim countries provided the manpower which was needed for the consolidation of Muslim rule and the firm planting of Islamic religion in the Indian subcontinent. These developments continued during the greater part of the Thirteenth Century, but they began during Iltutmish's reign, and both Minhaj-us-Siraj and Isami refer to the large number of distinguished refugees at his court.

Early Sufis

We shall deal elsewhere with the religious work of the Sufi saints but their impact on administrative and public life was also considerable, and deserves to be mentioned here.

By the time the Muslim empire was established at Delhi, the Sufi fraternities had come into being and Sufi infiuence was far more powerful than in earlier days under the Arabs in Sind or the Ghaznavids at Lahore. The two great fraternities which established themselves very early in Muslim India were the Suhrawardia and the Chishtia. The Suhrawardi order was founded by Sheikh Abul Najib Suhrawardi (1097-1162) and was introduced in Muslim India by Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria (1182-1267/8) of Multan, who was initiated by Shaikh Shahab-ud-din Suhrawardi (1145-1234) the famous author on Sufism, and co-founder of the Suhrawardi *silsila*. With Multan as its centre the *silsila* became dominant in the areas which now constitute West Pakistan. Hazrat Baha-ud-Din and his successors at Multan were universally respected, and on certain historical occasions, as at the time of Mongol invasion of Multan they became the spokesmen of the public. They introduced an hereditary system of succession and were able to build up large properties. Their impact on cultural and intellectual life of the state was, however, minor.

The Chishtia *silsila* was introduced in the subcontinent by Hazrat Khwaja Muin-ud-Din, who was born in Sijistan and after extensive travels and spiritual training at the hands of many leading Sufis came to Indo-Pak subcontinent in 1192. After spending some time at Lahore and Multan he settled down at Ajmer, which was the capital of Prithvi Raj and died there in 1236. As he established in Indo-Pak subcontinent the first Sufi *silsila*, he is often referred to as Hind-ul-Wali (the Saint of India) or Sultan-ul-Hind, the

(spiritual) Sultan of Hindustan. At his hands many Hindus accepted Islam, and the local Hindu accounts are also full of his praise. Rai Bahadur Har Birlas Sarda in his book on Ajmer says, "Khwaja Muin-ud-Din lived a life of piety. He is said to have passed the days together in devotion and meditation. His diet was simple and spare, and his dress consisted of a simple tunic which when torn in many places was patched by himself. He never preached aggression, was a man of peace and goodwill towards all God's creatures". Har Birlas Sarda, Ajmer p. 85. Even after his death a large number of Hindus used to visit his tomb and make offerings. According to Siyar-ul-Arifin, written by Jamali the teacher of Sikandar Lodi: "A large number of prominent Hindus of that area became Muslims at his hands, and those who did not adopt Islam sent large offerings. This practice is maintained by those Hindus even now. They would assemble every year, bow their heads before that lofty Dargah, pay large sums to its caretakers and perform various services." Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Ajmeri had important disciples at Ajmer and Nagor in Rajputana and at Nandurbar in Khandesh but his chief disciple Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki lived at Delhi.

Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bhakhtiyar Kaki was held in great esteem by Iltutmish and his influence on the cultural life of the capital was considerable. His close associate was Qazi Hamid-ud-Din Nagori, who was originally the Qazi of Nagor, and later became a *dervish* and after a prolonged stay in Baghdad joined Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki at Delhi. Both of them were fond of *sama* (music) and their influence was initially responsible for its introduction at Delhi in spite of the objections of the *ulama.* Qazi Hamid-ud-Din Nagori is the author of several prose works including *Ishqia*, a highly rhapsodical and emotional work. His experience and knowledge of law enabled him to deal with the criticism of the *ulama* who not only condemned *sama* but also criticised what they called lack of orthodoxy and discipline amongst the Sufis. The earlier *tazkiras* record two major occasions, when there were public disputes between the Sufis and the *ulama*, but the popular esteem in which Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki was held, the legal arguments of Qazi Hamid-ud-Din Nagori and Iltutmish's own attitude, favoured the Sufis. The early unsettled conditions and the absence of a general *spread of* knowledge of Islamic law must have also

facilitated their task. The result was that the general atmosphere in Iltutmish's days was not only liberal but somewhat lax. Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki died in 1237. His great successor was Baba Farid (d. 1266), who decided to abandon the capital with its conflicts and diversions, and settle down in the distant Ajodhan in the uninhabited wilds of West Punjab and for a long time Delhi remained without a major Sufi saint.

Early Successors of Iltutmish.

Iltutmish died on April 29, 1236. His eldest son had died during his lifetime and in his last days Iltutmish was faced with a difficult problem. His other sons were incompetent and he had an able daughter but the Turkish nobles were opposed to the accession of a woman to the throne. Iltutmish tried various experiments to deal with the situation. When he set out for Gwalior in 1231, he left Raziya in charge of the capital, and was so satisfied with her handling of the affairs during his long absence that on his return, he thought of issuing a proclamation appointing her as his heir. Her name was included along with that of the king in a series of coins, but for one reason or another, Iltutmish did not take the final step of naming her as his successor. He entrusted the viceroyalty of Lahore to his eldest surviving son, Rukn-ud-Din Firuz, to see how he fared. Before he could decide the question of succession, Iltutmish fell seriously ill and the matter was still unsettled when he died. Firuz ascended the throne with the support of the army leaders, but he started squandering public funds and misusing power in such a way that the provincial governors revolted. Firuz left the capital to deal with the rebels when one of the most gruesome tragedies of early Muslim rule took place.

Massacre of Tajik Notables.

Firuz's misbehaviour, and high-handedness of his mother Shah Turkan, had so offended the thinking people that even the *Wazir* Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi left the king to join his opponents. Nizam-ul-Mulk was a Tajik, and probably other Tajik notables were also not favourably inclined towards Firuz. This attitude so enraged the Turkish soldiers accompanying the king, that they joined hands and in the neighbourhood of Karnal, massacred all the Tajik notables who were in the royal camp. "They martyred Tajul-Mulk, the *Dabir* (Secretary), Mushrif-i-Mamalik, Bahaul-Mulk Husain Ash'ari, Karim-ud-Din Zahid, Zia-ul-Mulk, the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Nizam-ud-Din Shufarqani, Khwaja Rashid-ud-Din

Malkani, Amir Fakhr-ud-Din, the *Dabir*, and a number of other Tajik officials."[6]

Tajiks(*a*) are Persian-speaking Turks, who had migrated from Turkish homelands earlier and differed from the Turks in several national characteristics. The contribution of the Tajiks in the building up of the early Muslim state at Delhi was very substantial. They are traditionally good penmen, and not only monopolised the higher posts in the Delhi Secretariat, but also dominated the literary and intellectual life. The *Wazir* himself was a Tajik. So was Minhaj-us-Siraj, the historian and the future *Chief Justice*. In the list of casualties preserved by him, Tajul-Mulk Reza was the first Persian poet of importance at Delhi. Zia-ul-Mulk was the son of the *Wazir*, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi. Baha-ul-Mulk Ash'ari was the brother of Ain-ul-Ash'ari, the great Wazir of Qabacha, and himself a distinguished noble. The other *Dabir* Amir Fakhr-ud-Din may, if his name has been slightly mutilated, very well be the famous Fakhr-Mudir (or Mudabbir).

It is painful to think that practically all the leading literary lights of Iltutmish's reign were extinguished on one dark day. The tragedy irreparably damaged the influence of the Tajiks and also impoverished the intellectual life of the new state.

Raziya Sultana.

When Rukn-ud-Din Firuz's supporters were destroying the flower of the imperial secretariat, his sister, Raziya made a bold bid for the throne. Clad in red, she appeared before the people gathered for Friday prayers in the principal mosque at Delhi and appealed to them in the name of Iltutmish to give her a chance to show her worth. This dramatic gesture evoked great response and the people of Delhi, who had not so far taken the oath of allegiance to Firuz, accepted her claim. Firuz, on his return, was imprisoned and subsequently put to death, but Raziya's accession, which had been effected without consent of the provincial governors and even the *Wazir*, was doomed from the beginning. The powerful nobles felt ignored and considered her accession irregular. Raziya tried to create dissensions amongst her opponents, and was temporarily successful, but the elevation of an Abyssinian to the major post of *Amir-i-Akhur*

(a) Tajik: The term 'Tajik' was originally used for the Arabs, particularly the Arab conquerors of Central Asia. Later, it was loosely used for the Persian speaking people of eastern Iran, Ghur and the adjacent territories, irrespective of their ethnic origins.

(Commander of the Cavalry) and possibly some other appointments (like that of Hindu Khan, presumably a Hindu convert, to the governorship of Sind) gave serious offence to the Turkish nobles and they rose in rebellion against her. Raziya's discarding of the veil and her severity swung public opinion against her. Her retinue murdered the Abyssinian *Amir-i-Akhur*, and imprisoned her while she was camping at Bhatinda to deal with the rebels. Her efforts to weather the storm by marrying Altuniya, the rebel governor of Bhatinda did not succeed. Her brother, Bahram, who had been proclaimed king at Delhi during her absence entrusted young Balban with the task of dealing with Raziya and her husband's troops, and Balban carried out the mission with the competence which was, in course of time, to carry him to the throne of Delhi. Raziya and Altuniya were defeated, and deserted by their troops, and in the course of their lonely flight were murdered by the Hindus (October 14, 1240).

During Raizya's reign the Ismailis made another bid for power. On Friday, March 5, 1237, nearly a thousand of them, incited by the harangues of a zealous preacher, Nur Turk, entered the great mosque of Delhi from two directions and fell upon the congregation. Many fell under their swords, but the Turkish nobles assembled their troops, who, aided by the congregation overpowered and slaughtered the insurgents.

Struggle between the Throne and the Nobility.

Raziya's end highlighted a development, which though visible even in the success of nobles in sponsoring the claims of Iltutmish against those of Qutb-ud-din Aibk's son, had become more marked since the death of Iltutmish. This was the question of the right and power of the nobility to determine the choice of the king and place limitations on his power and sphere of activity. In England, within the same century, there was a somewhat analagous struggle between the English monarch and the barons, which ended in the grant of the Magna Carta by the feeble King John, confirming the rights of the barons which through an orderly evolution over centuries, were broadened and extended to the general public.

After Raziya was defeated and imprisoned, her half-brother, Muizzuddin Bahram was proclaimed king, but "on the stipulation of Deputyship being conferred on Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Aetigin",[7] who "by virtue of his Deputyship took the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands and in conjunction with the *Wazir* (Muhazzab-

ud-Din) and Muhammad Iwaz, the Mustaufi (the Auditor-General) assumed control over the disposal of state affairs.[8] This was "an experiment with immense possibilities for constitutional progress[9]," and did not basically differ from the contemporary attempt made by the English barons, but the arrangement at Delhi did not work. The basic responsibility for the failure was that of the Deptuy, nominated by the nobles, who started assuming royal prerogatives, and took steps which could not but alarm the new monarch. He married the king's sister, assumed the triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his residence. These developments, according to Minhaj, "began to press heavilly upon the noble mind" of the youthful monarch who secretly encouraged violent measures to deal with the situation, and within three months of the assumption of office, the *Naib* was assassinated in the royal presence at a gathering arranged to hear a religious discourse. The *Wazir* was also attacked and wounded by the assassins but managed to escape.

This was, however, not the end of the struggle between the nobles and the king. Now, Badrud-din Sunqar, the Amir-i-Hajib, and a patron of young Balban, assumed the direction of state affairs but he suffered not only from the hostility of the king, but also from the lack of cooperation from the *Wazir*. He called a meeting of the principal nobles at the residence of the Mushrif-i-Mumalik, where Qazi-i-Mumalik Jalal-ud-Din Kashani, *sadrs* and nobles of the realm and other amirs and important personages were present. They discussed amongst themselves the recent events and sent the Mushrif-i-Mumalik to the wazir to invite him to join them. The *Wazir* sent back the messenger, with a promise to follow him, but conveyed the news of what was happening to the king. Bahram immediately mounted his horse and reached the place, where the meeting was being held. He took away Sunqar with him, but so strong was the power of the nobles that the only punishment that was inflicted on the leader of the conspiracy at this time was to post him to Badaon, which was given to him as his fief. Qazi Jalal-ud-Din was however, relieved of the office of the Chief Qazi (which was a few weeks later conferred on Minhaj), and some of his collaborators left the capital fearing unpleasant developments.

The *Wazir* now became all-powerful, but the attack on him had shown Bahram's real sentiments towards him, and he soon

joined hands with the nobles to depose Bahram, who was dethroned on May 10, 1242. The principal senior noble, Izzuddin Kishlu Khan, now made a bid for the throne, but his associates repudiated him, and assembling at the tomb of Iltutmish chose the latter's grandson, Ala-ud-din Masud as the king. Qutb-ud-Din Husain of Ghur was named Deputy, but the real power remained with the *Wazir*. The Turkish amirs, who were the soldier-administrators of the realm and governed large tracts did not like the concentration of power in the hands of somebody selected from "the writer" class (ahl-i-qalam, i.e., "people of the pen"). The *Wazir* also grossly abused his position, and "took all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amirs" so that they joined hands and had him assassinated. The submissive Najm-ud-Din Abu Bakr now became *wazir*, and Balban was appointed to the key post of Amir-i-Hajib. Ala-ud-Din Masud continued to rule for more than four years with tolerable success, but later when he tried to curb the power of the nobles he alienated the most powerful of them. He was deposed on June 10, 1246, and after receiving many assurances the nobles, among whom Balban played a dominant role, enthroned Iltutmish's youngest son, Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud.

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CHAPTER V

THE ERA OF BALBAN (1246-87 A.D.)

CHRONOLOGY

(i)	1246—1265 A. D.	Balban as the Deputy of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud.
(ii)	1265 A. D.	Accession of Balban.
(iii)	1266 A. D.	Death of Minhaj-us-Siraj.
(iv)	1280 A. D.	Suppression of Bengal Rebellion.
(v)	March 9, 1285 A. D.	Death of Prince Muhammad Khan.
(vi)	1287 A. D	Death of Balban.

Era of Balban 1246-87.

The Sultanate of Delhi suffered grievously from the civil war which raged practically unabated for the ten years following the death of Iltutmish. The Mongols who had been hovering on the frontier grew bolder, and in 1241 sacked Lahore. They harried Multan, Sind, and the central Punjab, and were in virtual control of this area for a number of years. In the east, Bengal and Bihar became independent. To the south of Delhi, the Hindus began to reassert themselves, and the Muslims lost many important strongholds which had been captured in the days of Aibak and Iltutmish. Gwalior and Ranthambhore were abandoned during Raziya's reign. Now, even in areas nearer to the capital, like Katehar (modern Rohilkhand) and Doab, Hindu resistance was intensified. "The half-subdued countryside offered enough manoeuvering space for the local tribes, who in the absence of organized military leadership took to a form of guerilla warfare."

Not less important than these material losses were the fissures and weaknesses displayed by the administrative structure built up by Iltutmish. The lines on which he had organised the new government required for their success a man of great ability, wisdom and resourcefulness, but as he had feared, there was nobody equal to the task in his family. A mad scramble for power followed his death, in which the Tajiks were pitted against the Turks and the nobility was at loggerhead with the king, to say nothing of the

warring ambitions of the individual nobles. The man who emerged supreme out of this crisis and who not only dealt successfully with the problems of internal disorder, the Mongol menace and Hindu resurgence, but also made far-reaching changes in the system of government, was yet another slave who had risen to prominence by his ability and strength of character. Balban ascended the throne in 1265, but he exercised so much authority during Nasir-ud-Din's reign (1246-65) that all this period and his own reign may well be designated as the "Era of Balban" (1246 87).

Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud 1246-1265.

With the accession of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud in 1246, the period of acute conflict between the monarchy and the nobles came to an end. He reigned rather than ruled, leaving real power to his most prominent noble, Balban. In 1253-54 the non-Turkish elements in the empire, headed by Imad-ud-Din Raihan, a newly converted Indian Muslim, aided by the Queen-mother, made a bid to oust Balban from the control of affairs. This attempt was only temporarily successful, and soon the Turkish governors of the provinces rallied around Balban. Terms were accordingly arranged between the king and Balban, now also his father-in-law, and later to be appointed the Deputy of the realm. Balban maintained his ascendency till Mahmud's death in 1265, when he succeeded him to the throne.

During Mahmud's reign, Balban took measures for suppressing disorder and lawlessness, but they remained inconclusive. Another disturbing feature of the times was the foothold which the Mongols had secured in the areas which now constitute West Pakistan. They sacked Lahore in 1241, and soon the governors of Lahore, Multan and Uchch were looking for protection more to the Mongol chiefs than to then Sultan of Delhi. Disgruntled nobles like Kishlu Khan, the erstwhile governor of Uchch and Multan, even tried to persuade Hulaqu to sanction a full-scale invasion of the Sultanate. Thanks, however, to the precautions taken by Balban, these dangers did not materialise.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban (1265-1287).

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban belonged to a noble family of Ilbari Turks of Central Asia but in the disturbed conditions following the Mongol irruption, was carried away and sold as a slave in Baghdad. From here he was taken to Gujarat, and in 1232 reached Delhi, where he was purchased by Iltutmish. Finding him to be a youth of

promise, the Sultan appointed him as his personal attendant (Khasa dar). He continued to hold this post till he became the Chief Huntsman (Amir-i-Shikar) during the days of Raziya. He first came into prominence in 1240 when according to Isami, he was entrusted with the task of dealing with Raziya and her supporters. He carried out his assignment successfully, and soon became Amir-i-Akhur (Commander of the Cavalry). He got Rewari as his iqta (fief) and proved an excellent administrator. In the time of Alauddin Masud he was appointed Amir-i-Hajib (1244), and in 1246, when Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud was placed on the throne, Balban became the most influential noble of the realm, and maintained this position till he ascended the throne.

New pattern of Government.

Balban's work as a ruler involved not only the defence of the country against foreign agression and internal dangers but called for a reorganisation of the administration to make it more effective.

Iltutmish had organised the administration in the newly conquered territories, as a loose decentralised system, in which the fief-holders enjoyed wide powers, and high nobles were treated practically as the peers of the king. Balban changed all this. He had his own theory of kingship which did not differ much from the Iranian theory, (a) but which was introduced in Muslim India for the first time with a thoroughness characteristic of Balban. Iltutmish was a pious Muslim, disdaining show and unenthusiastic about asserting royal superiority over the nobility. The disturbed conditions which followed his death, and were realy due to a struggle between the king and the nobility, showed the dangers inherent in this attitude. Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud did not change this position and lived an unassuming life, leaving real power with the Deputy. The attitude of Sultan Ghyas-ud-Din Balban was, however, completely different. Influenced by the Persian theory of royalty, and taking lesson from the anarchy which prevailed after the death of Iltutmish, he proceeded to raise the royal status far above that of the nobles. He used to say that next to Prophethood, the highest office was that of Kingship. According to him, the

(a) Balban's fondness for Persian ways took many forms. He was a Turk and could not claim Persian origin, but he claimed descent from Afrasiyab, the Turanian hero of the Persian epic, Shahnama. After he became king, and put forward his theory of monarchy, he gave Persian names to his grandsons—Kaikhusro, Kaiqubad, Kaikaus, Kaimurs.

ruler who did not maintain the dignity of his office and safeguard its status, would fail to perform his functions properly, and his subjects would resort to insubordination and fall a prey to crime, immorality and other abuses.

To strengthen the royal position, Balban, concentrated his attention, as soon as he ascended the throne, on the strengthening of the army and providing a material basis for maintaining the new royal status. Aibak and Iltutmish had relied largely on the contingents of the fief-holders and under them the office of the Ariz was a subordinate branch of the Central Secretariat under the over-all control of the *wazir*. Balban reorganized the War office, raised the status of Ariz-i-Mumalik—his Chief of the Staff—and dealt directly with him. Most of all he reorganized and strengthened the royal army. He increased its size, placed the troops under hand-picked commanders brave, dignified and with clean records and raised their emoluments. He kept the army in good trim by taking it regularly on long, arduous expeditions and periodic large-scale hunting parties. He built up "an istrument and source of Government", which was not only adequate for external and internal enemies, but made the position of the king immeasurably stronger than that of the nobles and fief-holders.

In order to enhance the royal status Balban took other steps. He attached great importance to the observance of an impressive and imposing court etiquette. When the royal cavalcade moved, hundreds of well-built and impressive-looking heralds, dressed in brilliant uniforms, preceded it and it was altogether such and impressive show that according to the historain Barani, people came from long distances to witness the procession. At the royal Court there was such an atmosphere of awe and majesty that occassionally the ambassadors, who came to present their credentials, and the Hindu *Rajas* who came to pay tribute, became nervous and stumbled on the steps.

Balban was very meticulous about the royal dignity, even in private life, and imposed a rigorous discipline on himself. No valet of the Sultan ever saw him without a cap or socks or shoes, and throughout his long period of kingship he never laughed aloud before others, nor had anybody the courage to laugh aloud in his presence.

A major problem with which Balban was faced was the all-powerful military oligarchy which had dominated the politics of

the Sultanate since the death of Iltutmish. This aristocratic corps commonly known as the Chihilgan or "the Forty" had at one time, played a constructive role, but in the days of Iltutmish's weak successors, it had become a major threat to the state. Balban was originally one of the Forty but he now set about breaking their power by all possible means, including the use of poison and the assassin's dagger.

As a natural consequence of this policy the provincial governors lost much of their power and privileges. The instructions which Balban gave to his son Bughra Khan, while entrusting to him the government of Bengal, and which he had had formally written down by Shams Dabir, the Cheif Secretary, clearly laid down the relationship which was to exist between the Central Government at Delhi and the governors of the provinces. Even more effective were the practical steps he took to control the provincial chiefs. In all provinces, he appointed *barids* (Intelligence Officers), who were to faithfully report the important doings of the local chiefs. On the basis of these reports Balban meted out exemplary punishments to the provincial governors for any lapse or misbehaviour.

Iltutmish honoured the Sufis. Formal-minded Balban's highest honours were reserved for the *ulama* and the Muslim lawyers, whom he visited after Friday prayers, with his entire retinue. He, however, claimed complete freedom for the head of the state in framing rules and regulations.

Balban transformed Iltutmish's loosely-knit, decentralized, para-democratic organization into a highly centralized government under the complete control of an autocratic king. Henceforward, subject to occassional variations, this was to be the normal pattern of the Muslim government in India.

Balban's Achievements.

Balban inisisted the rights of kingship but he was equally conscious of its responsibilities. He acknowledged that it was the bounden duty of a ruler to provide peace and tranquility within his dominion. The early Muslim rulers, in spite of their best efforts, had not always been able to ensure this. The Jats, the Mewatis and the Khokhars were a constant menace to the peaceful subjects of the Sultanate. Muslim rulers had broken the power of the organized Hindu armies but warlike, restless tribes had taken to robbery and dacoity. Every year there would be some major disturbance of peace, and even the city of Delhi was not immune from

plundering operations. Robbers infested the jungles around Delhi and not only robbed the travellers, but carried their depredations right to the walls of the city. According to near-contemporary accounts, the gates on the south side of the city had to be shut immediately after the afternoon prayers, and it was dangerous to leave the city at night to visit the tombs of holy personages in the neighbourhood. Balban spent the first year after his accession to the throne in enforcing law and order in the city and its suburbs. The jungle was cleared, the Mewati robbers who had made it a base for their operations were destroyed, a fort was built to guard the city's south-western approaches against them, and police posts were established around Delhi. Balban dealt equally firmly with the people of the Doab, who had closed the road between Bengal and the capital. He spent nearly a year in the districts of Patyali, Bhojpur, and Kampil, extirpated the highway robbers, built forts at suitable centres, garrisoned them with Afghan soldiers who received lands in the area for their maintenance, and granted large areas to powerful nobles so that they could bring the land under cultivation and clear the jungles. Balban was ruthless in dealing with the brigands, but as Haig remarks, his "measures secured the tranquility of the roads between Dethi and Bengal for a century."

Similar steps were taken against the Rajputs of Katehar who were "overrunning and plundering that province in such a way that the governors of Budaon and Amroha were unable to take the field against them." The punishment which Balban inflicted on the rebels was severe—Balban obviously wanted to make an example of them—but the measure served its purpose. This trans-Gangetic tract had been only partially subdued and the warlike families who had settled there were a perpetual source of trouble. Balban ordered a frightful slaughter of the insurgents, had their houses and hiding places burnt, cleared the country of the forests, built roads and introduced orderly civil government. The people of Katehar never raised their heads again, and districts of Badaon, Amroha and Sambhal were "rendered safe and permanently freed from trouble."

Balban's next steps were taken to safeguard the realm against the Mongols. He built up a powerful army and forced the *muqtis* (fief-holders) to keep their troops well-equipped and in fine mettle. He made no effort to extend his dominion or to reconquer areas like Malwa, which the Muslims had lost after early conquest.

When these measures were suggested to Balban, he replied that he had even higher ambitions, but could not expose Delhi to the fate of Baghdad. A stern realist, he abandoned the expansionist policy of his predecessors, and concentrated on the consolidation of Muslim power in India. Hulagu Khan, who with his sack of Baghdad had wiped out in 1258 the great centre of Abbasid culture, was still alive and the Mongols now constituted a standing threat to the subcontinent. In 1270, Balban had restored the city of Lahore which was practically deserted after its sack by the Mongols in 1241, and re-established a provincial government in the upper Punjab. This facilitated the defence of the north-west, but other vigorous military measures were needed to deal with the Mongol menace. Balban not only built up a strong army and kept it in good fighting condition, but erected a chain of fortifications in the north-west. The command of this stratagetic area was entrusted by Balban, at first to Sher Khan Sunqar, his most distinguished general, and on his death to his able son, Prince Muhammad Khan, entitled Qaan Malik, who was not only a brave soldier, but also a patron of literature, and who maintained a distinguished court at Multan.

Balban's preparations kept Hulagu Khan in check. The only major military operation which he had to undertake was against Tughril, the rebellious governor of Bengal. In 1280, after Tughril had defeated two successive expeditions sent against him, Balban went to Bengal in person. On hearing of the arrival of Balban's army, Tughril left his capital with picked troops, and sought safety in the forests of Orissa. "Balban swore that he would not rest or return to Delhi or even hear the name of Delhi mentioned until he had siezed Tughril." Search parties were sent all over to trace the fugitive. Luckily, by a chance, one of these parties came to know about Turghril's hiding place and in the encounter which followed, Tughril was surprised and killed, and his head was brought to the king, as a proof that his vow had been honoured.

Even after this, Balban took his time in reorganizing administr- tion in Bengal [b] which he left in charge of his son, Bughra Khan, and returned to Delhi with the rebels and other deserters who had joined Tughril. He proposed to deal ruthlessly with them and had set up a double row of stakes outside the Badaon gate of Delhi for their public

(*b*) For administrative arrangement made by Bulban and the contributions made by his family to the history of Bengal, see chapter IX.

executions, but the Qazi of the army was able to persuade the king to pardon the common soldiers and sentence the officers to imprisonment. Balban is often accused of ferocious cruelty in dealing with the rebels and miscreants, and there is no doubt that he was so, but extreme severity to the rebels was the common practice of his day, and his own views on the deterrent influence of severe punishment elevated it to a public duty.

Balban's Character.

Balban was ruthless in the imposition of penalites, but he reserved them for offences against the state or the public. He meted out strict, impartial justice and dealt firmly with miscreants, regardless of their position. The fief-holder of Badaun had a servant beaten to death. When Balban visited Badaun, the servant's widow complained to him. Balban ordered that the fief-holder should suffer the same fate which his servant had suffered, and he also made an example of the official news-writer, who had not communicated this incident to the king. There were many similar instances during his rule and he used to say that he would not only deal firmly with recalcitrant nobles, but if his children misbehaved they would receive similar punishment. Strict enforcement of impartial justice was, according to Balban, one of the principal duties of a king, and he did his best, according to his lights, to carry out this responsibility. The result was that owing to the fear of reports reaching the Sultan, "none among the provincial governors or other officers and their relatives and servants dared injure anybody without cause or offence, and if by chance any provincial governor or ruler were guilty of cruelty, he would try to satisfy the sufferer in whatever way the latter demanded, and would not leave him with a grievance."

About religion Balban had a special point of view. He performed his religious duties with particular care. He fasted during *Ramazan*, prayed five times a day, used to get up at midnight for the *Tahajjad* prayers, and showed great respect to the *ulama*. When he came to the throne he gave up drinking and ordered his courtiers to do the same. In spite of his extreme views regarding the dignity and status of a king, after Friday prayers he called with his retinue on the leading preachers and theologians. He was equally particular about the strict observance of religion by the members of his family. Bughra Khan his son, while advising his own son Kaiqubad said: "If my

father, Balban, came to know that I or my brother Sultan Muhammad missed a single prayer, he would not talk to us for days."[5] Balban, however, attached no importance to the views of *ulama* in political and administrative matters. He used to say that these things had to be decided in accordance with political considerations and not according to the views of the jurists. According to Barani, "he would order whatever he considered to be in the interest of the realm, whether it was or was not sanctioned by Islamic law."

End of the House of Balban.

Balban was a hard taskmaster and a stern disciplinarian; fate also dealt with him sternly. At the age of 80, he suffered a blow which darkened his remaining days. On March 9, 1285 his son, Prince Muhammad Khan, who had been designated as heir-apparent, was slain in an encounter with the Mongols. This was a crushing blow to the aged king. According to Barani, the stern king maintained calm outwardly, and gave audiences and transacted public business with his usual stern and grave demeanour, but at night and in the privacy of his chamber he rent his clothes, cast dust upon his head and moaned for his son "as David moaned for Absalom." He designated Bughra Khan as his heir and summoned him from Bengal. The easy-going prince, who was happier in the eastern province than at his fahter's austere court, left Delhi on the pretext of a hunting expedition and returned without permission to Bengal. The cup of Balban's misfortune was full and he soon breathed his last. (1287).

Kaiqubad and the fall of the Ilbari Turks.

On his death-bed Balban had named as his heir Kaikhusrau, the son of Prince Muhammad, but some influential nobles, (including the *kotwal* of Delhi) had a grudge against the late prince and his family. They disregarded the dead king's will, exiled the *wazir* and others who did not agree with this, and enthroned Kaiqubad, a seventeen-year-old son of Bughra Khan. The reign of Kaiqubad is one long story of riotous living. He had been brought up under Balban's austere regime, and had never dreamed of ascending the throne. Now he was free from all restraints and had everything at his command. He indulged in an orgy of gay life and was always sourrounded by musicians, singing girls and dancers.[(c)]

(c) Professor Topa thinks that Kaiqubad "departed from the ethico-political philosophy of Balban by bringing the people closer and nearer

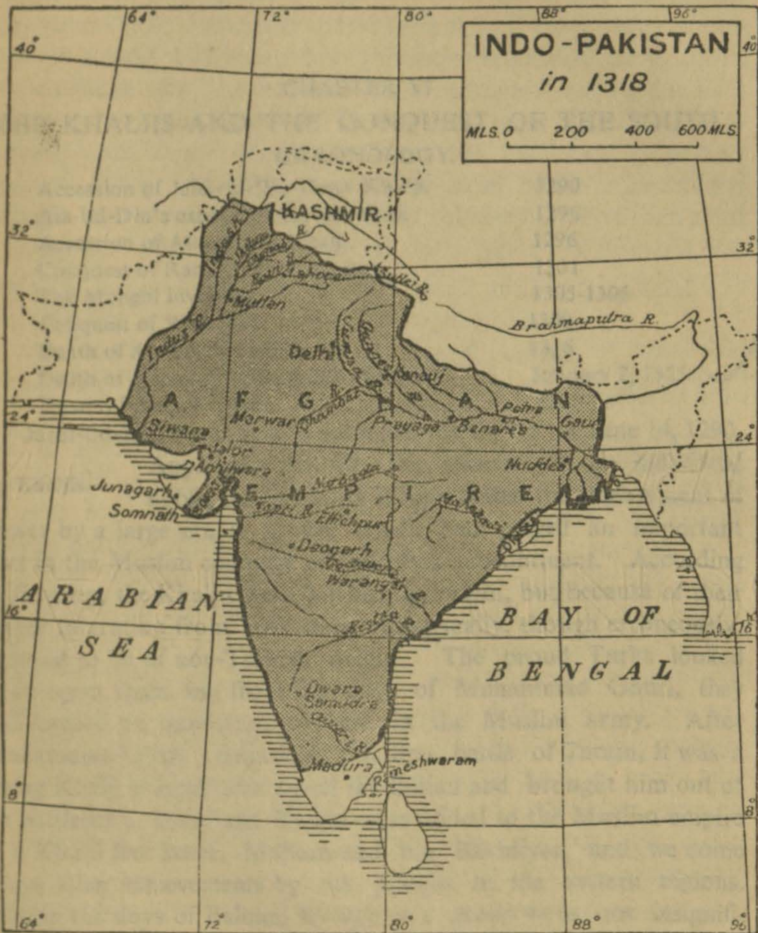
Kaiqubad's conduct on attaining the kingship became such a scandal that the prospect of the extinction of Balban's house appeared imminent, and even easy-going Bughra Khan was moved to action. He left Bengal, and in March 1288 the father and son, respective kings of Bengal and Delhi, met on the bank of the Sarju. At first there was a possibility of open war between the two, but through the good offices of some loyal officers, (including Shams Dabir whom Balban had left as Chief Secretary with Bughra Khan) a meeting was arranged, and natural feelings of the father and the son swept away all hostility. Bughra Khan advised Kaiqubad to mend his ways and after a demonstration of fatherly affection returned to his province. Kaiqubad made an attempt to reform himself, but was soon lured back into his old ways and was before long struck down by paralysis. There was a struggle for ascendancy between the Turkish nobles of Balban's government, and the Khaljis. In this conflict the Khalji chief, Malik Jalal-ud-Din Firuz, who had been recently placed by Kaiqubad in charge of the *diwan-i-arz* was successful, and ascended the throne on June 14, 1290.

This was the end of the rule of the Ilbari Turks and of the so-called Slave dynasty at Delhi. So far as the house of Balban was concerned, its rule came to an end at Delhi, but not in Bengal. Bughra Khan's fondness for the eastern province hastened the downfall of his family at the capital, but in Bengal, Balban's descendants continued to hold power for another forty fruitful years.

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to kingship than was every attempted before" and "started a new tendency towards the harmonization of different cultures of the country." According to Ibn Bettuta, people remembered Kaiqubad with affection and gratitude. It is also worth recording that Amir Khusrau pointedly mentions, with great feeling, that the first amongst rulers to think of him was Muiz-ud-Din Kaiqubad.

Topa, Politics in Pre-Mughul Times, p. 86, ft. note



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CHAPTER VI

THE KHALJIS AND THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji.	1290
Ala-ud-Din's expedition to Devagiri.	1296
Accession of Ala-ud-Din Khalji.	1296
Conquest of Ranthambhor: Chitor.	1301
The Mongol invasions.	1305-1306
Conquest of Warangal.	1309
Death of Ala-ud-Din Khalji.	1316
Death of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya.	January 2, 1325
Death of Amir Khusrau.	1325

Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji ascended the throne on June 14, 1290.

The Khaljis.

Apparently this was the success of an individual noble, but in reality it represented the achievement of power by a large ethnic group, which had played an important part in the Muslim conquest of Indo-Pak subcontinent. According to Raverty, the Khaljis were Turkish by origin, but because of their earlier migration from Turkistan, were usually, though erroneously, believed to be of non-Turkish origin. The proud Turks looked down upon them, but from the days of Muhammad Ghuri, they had formed an important element in the Muslim army. After Muhammad Ghuri's debacle at the first battle of Tarain, it was a young Khalji trooper who saved the Sultan and brought him out of the battlefield. Bihar and Bengal were added to the Muslim empire by a Khalji free lance, Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar, and we come across other achievements by the Khaljis in the eastern regions. Even in the days of Balban, Khaljis as a group were not insignificant. The tension between the Turks and the Khaljis, which was kept under check by Balban, came to the surface in the succeeding reign and ended in the displacement of the Ilbari Turks.

The success of the Khaljis against the aristocratic Turks resulted in certain far-reaching socio-political developments. Muslim government ceased to be a close preserve of the Turkish aristocracy

and not only the 'plebian' Khaljis but other groups, like the indigenous Muslims, began to share power. For the first time now, the historians refer to the "Hindustanis" *viz.*, local Muslims and by the end of Ala-ud-Din's reign converts like Malik Kafur, were occupying the highest position in the state. Apparently the efforts of the Muslim missionaries and sufis had begun to bear fruit and a sizeable number of Muslim converts was available for the service of the state. The rule of the Khaljis did not last more than thirty years, but the social revolution which their success engendered and the large increase in manpower which resulted from this revolution enabled the Delhi Government to take a major step forward, and conquer the vast areas south of the Vindhyas.

Jalal-ud-Din Khalji (1290-1296).

Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji was an experienced soldier who had earlier distinguished himself as a general and administrator. He was, however, an old man when he came to the throne and followed a policy of exceptional mildness and forbearance. This reconciled to him the general population, who were unhappy at the extinction of the house of Balban, but the Khalji nobles were shocked at the king's behaviour. They attributed it to senility—he was mere than 70 when he came to the throne—and openly started plotting against him. The plot which succeeded was that of his nephew and son-in-law, Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The young, ambitious son-in-law had a very unhappy domestic life, and the behaviour of his wife and mother-in-law was so galling to his pride that he often thought of leaving the realm and settling somewhere else. At Kara (near modern Allahabad) of which he had heen appointed governor, he was joined by discontented officers who urged on him to organise an army and make a bid for the throne of Delhi for which he could get necessary resources by plundering the neighbouring unconquerred Hindu territories.

Ala-ud-Din started by invading Malwa and captured the town of Bhilsa, from where he obtained much plunder. He next decided on a bolder step. At Bhilsa he had heard of the wealth of the great southern kingdom of Devagiri later renamed Daulatabad. Without obtaining the permission of his uncle, but making arrangements at Kara for supplying Delhi with such periodical news about his movement as would allay suspicion, he set out in 1296,[a] at the

(a) This is the date given by Amir Khusrau in his Khazain-ul-Futuh, Calcutta p. 8.

head of 8,000 horse. So far, no Muslim ruler had crossed the Vindhyas, and Devagiri, the capital of a powerful kingdom was separated from Kara by a march of two months through unknown regions inhabited by people, who could only be hostile. Boldly, Ala-ud-Din undertook this expedition, which Haig characterises as the "most impudent raid known to history". Partly on account of his good luck, and partly as a reward of his ability and courage, Ala-ud-Din was successful and returned with a huge booty, amounting to 17,250 pounds of gold, 200 pounds of pearls, 58 pounds of other gems, 28,250 pounds of silver and 1,000 pieces of silk. Some of Jalal-ud-Din's nobles, particularly the loyal and vigilant Ahmed Chap, were critical of Ala-ud-Din's moves, but his brother who was at the court lulled the king's suspicions. He was even able to persuade Jalal-ud-Din to go to Kara to meet his nephew, who, he stated, was too penitent at having undertaken a major military operation without royal authority to visit Delhi. The king, who, according to the contemporary historian, was blinded by greed, welcomed the suggestion and proceeded to Kara, where he was assassinated. Ala-ud-Din Khalji ascended the throne, and with a judicious distribution of riches which he had brought from Devagiri was able to win over the public of Delhi.

Ala-ud-Din Khalji (1296-1316).

Ala-ud-Din Khalji came to the throne in circumstances which have rightly cast a shadow on his memory. He was cruel, ruthless and without moral scruples in dealing with rebels and enemies. A careful examination of contemporary accounts, however, shows that not only was Ala-ud-Din a bold and resourceful soldier and a very capable administrator, but he had his own notions of the responsibilities of kingship, and laboured hard to fulfil them. About his achievements as a conqueror there can hardly be two opinions. With the victories won by him and his generals, he completed the Muslim conquest of India and extended the Sultanate right up to Rameshwaram.

His Conquests

Ala-ud-Din's twenty-years reign may be divided into three phases. During the first period (1296-1303) he defeated the Mongols, reconquered the Hindu kingdom of Gujarat, and reduced Ranthambhor (1301) Chitor (August 1303) and other Hindu strongholds in Rajasthan. In the second part of his reign (1303-1307) his attention was devoted largely towards internal reforms and steps necessary to make his rule

secure. In 1305 he sent Ain-ul-Mulk Multani to Central India, where he subdued Malwa and conquered the forts of Ujjain, Chanderi and Mandawar. Malwa was annexed, and Ain-ul-Mulk, appointed its governor.

In 1305, and again in 1306, there were dangerous Mongol invasions, but they were repulsed. Against the Mongol Ala-ud-Din's officers were so successful, that they now took up the offensive, and Ghazi Malik, who was in charge of the frontier defences carried out raids into the Mongol territory, as far as Kabul and Ghazni. After these successes and the death of the Mongol Khan of Transoxiana (1306), Ala-ud-Din was troubled no more by this danger from the north, and could devote himself to the achievement of suzerainty over the whole of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

During the third period (1307-13) Ala-ud-Din was able to complete the conquest of South India, for which the ground had been prepared by his conquests in Central India, and the annexation of Malwa. In 1307 his *Naib*, Malik Kafur, defeated Raja Ram Dev of Devagiri, who had withheld tribute. The Raja was brought to Delhi where he reaffirmed his submission and received the title of Rai Rayan. In 1309 Malik Kafur led another expedition to the south, and conquered Warangal, from which he returned with measureless booty, including a big diamond, identified by some with the famous Koh-i-Nur. In this Campaign the Raja of Devagiri gave all possible help and even sent a "force of Marathas, both of horse and foot" in aid of the Muslim army. The victory at Warangal emboldened the king and his *Naib*. Next year the latter set out on a year-long expedition, which led to the defeat of the rajas of Madura and Dwarasmudar (Ma'bar), and extended the Muslim dominion right up to the southern sea-coast. During this expedition, the Muslim officers built a mosque, either at Rameshwaram on the island of Pamban, or on the mainland opposite.

The above impressive list of Ala-ud-Din's conquests is based on Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, our main authority for the reign, or on Amir Khusrau's Tarikh-i-Alai. It cannot, however, be said that this account is complete. Evidence of some other military expeditions is available in less known histories. For example, Amir Khusrau in his Ijaz-i-Khusravi (vide E & D Volume III, pages 566-67) reproduces an *arz*

dasht, from one Hajib Badr to Khizr Khan, son of Ala-ud-Din Khalji referring to the conquest of Ghazni by his contingent, recital of Khutba in the name of Ala-ud-Din, and restoration of Islamic practices in that city after driving out the Mongols. This is not recorded either in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi or Tarikh-i-Alai. Similarly the history of Bengal as known from local sources, shows that Ala-ud-Din Khalji played a more important role in this area than is attributed to him by the Delhi historians, and his regime was marked by substantial expansion of Muslim rule in Bengal. In Sind also the destruction of Tur, the capital of the Sumras is attributed to the troops of Ala-ud-Din Khalji (Tuhfa-tul-Karam).

Ala-ud-Din did not bring all the newly conquered territories in the south under direct administration. When the loyal raja of Devagiri died in 1311, his successor refused to accept the suzerainty of Delhi. Malik Kafur led another expedition in 1313, to Devagiri, which was now annexed, and became part of the Sultanate of Delhi. Other conquered territories, like Warangal, Madura, and Dwarasmudar, continued under local rajas on payment of annual tribute.

Other Developments.

Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a soldier, undisciplined by any formal education. When fortune smiled on all his early projects, his fancy soared high and he began to think of conquests in other fields. He played with the idea of establishihg a new religion, and at times expressed a desire to sally forth from Delhi and embark on a career of world-conquest like Alexander. He issued coins referring to himself as Alexander the Second, and freely talked about his two plans. Luckily he had, at his court, nobles who were not afraid of giving him sane, if unpalatable, advice, and Ala-ud-Din Khalji had the good sense to listen to them. He had four principal counsellors, but it was the old Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Delhi, who in an interview, vividly described, perhaps with a dash of imagination, by his nephew Barani, dissuaded the king from such a course. He told him that the introduction of a religion was a matter for the prophets and not for the kings, and pointed out that the Mongols, in spite of their great power and its ruthless use against the Muslims had not been able to replace Islamic religion. About the foreign conquests the Kotwal pointed out, that the king could not rightly undertake them until he had completely conquered and

established his rule in the whole sub-continent of India, and even then he could leave his realm only if he had a sagacious and dependable deputy like Aristotle to look after the kingdom during his absence. Ala-ud-Din, who in spite of his uncertain temper and ruthlessness was a ruler of strong common sense, generously rewarded the candid counsellor and undertook never to talk about his religious innovations again.

Ala-ud-Din was uniformly successful on the battlefield, but during the early years of his reign, he had to face several rebellions. An attempt was made on his life at Ranthambhor (1301). There was a rebellion in Oudh and another in Delhi. These rebellions were not well-organized and failed, but they set the king thinking. His intimate advisors told him that the successive rebellions were due to (1) an inefficient system of intelligence, (2) the wide-spread use of wine, which loosened tongues, encouraged intimacies and bred plots and treason, (3) the strengthening of the position of the nobles by intermarriages and (4) the possession of wealth by certain sections of the people, which by relieving many of the necessity of work, left them leisure for mischievous thoughts. Ala-ud-Din systematically dealt with all these causes. He set up an efficient system of intelligence and it is a measure of his ability that at an advanced age he taught himself how to read even the illegible handwriting known as *shikasta*, in order to be able to decipher the reports of his informers. He prohibited the use of intoxicating liquor and himself set an example by causing his wine vessles to be broken and the wine to be poured out near the Badaun Gate. He regulated marriages amongst the nobles and revised the taxation system so as to reduce surpluses with the prosperous classes. The latter measure seriously hit both the Muslim and Hindu privlieged classes *e.g.*, the Muslim holders of *inam* lands (rent free grants) *waqf* (pious endowments), *idarat* (pensions) and *milk* (lands held in proprietary right) which grants were resumed. The Hindu officials, like the *Khut*, *Muqaddam* and *Chaudhari* were deprived of their special perquisites and severely taxed so that people now had to be busy earning their livelihood, and had little time to think of rebellion.

Ala-ud-Din's effective measures rooted out conspiracies, but till 1306 he continued to be troubled by Mongol invasions. During the first two years there were invasions of the Mongols. In 1303 they came as far Delhi but were beaten back on the return of

Ala-ud-Din from Chitor. Targhi appeared outside Delhi with an army of 1,20,000 Mongols, and the king had to retire to the fortress of Siri. The Mongols withdrew after an ineffectual siege of two months, a step attributed by Barani to the prayers of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya but Ala-ud-Din realised that more effective steps were necessary to deal with the Mongol menace. He proceeded to re-organise the defences in the Western Punjab, where the fortifications established by Balban had fallen into disrepair, and placed the frontier province of Dipalpur under Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, the ablest soldier of the realm. He also raised a powerful standing army, paid, equipped and maintained by the Central Government and independent of the contingents of the fief-holders and made it adequate for all offensive and defensive purposes.

Modern historians, following Barani, have held that Ala-ud-Din's famous price control measures were introduced in order to keep the cost of the new army at a low level. Bararni has attributed a narrow sordid motive to Ala-ud-Din's measures, but[1] other contemporary or near-contemporary writers, like Afif[2], Ibn Battuta,[3] Isami and Hazrat Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh-i-Delhi, indicate that Ala-ud-Din controlled prices of the necessities of life so that the general public might benefit. Barani's explanation appears odd, as a ruthless ruler like Ala-ud-Din could easily have provided for the upkeep of his army by other means, such as additional taxation. In order to deal with a limited problem it was hardly necessary for him to introduce a detailed and complicated system involving elaborate administrative measures over wide areas. All contemporary authorities, except Barani, seem to indicate that Ala-ud-Din, in spite of his obvious defects, had his own ideas of the responsibilities of kingship and thought that the most effective way in which he could benefit the public and achieve lasting renown was through a control of the prices of daily necessities of life at a reasonable level. Those who have seen the difficulty of enforcing a rigid price control even in modern times know that this could not be imposed by royal edict, and one cannot read Barani's account of various regulations and administrative steps taken by Ala-ud-Din without admiring his administrative ability and the competence of his officers. To enforce his orders regulating prices, he introduced the system of partially obtaining land revenue in the form of foodgrains, built up vast stores from which corn could be issued at the time of need, controlled

transport, laid down a simple method of rationing when necessary, and built up an elaborate organization to carry out the whole system. Ala-ud-Din made a success of his scheme which continued in operation throughout his reign. It is no wonder that after his death the poor people forgot his cruelty and remembered his rule with gratitude, and to judge by a statement in the *malfuzat* of Hazrat Chiragh-i-Delhi, even started visiting his grave as if it were the tomb of a holy man.[b]

Barani has done such scant justice to Ala-ud-Din Khalji that it is refreshing to turn to the contemporary historians of the Mongols, and see how the Sultan was viewed by his arch-enemies. The first four volumes of *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* were completed in 1300, but the author continued his labours and added another volume bringing his history to 1328. He was a protege of the *wazir* of the contemporary Mongol ruler Uljaitu (1305-16). and presented his work to the Mongol chief. The latter was a contemporary of Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Wassaf's history provides some interesting information about him. Uljaitu, who was a descendent of Chingiz Khan sent an embassy to Ala-ud-Din Khalji, saying that in the reign of the emperor Chingiz Khan the rulers of Indo-Pak subcontinent had sent ambassadors to the Mongol court. Uljaitu complaind that Ala-ud-Din had not sent any ambassador or a message of congratulations to him, and had the audacity to desire "in marriage one of the princesses from behind the veil of the kingdom of Delhi." Ala-ud-Din was not the man to stand such nonsense. He imprisoned the Mongol ambassadors and had several of their attendants trodden under the feet of elephants. The author of Tarikh-i-Wassaf rightly criticises this treatment meted out to the ambassadors,but even he pays a tribute to Ala-ud-Din's "bravery and conquest, and abundant treasures and abundant armies, combining in himself all personal accomplishments and worldly advantages." He refers to the "jewel" of Ala-ud-Din's "good fame" which was tarnished by his treatment of Uljaitu's ambassadors, but even these remarks coming from a historian of the Mongols in reference to a foreign ruler who had given good and valid cause for complaint to his patron, show what contemporaries thought of Ala-ud-Din Khalji.[c] Elsewhere, *Tarikh-i-*

(b) For a detailed discussion of the subject, and extracts from contemporary sources, see author's Ab-i-Kausar, p. 163-68.

(c) For the letters exchanged between the Mongols and the Sultans of Delhi see Mukatabat-i-Rashidi of Rashid-ud-Din-Fazlullah, Punjab University, Lahore.

Wassaf refers to Ala-ud-Din's conquests and holy wars which "had proclaimed him universally as the greatest champion of Muhammadan religion." [6]

Ala-ud-Din's Administrative Reforms

Such a wide gulf separated the religious and learned Barani from the illiterate and irreligious Ala-ud-Din that he was completely at a loss to understand the undeniable achievements of his reign which he designated as "miracles"—unbroken series of victories, prosperity of the people, low prices, elimination of crime, abundance of gifted men in every walk of life—and could either express his bewilderment at the "wonders" and the "mysteries of the age" or tried to explain them away, by attributing them to super-natural causes—as the *karamat* of his *pir*, Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. It is only recently that scholars, piecing together bits of information from different sources have begun to realise the measure of Ala-ud-Din's administrative achievements. Professor Qanungo, in his study of Sher Shah, has named a number of fields in which Ala-ud-Din was a pioneer, and it is worthwhile quoting at some length from his book. With regard to the military organization, he says, "To Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji belongs the credit of organizing the Indian army on a new model. He created an army, reamed it directly by the central government through the Ariz-i-Mamalik paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by nobles of the Sultan's own choice while the corruption was checked by the *dagh* (branding the horses) system. After his death abuses crept in it, but nevertheless it burgeoned till the death of Sultan Firuz."[7]

Ala-ud-Din kept in touch with the army, when it was on the move, through an elaborate system of *dak-chauki*. "It was the practice of the Sultan when he sent an army on an expedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning form Tilpat, which was the first stage. At every post relays of horses were stationed, and at every half or quarter *kos* runners were appointed. Every day or every two or three days, news used to come to Sultan reporting the progress of the army, and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. False news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city or the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the court on one side and the army on the other was a great public benefit." One may not agree with Qanungo in calling this as "the earliest record of publicity bureau

in history," for the system had been adopted under the Abbasid but the arrangements show the thoroughness and efficieney with which government was organized under Ala-ud-Din.

More important for the vast majority of his subjects were the arrangements made by the Khalji ruler for proper assessment of land revenue. He introduced the method of assessment of revenue on the basis of measurement as it appeared to him more satisfactory from the point of view of the state. It is stated that the system was not extended very far and "did not take sufficient root to survive the death" of Ala-ud-Din, but at any rate it shows that the most important feature of Sher Shah's revenue system was originally introduced by the Khalji rule.

Not less important than the introduction of new administrative measures was the selection of officers, who were to carry them out, and in this Ala-ud-Din exercised great care, and till the end of his reign when ill-health and age impaired his judgment, displayed a very sound assessment of men. Barani disliked these officers who were a party to Ala-ud-Din's conspiracy to usurp the throne, but says about them, "In executive affairs and in matters of policy they were among those who by a shaking of the bridle bring a whole country under their sway and by one far-sighted measure subdue a dangerous tumult."

Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the ablest administrator of the pre-Mughul period but the conditions under which he lived imposed a severe strain on him. The riches brought by his victorious armies from the south of India heralded a period of unprecedented luxury at the capital. Ala-ud-Din himself was confined to bed, and a protracted illness coupled with other unfavourable developments affected his judgment. His informal council of bold and disinterested advisers also ceased to function. Malik Kafur, who had achieved great power after his victories in the south, completely dominated the king towards the end and persuaded him before his death on January 2, 1316, to exclude from succession his eldest son, Khizr Khan for an act of alleged disobedience.

The military conquests of Ala-ud-Din Khalji are well known.

Amir Khusrau and the Flowering of Indo-Muslim Culture.

His ability as an administrator is also beginning to be recognised. A full assessment of the cultural importance of his regime is yet to be made, but the scattered indications on the subject are enough to show that his was a very important period in the cultural

life of Medieval India, almost comparable to that of Akbar during the Mughul period. Indeed, it may be said that if consolidation of Muslim rule was the work of Balban, Muslim India attained cultural maturity in the days of Ala-ud-Din Khalji.

Under Ala-ud-Din the Muslims first crossed the Vindhyas and brought South India under their sway. This was a development of far-reaching importance, which had repurcussions in all fields of national life. For one thing, it greatly augmented the financial resources of the Delhi Government, and not only facilitated the maintenance of a large army and successful solution of the Mongol problem, but it also enabled the ruler and other beneficiaries to undertake cultural activities on a lavish scale. Ala-ud-Din did not live long enough to realise his architectural dreams, but even then he has left, complete and incomplete, many splendid architectural monuments. Developments in the realm of music were even more significant. As professor Halim records, "A new stage in the development of Indian music was reached during the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji when with the conquest of Hindu states of the Deccan a number of Hindu musicians moved to the north to seek the patronage of Muslim kings and nobles."[8] Luckily Delhi had men like Amir Khusrau who availed themselves of the situation and a new era in Indo-Muslim music was opened.

Developments in literature were equally remarkable. Amir Khusrau lived during the reign of seven monarchs, but in the days of Balban he was attached only to the provincial courts and the royal Court with which he was associated longest was that of Ala-ud-Din. The Khalji king's outlook was too practical and matter-of-fact to enable him to appreciate literature and patronise Amir Khasrau properly, but the poet must have benefitted by the general prosperity of the period and by the stiffening of standards in all walks of life. His most ambitious literary project, *Khamsa*, written in reply to Nizami and regarded by Persian critics like Jami as the best of several attempts made on these lines, was undertaken at Ala-ud-Din's court. Hasan was another well-known poet of the time, and Barani gives a long list of persons, who distinguished themselves in various walks of life. The achievements of Amir Khurasu alone, who has been called Leonardo de Vinci of India by Dr. Mukerjee, make this era the cultural seed time He ranked high as a poet, musician, historian, biographer, courtier, and sufi and had the vision to assist in the evolution of a new pat-

tern of culture, humanistic, artistically rich and in harmony with the environment. Until his time Indo-Muslim culture was a projection of the cultural traditions of Ghazni. Now Muslim India discovered its soul and evolved its own pattern of culture.

The leading lights of the earlier period-Aufi, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir Minhaj Siraj, and Burhan-ud-Din Balkhi were immigrants, and maintained an imported tradition. Amir Khusrau was a son of the soil, and represented an era which not only saw the consolidation of Muslim rule under Balban, but its large-scale expansion under Ala-ud-Din and complete beating back of the Mongols. Naturally his works breathe a spirit of exultation, self-cofidence and local pride. His liberal Sufi outlook (and probable Indian origin on the maternal side) enabled him to admire and imbibe the praiseworthy elements of the old Indian tradition. He studied Indian music and introduced changes and innovations which made it acceptable to the new Muslim society. He wrote long poems on local themes. His poetry is full of pride not only in his native land its history, its people, its flowers, the *pan*, and the mango, but he also held that Persian, as spoken and written in India was purer than the language used in Khurasan, Siestan and Azarbaijan.

We shall deal elsewhere with Khusrau's works, but it may be useful to give an extract form his *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, written in the last year of Ala-ud-Din's reign, which vividly expresses "the spirit of the age".

Happy be Hindustan, with its splendour of Religion,
Where (Islamic) Law enjoys perfect honour and dignity,
In learning, now, Delhi rivals Bukhara ;
Islam has been made manifest by the rulers.
From Ghazni to the very shore of the occean,
You see Islam in its glory.
Muslims, here, belong to the Hanafi creed,
But sincerely respect all four schools (of law).
They have no enmity with the Shafiites,
and no fondness for the Zaidis.
With heart and soul they are devoted to
the path of *jamm'at* and the *sunnah*.
It is a wonderful land, producing Muslims
and favouring religion,
Where the very fish of the stream are Sunnis

Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya (1238-1325).

Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtyar Kaki had introduced the Chishti *silsala* at Delhi, but his successor Baba Farid chose the distant Pakpatan for his devotions and spiritual labours. Sufism suffered a setback at the capital, until it was revived by Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, a disciple of Baba Farid. He was born in 1236-37 at Badaun, an important political and cultural centre in the eastern provinces, and received his education under the ablest teachers of his birthplace and Delhi. His studies were meant to qualify him to become a *qazi*, but he gave up the idea of a worldly career, and after receiving spiritual training at the hands of Baba Farid settled down at Delhi. Unlike his spiritual teacher, he made very few conversions and mainly devoted himself to the spiritual uplift of the large mass of Muslims who used to visit his *khanqah*. He deliberately adopted the policy of opening his doors to everyone interested in spiritual welfare-whether he was a professional *sufi* and a *dervish*, or a man of affairs who needed spiritual solace, or even a sinner who needed guidance.

Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din was a man of great ability and strength of character, and his admirers included some of the most notable personalities of Delhi. Khizr Khan, son of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, was one of his disciples amongst whom were included the celeberated poets Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan and the historian Zia-ud-Din Barani. The saint's table talk has been compiled under the title, *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* by Amir Hasan, and mirrors a versatile personality, with high intellectual and ethical standards, and deeply humane. The Shaikh's interest in the intellectual and cultural matters is reflected in a number of ancedotes he related about the early writers, scholars, and preachers like Minhaj-us-Siraj, Burhan-ud-Din Balkhi and Hasan Saghani, making the *Fawaid* an important source-book for the cultural history of the early period. The saint was a good organizer, and sent a number of disciples to Gujarat, Bengal and Deccan, where they became centres of missionary and Sufi activities. In Bengal, his disciple Ala-ul-Huq, the father of even more famous Nur Qutb-ul-Alam acquired great influence, and was held in awe even by the kings.

We will deal later with the controversy which rose in the days of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq between the Shaikh and the *ulama* on the question of *sama*, but there is no doubt that Shaikh's long labours

helped to maintain a high moral tone in the Muslim society, and as Barani records, contributed to the great spurt of creative and expansionist activity in the days of Ala-ud-Din Khalji.

Ala-ud-Din's Successors

Ala-ud-Din died on the second day of January, 1316, and after his death Malik Kafur caused Khizr Khan and his brother to be blinded. He was planning to ascend the throne when the palace guards killed him, and Qutb-ud-Din a son of Ala-ud-Din, ascended the throne with the title of Mubarik Shah. He began well, but soon came under the influence of a Hindu favourite of low origin, who had nominally become a Muslim, and had received the title of Khusrau Khan. On the 14th of April, 1320, Mubarik was slain by this favourite with the help of his tribesmen (Parwaris) whom he had brought to the capital in large numbers. Khusrau Khan ascended the throne, put to death all members of Ala-ud-Din's family, and tired to make his rule secure by various devices including a liberal distribution of gifts, on the line adopted by Ala-ud-Din on his usurpation of the throne. His treatment of his patron and his famlly had, however, alienated the public opinion. What was worse was that the behaviour of Khusrau's companions, "many of whom had not even formally accepted Islam"(9) convinced many Muslims that what inauspicious Mubarik's infatuation had brought on their heads was a possibility of the revival of Hindu supermacy or at least displacement of Islam from the position it occupied. As a modern historian has stated, if the insurgents had a suitable leader, capable of winning the respect of Hindu chiefs and the public, it was not impossible to re-establish Hindu power. But Khusrau's low caste companions had no wise head, and behaved with incredible insolence and strupidity. "Mosques were defiled and destroyed and copies of scriptures of Islam were used as seats and stools."(10) This offended the Muslims, and important Muslim nobles outside Delhi refused to bow to the new king. Ghazi Mailk became their leader and decisively defeated Khusrau's forces near Delhi on September 6, 1320. The low-caste usurper had completely extinguished the family of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, and the nobles called upon Ghazi Malik to ascend the throne. This he did, under the title of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq Shah, and became the first ruler of the Tughluq dynasty.

CHAPTER VII

THE TUGHLUQS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN THE DECCAN

CHRONOLOGY

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq.	1320-1325
Muhammad bin Tughluq.	1325-1351
Visit of Ibn Battuta.	1333-1342
Shah Mir, First Ruler of Kashmir.	1338-1339
Death of Shah Jalal, of Sylhet.	1340
Foundation of Vijayanagar.	1336
Foundation of the Bahmanid Kingdom.	1347
Firuz Tughluq.	1351-1388
Conquest of Kangra.	1361
Death of Firuz Tughluq.	1388
Invasion of Timur	1398
Death of Mahmud	1413

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq (1320-1325)

Ghiyas-ud-Din who ascended the throne in September, 1320 was an experienced administrator. According to the accounts generally accepted, his father was a Turkish slave of Balban, who had married a Jat woman. Their son distinguished himself in the service of the Sultans of Delhi, and for his brilliant and victorious campaigns against the Mongols earned the title of Malik Ghazi. He ultimately became the governor of Dipalpur, from where he was called to the throne under circumstances outlined in the previous chapter. He proved a firm and wise ruler. His first need was to reassert the authority of the government of Delhi, which had suffered from the disorder prevailing after Ala-ud-Din's death. The Raja of Warangal had declared his independence, and even started attacking other rulers tributary to Delhi. Bengal was in revolt. Not only were these rebellions dealt with, and the kingdoms of Warangal and Madura annexed in the process, but Ghiyas-ud-Din also conquered Tirhut (Mithila) on the borders of Nepal, which had hitherto remained outside Muslim rule.

About Ghiyas-ud-Din as an administrator, a modern historian says, "The administration of Ghiyas-ud-Din was based upon the principles of justice and moderation. The land revenue was organized and the Sultan took great care to prevent abuses. Cultivators were treated well and officials were severely punished for their misconduct. The Departments of Justice and Police worked efficiently, and the greatest security prevailed in the remotest parts of the empire."(1).

Differences arose between the able and conscientious king and Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, the foremost saint of the capital. When Khusrau Khan was threatened by Ghiyas, he not only paid his army several years' pay in advance, but sent large gifts to holy men of Delhi to obtain their blessings and support. Of these, three had refused to take anything from the murderer of his patron. Of the others some received the royal gift and handed it back to Ghiyas-ud-Din on his enthronement. Khusrau had so completely emptied the treasury that in order to reorganize the finances of the state, Ghiyas called upon all those who had received unauthorised gifts from Khusrau to return them to the state treasury. Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya had received five *lakh tankas* from Khusrau but when he was asked to refund the money, he replied that it had already been spent for the relief of the poor in his monastery. Ghiyas-ud-Din did not pursue the matter, but it was the beginning of an unpleasent relationship. Later, the orthodox theologians complained to the king that the saint indulged in ecstatic songs (*sama*) and *dervish* dances (*raqs*), which were unlawful according to Islamic law. Tughluq accordingly summoned him to an assembly of theologians and religious leaders, before whom the saint was asked to defend his position. No action was taken by the king as the Muslim theologians and Sufis were divided about the legality of *sama* and *raqs*, but the relations between the king and the Shaikh remained strained.

Ghiyas-ud-Din died in 1325, as a result of the falling of a pavilion hastily constructed by his son at Afghanpur (near Delhi), to receive him before his ceremonial entry into the capital on return from his succeseful campaign in Bengal.

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351).

Muhammad Bin Tughluq Shah, generally known as Muhammad Tughluq, who ascended the throne on the death of his father has been a puzzle to the historians. He had received a good liberal

education, and was highly gifted and accomplished. He was generous and possessed great purity of character, but his rule brought misery to the people and materially weakened the government. This was partly due to natural calamities. His reign coincided with a long period of drought and a protracted famine which in its intensity and extent was one of the worst the subcontinent has known. The rains failed for seven successive years (1335-1342) and there was widespread famine. The king tried to deal with the situation by opening poor houses and distributing grain freely, but the problem was beyond his resources, and the people suffered heavily. This created many dsfficulties for the king, but his misfortunes were not all due to natural and unavoidable causes. A man of ideas, he was always thinking out new measures but if his schemes were not received well, he would lose patience, and resort to ferocious cruelty to enforce them. In 1327 he decided that in view of repeated rebellions in the south, it was necessary to shift the capital to a more central place and selected Devagiri, which he named Daulatabad, as the new seat of government. He called upon the Muslim inhabitants of Delhi to migrate to the new capital, but they were reluctant to do so. The king adopted stern measures to enforce his decree, and the execution of his orders brought great suffering to the persons concerned. Many perished on the long route to Daulatabad. The king's decision has been attributed, particularly by Barani, more to a desire to punish the people of Delhi than to administrative or strategic considerations, but this view is not fair. Consolidation of Muslim rule in the south was perhaps the main consideration, and there is no doubt that the migration of a large Muslim population drawn from all sections of society stabilised Muslim rule in that part of the subcontinent. After some time the Sultan allowed those who so desired to return to Delhi, but many of the people who had gone to the south stayed on and were a source of strength to the Muslim rulers of the south.

Another measure of a controversial nature was the Sultan's issue of token currency. The prolonged famine, the expensive wars and the royal liberality had severely strained the exchequer. To restore economic stability the king issued brass and copper tokens in place of silver coins. Recent historians like Thomas have tried to justify the step and in modern times everybody is familiar

with token currency, but conditions were different in the Fourteenth Century. The measure was not welcome to the people, particularly the commercial classes, and it severely dislocated the economy of the state. Its failure was also due to the inability of the government to prevent the issue of spurious coins. Counterfeiting became common and as Barani says, "every Hindu's house became a mint". The king had the good sense to acknowldge his failure, and the token currency was withdrawn from circulation after three or four years. Its introduction and failure, however, neither enhanced public confidence in the Sultan nor restored economic prosperity to the country.

Some other measures of the king were equally ill-conceived and ill-fated. His plan to interfere in the affairs of Transoxiana and Persia, with a view perhaps to annexing some areas and the projected conquest of Tibet in 1337-38 ended in a fiasco and considerable loss of life and money.

The king soon got a reputation for barbarous cruelty. There were widespread rebellions and before long the vast empire which Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Ghiyas-ul-Din Tughluq had governed with success started breaking up. In 1335 Ma'bar became independent, followed by Bengal three years later. In 1344 Hindu Rajas in the extreme south organised a confederacy, and in 1346 Vijayanagar became the nucleus of a powerful Hindu state. A year later the independent Bahmani Kingdom of Deccan was set up, and the entire area south of Vindhyas was lost to Delhi. In the same year Gujarat and Kathiawar revolted, but the Sultan was able to quell the rebellions in these two areas. Next it was the turn of Sind, and in 1351 the king was marching towards Thatta to put down the revolt there when he fell ill and died. As Badauni says: "The king was freed from his people and they from their king."

The break-up of the Delhi Sultanate began in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq but the disasters which overtook him during the last years of his reign need not be the only basis for assessing his character and abilities. He had very serious shortcomings, for which his people and the empire suffered, but he was a man of ideas and until growing years, extreme irritation at the failure of his schemes and the inability of the people to appreciate them had warped his judgment, he tried to steer his course according to certain intelligent plans and considerations. He followed a policy of conciliation towards the Hindus. He introduced social reforms

amongst them and attempted to supress *sati*. He appointed a Hindu as governor of Sind and employed others in high positions. The Jain chroniclers remember with gratitude the respect with which he received the leading Jain theologians of the day. When northern India was afflicted by seven-year famine, he built a new town on the Ganges near the worst affected area, and gave it the Hindu name of Swargdvari, "The Abode of Heaven."[a]

Muhammad Din Tughluq's greatest achievement was, however, in the south. Early in his reign he had to deal with the revolt of Baha-ud-din Gurshashp, a cousin of his, who was given shelter by the Hindu rajas of the south. Muhammad Tughluq sent a powerful force against the defiant rajas, annexed Kampili, sacked Dwarasmudra, and forced its ruler to surrender Gurshascp, "and reiterate his submission to the government of Delhi (1327).[b] The rebellion of Gurshashp thus completed the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate to the southernmost limit of India. 'Ala-ud-Din's policy, like that of Samudra Gupta, nearly a thousand years before, was merely to establish his suzerainty over the distant provinces of the south. He laid low the four great Hindu powers of the south, namely, the Kakatiyas, the Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Pandyas, but was content to leave them in possession of their dominions so long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi. Though circumstances forced him to annex the Yadava kingdom, he did not attempt to annex the other three kingdoms. The Tughluqs, however, pursued the policy of exterminating Hindu rule in the south. Warangal and Madura had already been incorporated in their dominions and now Kampili and a large part of the Hoysala dominions shared the same fate. To Muhammad bin Tughluq, either as crown-prince, or as Sultan, belongs the credit of all these conquests which completed the triumph of Islam and seemed to have finally put an end to Hindu independence in the south. Muhammad Tughluq was unable to retain all the conquered territories. There was a powerful Hindu reaction and Harihara and Bukka who had been given the governorship and deputy-governorship of the same kingdom after their acceptance of Islam,

(a) There was an old Hindu bathing site on the banks of the Ganges river near Ajodhya sacred to the memory of Rama and was called swargdwari.

(b) Gurshashp was flayed alive, his flesh was cooked with rice and was sent to his wife and childern, while his skin stuffed with straw, was exhibited in the principal cities of the kingdom.

abandoned the new religion and laid the foundation of the empire of Vijaynagar. Some other areas like Ma'bar, of which Madura was capital, were also lost, but much remained, and with the build-up of the Muslim position at Daulatabad (former Devagiri) Deccan remained firmly under Muslim control.

Muhammad Tughluq and Sufi Saints.

Muhammad Tughluq's policy towards the Sufi saints is worthy of special study. Since the days of Iltutmish the Sufi orders had occupied a position of importance at Delhi. The Qutb Minar, the greatest architectural monument of the period, is said to have been built to the memory of a Chishti saint. Leading Sufis had been employed on political missions too, and so far as influence with the general public and nobility was concerned, Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya occupied a position, almost as influential as that of the temporal ruler. Muhammad bin Tughluq thought that the position which the Sufis enjoyed and the general esteem in which they were held, was a danger to the throne, and he took various steps to break their power. Early in his rule he forced some leading ones amongst them to accept his service on the plea that the first four Caliphs would permit only men of piety to be close to them. The worst sufferer was Hazrat Chiragh-i-Delhi, the principal Khalifa of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. He was rrequired to wait on the Sultan, and although he was at first unwilling, he recalled that his spiritual guide on his death-bed, had asked him to stay on in Delhi, even if he had to suffer hardships and tribulations.

The other step which the Sultan took to destroy the influence of the Sufis was to disperse them, or otherwise persecute them. Once he sent for Maulana Shams-ud-Din Yahya, a leading sufi of the capital and a disciple of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, and said to him, "What is a learned man like you doing in Delhi ? You should go to Kashmir and preach Islam to the idolators of the valley." The Maulana started preparations for the journey but fell ill. The king sent for him again to make sure that he was not evading the royal orders, but in the meanwhile the Maulana died and could not go to Kashmir.

Another leading figure to suffer from this policy was Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din, known as "Haq-go" 'The Truthful'. The king wanted to take him into domestic service but he told the royal emissary that he was unwilling to serve "a tyrant". These words were repeated to Muhammad Tughluq, who complained to the

qazi that the Shaikh had called a just ruler a tyrant, and that he should be punished. The Shaikh appeared before the court, stood by his words and gave a number of instances of the king's tyranny. This further enraged the Sultan, who had him put to death.[2] Sufi chronicles record that Muhammad Tughluq was opposed to the Sufis as well as the Sayyids wearing a distinctive dress. He sharply discouraged enthusiasm for contemporary leading Sufis (like Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Din Zarradi) and considered belief in their powers as heretical. The Sultan tried to pick up a quarrel with Shaikh Zarradi, but this was averted by the tact of the Shaikh's attendant.[3]

The result of this systematic policy was that the influence of the Sufis at Delhi sharply declined. Many left the capital voluntarily and others were forced to leave. The growing weakness of the Delhi Sultanate and the invasion of Timur, completed the process and Sufis never regained their old influence at the capital of the Muslim empire.

Muhammad Tughluq's policy towards the Sufis at the capital was primarily dictated by political considerations but according to Barani it was also due to his association with the sceptics and the philosophers. Perhaps the arrival at Delhi from Damascus of Shaikh Abdul Aziz al-Ardbeli, a pupil of the famous anti-Sufi thinker, Ibn Taymiya, (d. 728) had also something to do with this.

Muhammad Tughluq's reign is noteworthy for the presence of many foreign visitors of distinction, and the links he tried to establish with the outside Muslim countries. Ibn Battuta, the famous Moorish traveller, spent nine years (1333-42) in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during this reign and was appointed chief judge in the capital. Later he was sent to China on a diplomatic mission and has left an interesting account, not only of the capital and the places in Sind, Multan and the Punjab which he visited on the way to Delhi, but of other important places in Central India. He did not return to Delhi, but on reaching his native land, compiled his Book of Travels, which is a useful source of information regarding Indo-Pak history and Muslim society of this period.

(c) Muhammad bin Tughluq repaired some Sufi tombs and favoured a few Sufi *pirs*. The latter belonged to distant places like Multan and Bihar and were not influential at the capital and were even otherwise of an accommodating type.

Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388)

On Muhammad bin Tughluq's death, the nobles and religious leaders (including Hazrat Chiragh-i-Delhi, who was in the royal camp under the late king's punitive orders) approached his cousin to accept the crown. In character Firuz was completely different from his predecessor. He was of a religious disposition, and tried to run his government in conformity with the Islamic law. An era of greater orthodoxy had begun with the commencement of the Tughluq rule, but Firuz's own outlook and the circumstances in which he came to the throne, made him the most prominent champion of Islamic orthodoxy before the days of Aurangzeb. During his rule the study of Islamic law was encouraged and many books on the subject were compiled. Firuz attempted to enforce the law not only amongst orthodox Muslims, but against unorthodox sects like Ismaili Shias and the non-Muslims. For the first time *jizya* was levied from the Brahmins, who had hitherto remained exempt from the tax. On appeal, the king reduced the amount to be levied from them from 10 *tankas* to 50 *jitals*, but maintained the tax as a legal formality.

In Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, which contains the text of a lengthy inscription that Firuz Shah got recorded on the dome of a mosque at Delhi, and which is now available as a small tract the Sultan has summed up his principal achievements. The booklet shows Firuz's extreme orthodoxy and desire to run the state in accordance with the laws and principles of Islam. It is on record that in personal life Firuz was not a model of correct Islamic living. He continued to drink wine on the sly in spite of the remonstrances of nobles like Tatar Khan and religious leaders like Shaikh Qutb-ud-Din Munawwar. He was also very fond of music, and set apart the afternoon of the sacred day of Friday for listening to music. His claims to orthodoxy cannot be taken at their face value, but Firuz had seen the fate of Muhammad Tughluq and was anxious to win favour with the powerful religious leaders and the orthodox Muslim noblity.

The measures on the basis of which Firuz wished to gain a reputation for the championship of orthodoxy were, however, of a formal nature and limited application. The developments which shed lustre on his reign were the steps taken by him in the furtherance of public welfare. Rawlinson calls him "the best of the Muslim rulers of Delhi previous to Akbar" and contemporary

historians describe at length the happy condition of the general public, and the steps taken by the king to assist agriculture, promote employment and secure the happiness and prospertiy of the people.

Firuz did not distinguish himself on the battlefield and made but feeble and ineffective attempts to regain territories lost during Muhammad Tughluq's reign, but concentrated his energies on public welfare. In order to encourage agriculture he initiated extensive irrigation schemes, and dug five canals to distribute the water of the Sutlej and Jhelum over a large area. One of the canals dug by him continues to be used up to the present day.

Amongst his other measures, "which have a singularly modern ring", were the setting up of employment and marriage bureaus. All the young men who were without work in the city of Delhi were to be produced by the Kotwal or the Chief of Police, and qualifications and other particulars noted down, and occupations found for them[4]." The greatest monuments of Firuz's rule are the buildings and the towns founded by him. He is credited with the erection of 200 large and small towns, 40 mosques, 30 colleges, 30 reservoirs, 50 dams, 100 hospitals, 100 public baths and 150 bridges. He built a magnificent new capital near Delhi, and the two important towns of Jaunpur and Hisar (originally called Hisar-i-Firuz, or the Fort of Firuz) were founded by him. He had set up a regular Department of Public Works, which not only erected new buildings but took steps to restore "the structures of former kings and ancient nobles." Amongst other steps he removed two gigantic monolithic pillars of the emperor Asoka, one from a village in the Ambala District and the other from Meerut, and had them set up near Delhi. He also took steps to secure translations of a number of Sanskrit books which he found during his conquest of Kangra (1361).

Firuz tried his best to undo the evil effects of his predecessor's rule. He released the persons unfairly imprisoned by Muhammad Tughluq, paid indemnity to the relatives of the persons unjustly put to death, and restored those estates which had been unlawfully confiscated. He also took various steps to facilitate payment of land revenue. Instead of wasting the resources of the country upon military campaigns, he devoted all his energies to developing its wealth. People were naturally happy during his reign. "The peasants grew rich and were satisfied. Their houses were replete

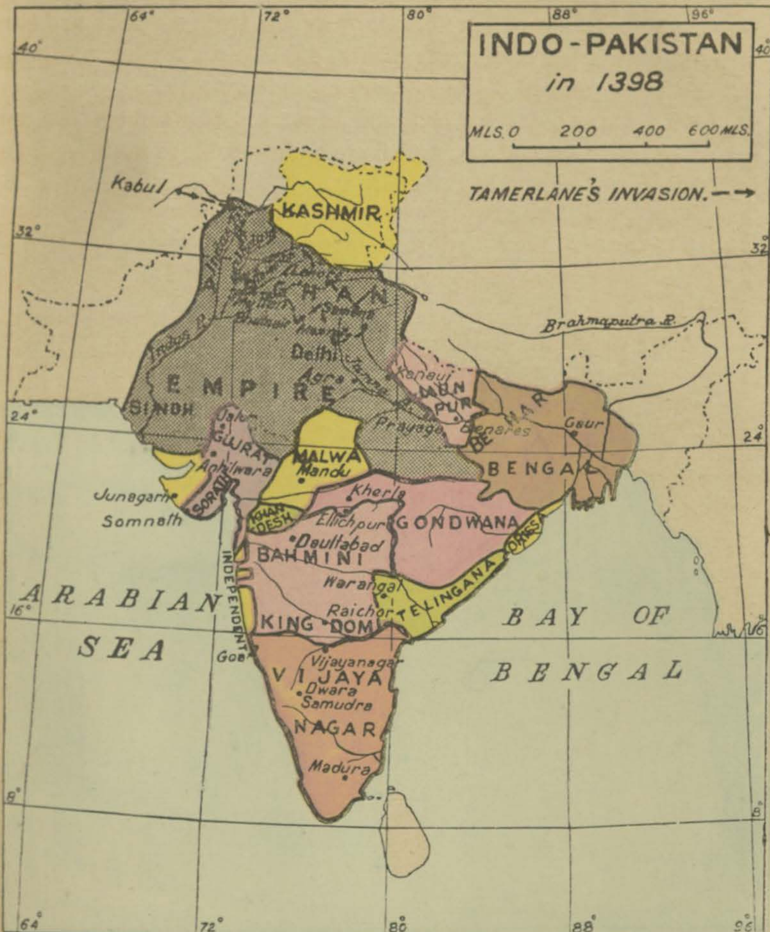
with grain, property, horses and furniture ; everyone had plenty of gold and silver ; no woman was without her ornaments and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general[5]."

The reign was inglorious from a military point of view. Firuz died in 1388, at the ripe age of 83, esteemed by his subjects, but he was unable to stop the break-up of the Empire which had commenced during the later years of his predecessor's rule, and after his death the pace of disintergation became quicker.

Later Tughluqs (1388-1413)

After Firuz's death a civil war broke out between his son and grandson, and there were rebellions in the outlying parts of the Empire. The Hindu chiefs threw off allegiance and the governors of provinces became independent. The weakness of the kingdom invited foreign invasions and in 1398 Timur entered India and sacked Multan, Delhi and other important cities in the northwest.

After the death of Firuz "six reigns are reckoned in the decade which followed" Mahmud Tughluq, who had ascended the throne in 1394, fled to Gujarat on Timur's arrival, but returned to Delhi after his departure, and continued his inglorious rule until his death in 1413.



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CHAPTER VIII

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

CHRONOLOGY

The Rule of the Sayyids.	1414-1451
Buhlul Lodi,	1451-1489
Sikandar Lodi.	1489-1517
Kabir.	1398-1518
Ibrahim Lodi.	1517-1526
First Battle of Panipat.	April 21 1526.

Mahmud Tughluq was the last ruler of the Tughluq dynasty.

The Sayyids (1413-1451)

On his death Daulat Khan Lodi was raised to the throne by the nobles but Khizr Khan, who was governor of Multan at the time of Timur's invasion, and had been appointed by him as governor of Lahore, defeated him and occupied Delhi. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sayyid dynasty, but his claims "to descent from the Prophet of Arabia were dubious and rested chiefly on its casual recognition by the famous saint Sayyid Jala-ud-Din" of Uchh. Khizr Khan's rule united Punjab with Delhi, but the Hindus of the Doab and Katehr, whom Balban had subdued with stern measures, revolted and withheld tribute. Other parts of the country had already become independent. Khizr Khan ruled as viceroy of Timur's son Shah Rukh, to whom he is said to have paid tribute. He died in 1421, and was succeeded by his son, Mubarak Shah, who was preoccupied throughout his reign, with the rebellion of Jasrat, the Khokhar, in the Punjab. Jasrat whose father Shaikha had established a principality during the ineffectual rule of the last Tughluq king, and for a time during 1394 had even held Lahore, had been carried off into captivity along with his father by Timur. He, however, regained freedom on the conqueror's death in 1405 and on return to the Punjab established for

himself "a principality of considerable extent." He defeated an army of Kashmir, and was instrumental in the enthronement of Zain-ul-Abidin, the famous king of the valley. His success "fostered in his mind extravagant notions of his power and importance, and inspired in him the belief that the throne of Delhi was within his reach." His efforts in this direction failed, but the repeated raids he made into the territory of Delhi indicate the troubled condition of the times.

Mubarak Shah was assassinated in 1434, and was succeeded by his nephew, Muhammad Shah, during whose ineffectual reign Multan became independent under the Langahs, and Bahlul Lodi, the governor of Sirhind extended his influence over eastern and central Punjab. The Sayyid ruler tried to placate Buhlul by styling him as his son and conferring on him the title of Khan-i-Khanan, but the relations between the two were uncertain, as Bahlul aimed at the throne of Delhi. Muhammad Shah was succeeded in 1444 by Alam Shah, whose circumscribed dominion has been described in the contemporary saying. *Badshahi-i-Shah Alam-Az Delhi Ta Palam.* (The kingdom of the Lord of the world, (Alam Shah) extends from Delhi to Palam).

In 1448 he retired permanently to Badaun, which he liked better than Delhi, and in the troubled condition which followed at the capital, the *wazir* and other nobles invited Bahlul Lodi to Delhi. He responded with alacrity, and occupied the throne on April 19, 1451. He wrote a letter to Alam Shah who replied that "he had neither fruit nor profit of sovereignty, but his father had styled Buhlul his son, and that he himself freely and cheerfully resigned his throne to Buhlul as to an elder brother[1]." Alam Shah continued to maintain a small court at Badaun until his death in 1478.

The Lodis 1451-1526

Buhlul Lodi, who had been dreeming of the throne for years, took early steps to consolidate his position and reassert the authority of Delhi. One of his first acts was to overthrow the *wazir*, Hamid Khan, who had called him to the throne, and whose influence might have endangered his position. He was very patient with his Afghan tribesmen, and tried to run the government as a tribal chief. Energetic, ambitious, and vigilant, he overlooked no opportunity of extending his dominion. He tried to take Multan but did not succeed against Husain Langah. He subdued the Hindu chiefs of

Mewat and the Doab. An attempt to subdue the Raja of Etawah brought him in conflict with the Sultan of Jaunpur, who claimed suzerainty over the territory but a truce was arranged between the two kingdoms. In 1458 Sultan Husain Sharqi, better known in the history of Indian music than in the annals of the kings, came to the throne of Jaunpur. He had married Jalila, a daughter of Alam Shah, the last Sayyid king of Delhi, and she instigated him, some years after the expiry of the truce, to invade Delhi. This led to hostilities which ultimately ended in the capture of Jaunpur by Bahlul, (1479). After the appointment of a governor at Jaunpur, Bahlul reduced Dholpur and Gwalior, where the Rajas had been virtually independent though paying occasional tribute to the Sharqi kings.

Buhlul died in 1489, and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Lodi, who consolidated the gains made during his father's reign. Soon after accession he quelled a serious rebellion in Jaunpur, where the Hindu zamindars had assembled an army of 100,000 horse and foot. Sultan Husain Sharqi, who had taken refuge in Bihar was still a source of anxiety and Sikandar invaded Bihar to deal with him. Husain Sharqi fled to Kahalgaon in Bengal, and the invasion brought Sikandar's forces face to face with the army of Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah of Bengal, but they came to a peaceful settlement. Sikandar tried to strengthen his grip over Raja Mansingh, the able and enlightened Raja of Gwalior, and interfered in the affairs of Malwa. He made the independent and quasi-independent chiefs feel the resurgent strength of the Delhi government, and within its narrower boundaries restored its position to what it was before the break-up of the Sultanate. He spent four years at Sambhal to thoroughly organise the administration of the trans-Gangetic province (1499-1503) and soon thereafter transferred his capital from Delhi to Sikandra, a suburb of Agra, to be nearer to the areas which required his attentlon. This was, incidentally, the beginning of the future importance of Agra, which had hitherto been a dependency of the more important fortress of Biana.

Sikandar was interested in literature, and wrote poetry himself. His teacher in the art of versification was Jamali, (d. 1535) a poet, mystic, traveller and biographer of importance. Sikandar patronised learning and attracted scholars to his court. One of the most interesting works of the period, which was sponsored by his *wazir*, Miyan Bhuva, was a voluminou book on medicine,

entitled (*Ma'dan-ul-Shifa* or *Tib-i-Sikanadari*,) in which the theories and prescriptions of Indian medicine were consolidated. Another important work of the period *Lahiat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, of which the only copy exists in Tagore Library, University of Lucknow, relates to music[2].

Sikandar is often accused of religious bigotry amongst others by Nizam-ud-Din Bakhshi, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* but it was during his reign that the Hindus began to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and started learning Persian in large numbers. Evidence of Muslim interest in Indian medicine and music in the highest circles has already been indicated. In spite of Sikandar's reputation for bigotry, it seems fair to surmise that in the cultural sphere his period was of active mutual interest "among Hindus and Muslims for each other's learning, thus conducing to a reapproachment[3]." Sikandar died in 1507, and was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Lodi. Soon disputes between the king and the Afghan nobles, which were simmering throughout the Lodi period, became acute, and Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab and the king's uncle, invited Babur, the ruler of Kabul, to invade India. After early incursions confined to the North West and the Punjab, Babur met Ibrahim in the first battle of Panipat, on 21 April 1526, and by defeating him and capturing Delhi and Agra, laid the foundation of the Mughul rule.

CHAPTER IX

REGIONAL KINGDOMS

CHRONOLOGY

Bengal as an independent kingdom.	1339—1576 A. D.
Jaunpur.	1394—1479 A. D.
Kashmir.	1315—1586 A.D.
Gujarat.	1396—1572 A. D.
Bahmani Sultanate.	1347—1525-27 A. D.
Death of Mahmud Grawan and disintegration of the Bahmni kingdom.	1488 A. D.
Adil Shahis of Bijapur.	1490—1686 A. D.
Nizam Shahis of Ahmadpur.	1480—1633 A. D.
Imad Shahis of Berar.	1490—1568 A. D.
Barid Shahis of Bidar.	1487—1609 A. D.
Qutb Shahis of Golkonda.	1512—1687 A. D.
Malwa.	1392—1531 A. D.
Khandesh.	1382—1601 A. D.
Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.	1377—1614 A. D.

The role of the regional kingdoms.

Under the later Tughluq and Sayyid rulers the kingdom of Delhi was confined to only a small part of the old Sultanate of Delhi and powerful independent kingdoms came into existence in ihe former provinces of the Delhi empire. This was a period of the disruption of the central authority, but did not prove an unqualified disaster for the subcontinent or the cause of Muslim civilization.

The area of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is so vast and means of communications were so undeveloped in the middle ages, that except under an unusually capable ruler like Balban or Ala-ud-Din Khalji, it was not easy to administer efficiently the entire subcontinent from one centre. The splitting up of the realm into regional kingdoms led to occasional conflict, but it also resulted in Muslim penetration in areas hitherto unconquerred, like Kathiawar and eastern Bengal. The administration of smaller and more compact territories was naturally more easy and effective.

In fact it is doubtful if the loosely controlled and vaguely demarcated *iqtas* of the Sultanate could have developed into the *subas* of the Mughul period, without the rise and consolidation of regional kingdoms which led to crystalisation of these territories and closer administrative control over areas, where old Hindu chiefs had exercised a great degree of autonomy.

The rise of the regional kingdoms also helped the spread of Islam and Muslim culture. During the palmy days of the Sultanate Delhi was the one major centre of Islamic culture and religion, but now Ahmadabad, Jaunpur, Gulbarga, Sonargaon, Gaur, Pandua, and other provincial capitals became "Smaller Delhis" and active centres of Muslim religious and cultural activity. The regional kingdoms had, indeed, a special contribution to make in the cultural sphere. Delhi had a large number of influential immigrants, and the cultural traditions of the capital mainly reflected the central Asian pattern. At the capitals of the regional kingdoms, Muslims and immigrants were not in that preponderating majority, and the cultural activity in these areas mirrored the indigenous tradition to a much greater extent. It was in these regional kingdoms that Muslim impact led to the rise of vernaculars and paved the way for the religious synthesis advocated by some leaders of the Bhakti movement. Music was more actively patronised at the regional centres like Kashmir, Jaunpur, Malwa and Gujarat than at the capital of the Sultanate. Besides, the regional kingdoms which were not pre-occupied with the threat of Mongol invasions and similar problems of the central government, were able to devote greater attention to cultral pursuits than was possible at Delhi. For example, the elaborate literary and cultural activity which was carried on in Kashmir under Zain-ul-Abidin's direct patronage finds no parallel in the annals of the Sultanate.

These cultrual activities, moreover, paved the way for the broader basis of Mughul culture. The Mughul cultural pattern was primairly derived from Herat, Samarqand, Tabriz and Isphahan, but it included many features which were absent during Sultanate and which had gained prominence in the regional kingdoms, like the attention paid to the development of vernaculars, the official patronage of music and the greater scope offered to Hindu thought and art forms. The extraordinarily rapid rise of Urdu during the Eighteenth Century was made possible by the slow maturing of the Deccani in the courts of Bijapur and

Golkonda, and many other features of the regional cultural traditions were absorbed in the pattern of the Mughul culture.

Muhammad bin Bakhtyar

Bengal was conquered by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji (circa 1202), but his hold extended only over a small portion of northern Bengal. After conquering Nadiya, the old Hindu capital, he withdrew northwards and gave more attention to Lakhnauti, near the present site of Gaur in the district of Malda. He established one military outpost on the southern frontier, and another in the north, at Devkot, (modern Damdama in West Dinajpur district), which remained his base for further operations, and was really the first Muslim capital in Bengal. Muhammad Bakhtiyar spent some time in consolidating his conquests, and he and his *amirs* were instrumental in founding a number of mosques, *madrasas*, and *khanqahs*. Much of the area where early Muslims laboured in Bengal in early years is now covered by jungle, but the ruins of Devkot in India and other places in the adjacent Pakistani territory bear mute evidence to the seats of learning set up in the early thirteenth century. In Mahisantosh (in Rajshahi district of East Pakistan) is the tomb of Maulana Taqi-ud-Din, who had come from Arabia and was a spiritual successor of one of the disciples of the celebrated Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi of Baghdad. He was a great scholar, and students from Bihar (including the father of Hazrat Sharaf-ud-Din Yahya Maneri, the most celebrated saint of Bihar) used to visit him to study Imam Ghazzali's writings under him. Such well-known saints of Bihar as Muhammad Ahmed Charamposh trace their spiritual descent from him.

The area controlled by Muhammad Bakhtiyar comprised parts of modern Malda, Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum districts. He wisely confined his hold to the areas near Bihar, but predatory raids in the neighbouring countries were a favourite exercise with the Turkish soldiers in search of wealth and adventure and the Turkish soldiery in Bengal were no exception. We hear about Sonargaon (near modern Dacca, in East Pakistan) for the first time during the reign of Balban, when he went there in 1280 in pursuit of Tughril, and compelled Bhoj, the Raja of Sonargaon "to use his utmost endeavours" to discover the retreat of the rebel and to prevent his escape by land or water. Soon thereafter, eastern Bengal came under Muslim sway and we find Bahadur established as a ruler of Sonargaon some time before 1302.

The House of Balban

The early history of Bengal is so full of rebellions that the province was often called *Balghakpur*. In fact, the distance between Delhi and Lakhnauti (now more frequently called Gaur by Muslim historians) was so great and contact between the two centres was so difficult on account of intervening jungles and the territories of the rebellious Hindu chiefs, to say nothing of the dacoits, that it is a marvel that in those days of difficult communications Delhi was able to maintain some sort of link with this far-off territory. The revolt of Tughril brought Balban face to face with the problem of chronic rebellion in Bengal and he tackled it with his usual thoroughness. He sternly rebuked those who were in a hurry to return from Bengal and after dealing with the rebels stayed on to reorganize the administration of the area. On this expedition Balban was away from Delhi for nearly three years[1] and before his return he appointed his son to the government of the province. He administered a stern warning to the prince against entertaining ideas of rebellion against the Sultans of Delhi at any time, and pointed to the frightful punishments which had just then been inflicted on the rebels. What was even more important, he left a number of picked officers, including Shams Dabir, a celebrated poet and writer of the day and a friend of Amir Khusrau, to assist the prince in the administration of the area. Balban further administered an oath to Prince Bughra Khan to exert himself in conquering *diyar-i-Bangala* and establishing his own authority therein firmly.[2]

The measures taken by Balban in Bengal proved fruitful. Balban's dynasty continued in Bengal for many years after it had been displaced from the throne of Delhi, and Balban's advice in relation to the king of Delhi was duly followed by his son and grandson, who offered their allegiance to the Khalji rulers. The cultural consequences of posting a team of highly educated and cultured officials from Delhi were soon evident, and Islamisation of the territory is supposed to have received a fillip under the Balbani rulers of Bengal. Their rule, from 1286 to 1328 is a period of "active expans on of Mussalman dominion in Bengal and the adjacent territories" This was made possible partly by the administrative reorganization effected by Balban and the measures taken by the team of officers left by him, and partly by the fact that after the fall of the house of Balban at Delhi (1290) a large

number of Turkish officers who hated the 'plebian' Khaljis, migrated in large numbers to Bengal. On the other hand the accommodating policy adopted by the unaggressive Bughra Khan and his descendents towards the new rulers at Delhi gave them a long respite from any conflicts with them. This left them free not only to subdue the small Hindu principalities, which till then were holding out within the territory over-run by Muslims, but also to expand towards the east. The addition of the northern districts of what now constitutes East Pakistan to the Muslim dominion was effected during this period. When Sonargaon, modern district of Mymensingh, and Sylhet, were occupied in the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Din Firuz Shah[a] (1301-1322), the volunteers for *jihad*, or Holy War locally known as *ghazis*, and other spirited volunteers actively assisted in these efforts. The conquest of Sylhet in 1303 is attributed by both Muslim and Hindu accounts to the moral and material support which the Muslim troops received from Hazrat Shah Jalal, who lies buried at Sylhet. Many other warrior-saints like Zafar Khan Ghazi of Tribheni in Hugli and Shah Ismail Ghazi in Rangpur district are mentioned in contemporary accounts.

Balban's ease-loving son, Bughra Khan, who ruled at Gaur under the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din abdicated in favour of his son Rukn-ud-Din Kaikaus in 1291, when he heard of the end of the House of Balban at Delhi. Kaikaus was succeeded about 1301 by Shamas-ud-Din Firuz, who died in or about 1322. During the last two reigns "Muslim rule was extended to South and East Bengal, and important centres were established at Satgaon (Hugli District, and Sonargaon (Dacca district). Firuz extended his conquests across the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam (now in Eastern Pakistan) and probably founded the city of Firuzabad-Pandua, the future capital of Bengal."[3]

In 1324 Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq decided to reassert the authority of Delhi over Bengal. He defeated Firuz's successor, and appointed another member of the same family to the government of North Bengal with its capital at Gaur. Eastern Bengal and southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at

(a) There is some doubt as to whether, as stated by Ibn Battuta, Sultan Shams-ud-Din Firuz Shah was a direct descendent of Bughra Khan. It has been suggested that he was a slave of Sultan Balban, but in spite of this, his reign and that of his two suecessors are generally included in the period of the "House of Balban", during which "Balbani" traditions were maintined.

Sonargaon and Satgaon, were annexed to the empire and Bahram Khan was appointed to govern them.

Independent Bengal (1338—1576)

The arrangements made by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq worked well for a time, and it was during this period that Muslim rule was extended beyond the Meghna river, and the territory represented by modern Tippera State and Chittagong district was conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. The troubles, however, which broke out in the later part of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq resulted in the independence of Bengal. The two expeditions of Firuz Tughluq did not prevent the break-away of this province from the centre as an independent kingdom and retained its independence till the conquest of the province by Akbar in 1576.

Bahram Khan, whom Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq had appointed to the governorship of Sonargaon to keep a general watch over the affairs of Bengal, died in 1337. Muhammad Tughluq, was too preoccupied with troubles elsewhere to attend to Bengal. Two officers Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah and Alauddin Ali Shah took advantage of the resultant confusion and assumed royal titles in Sonargaon and Gaur, in 1338 and 1340 respectively. They were fighting among themselves when a new figure emerged on the scene.

Ilyas Shahi Dynasty (1338—1415) (1437—1487)

This was Ilyas, the founder of the Ilyas Shahi Dynasty. He first took possession of Satgaon, and later made himself master of Gaur sometime about 1345, when he assumed the title of Sultan Shams-ud-Din Ilyas Shah. Later he annexed Sonargaon (1352) thus bringing the whole of Bengal under his sway. His siezure of power is noteworthy for many things. "The accession of Shams-ud-Din Ilyas Shah to the throne of Gaur opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal. He founded a dynasty of able and vigorous kings who won military glory and revived Bengal's contact with the outside world. He achieved the political unity of Bengal and carried his victorious arms far outside the boundaries of Bengal. He overran Tirhut and made a bold thrust across the inhospitable region of Terai into the fastness of Nepal, which was yet untrodden by Muslim soldiers."[4] Next he turned to Orissa, where he defeated the raja. In 1359-60 Sultan Firuz Tughluq tried to reassert the authority of Delhi, but the campaign was a failure and he had to accept terms which left Ilyas virtually independent.

Ilyas was succeeded by his son Sikandar Shah, who ruled from 1357 to 1393, and tactfully dealt with another expendition by Firuz Tughluq, who thereafter left Bengal untroubled on promise of payment of a nominal tribute. His son and successor, Ghiyas-ud-Din Azam Shah (1393-1410) is known in history as the correspondent of the great Persian poet, Hafiz. Following the desintegration of the Sultanate, Bengal had lost any real connection with Delhi, but Persian traders and statesmen came by sea and occupied positions of trust and responsibility. Presumably it was through one of these Persians that the king sent a letter to Hafiz at Shiraz, requesting him to complete a hemistich into a verse. Hafiz wrote a beautiful ode in which he reffered to Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din and said :—

> "All the parrots of India will crack sugar, through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal. O Hafiz, be not speachless with yearning for the court of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din,
>
> For thy affair will be furthered by this lamentation."[5]

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Azam Shah also sent large sums of money to holy places in Hijaz, a fact to which appreciative reference is made in some Arab histories. He also revived the old contacts of Bengal with China, and exchanged envoys with the Chinese Emperor. He died in 1410, and is buried near Sonargaon in a beautiful small tomb, which is the oldest Muslim monument in East Pakistan.

Ghiays-ud-Din Azam Shah was succeeded by weak rulers whose brief tenure was brought to an end by Ganesh, a Hindu zamindar of Dinajpur. He started persecuting Muslims and Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam, a leading Muslim saint of Bengal had to invoke the aid of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. On his intervention, Ganesh vacated the throne in favour of his son, who became a Muslim and assumed the title of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Shah. He ruled from 1415 to 1431 and is buried in the Ekalakhi tomb in Pandua, one of the finest old buildings in West Bengal. During the reign of his successor Ahmad Shah there was a threat of invasion by the Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur and Ahmad Shah appealed for intervention to Shah Rukh, the Timurid ruler of Herat. The Bengal envoy rounded the entire coast of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and approached Shah Rukh, who sent a senior officer with a message to the ruler of Jaunpur to desist from aggression. In 1437, Ahmad Shah was assassinated, possibly "as a result of a sort

of rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim nobles" and the reign of the "House of Ganesh" came to an end.

Ilyas Shahi dyansty was once more restored to power, and continued to rule for another fifty years (1437 to 1487). During this period Chittagong was lost to the Arakanese (1450), but otherwise the frontiers of Muslim Bengal were greatly extended. Early in this period, the Bagerhat region of Khulna district of East Pakistan was conquered by Khan Jahan, who colonised the area. He died in 1458-59 and was buried in a magnificent tomb at Bagerhat. There was extension of the frontier in North Bengal, and Sylhet which after its conquest in 1303-4 had been lost was reoccupied. This period was also marked by large-scale building activity at Gaur, Pandua and other places. The last Ilyas Shahi king was assassinated in 1487 by his Abbysinian palace guards, and there was a brief interval of Abbysinian rule, followed by the commencement of Husain Shahi regime in 1493.[b]

After the failure of Ganesh's attempt to seize power in the early 15th century, Muslim rule in Bengal continued unbroken, but the Hindu revival and resurgence, of which this attempt was a striking example in the political field, continued unabated in other spheres. "In the second half of the same century it spread in two directions, on one side in social reorganisation among Brahmans and Kayasths, on the other side in the encouragement of learning, the revival of Sanskrit learning at Navadvip and elsewhere and the nourishment of vernacular literature by songs and stories about Radha-Krishna and Chandi, or by translations from the Sanskrit epics and Puranas, The following century saw its further progress in the revivified religious beliefs, specially the Radha-Krishna worship through the preaching and singing processions of Chaitanya, his associates and followers ".[6] The vigour of the Hindu revival may be judged by the fact that not for the first time Hinduism spread to Assam, and the Ahoms adopted a form of Vaish inavaism. In the affairs of state, no further attempt like that of Ganesh appears to have been made in Bengal, but the Hindus held high offices under Muslim rulers, and apparently the important position of the old Hindu zamindars and chiefs in the countryside was not seriously disturbed during the Muslim rule.

(b) This is according to *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, and is supported by contemporary letters of Makhdum Ashraf Jahangiri *etc*. Firishta absolves Ganesh of religious persecution.

Husain Shahi Dynasty

In dealing with Muslim Bengal one is handicapped by the absence of any contemporary history of the area. Even the literary works produced by Muslims in Persian during the pre-Mughul period have been, with rare exceptions as in the case of the letters and some other works of Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam, lost. The only period about which some information is available mostly in the form of references in contemporary Vaishnava literature, is the brief but glorious period of the Husain Shahi dynasty, which attained power with the enthronement in 1493, of Sayyid Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah. He was an Arab who had recently settled in Bengal with his father, and had rapidly risen in the service of the local rulers on account of his Sayyid descent, ability, and personal character. He had been minister under the previous ruler and now the nobles elected him as king on receiving guarantees from him which according to Sir Wolesley Haig "bore some resemblance to a European constitution of 1848".[7] The new king proved worthy of the confidence reposed in him, and was a conscientious and competent ruler. After establishing order in his own territory, he turned his attention to the areas which were formerly included in the kingdom of Bengal, but had been lost during the disorders of the previous reigns. He recovered the territory as far as the borders of Orissa in the south and reoccupied Kamrup. He spent much time in fortifying his frontiers, introducing administrative reforms and building of mosques and almhouses. He left magnificent buildings at Gaur and Pandua, and made large endowments for the maintenance of the tomb of the saint Nur Qutb-i-Alam. Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah though a deeply religious ruler, was liberal in his treatment of the Hindus whom he employed in key posts,

Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah was succeeded by Nusrat Shah (1519-1532), another enlightened and liberal ruler. Both he and his father were patrons of literature, and did not confine their patronage to Persian which was the court language. As we shall see in a later chapter, with their encouragement many important Sanskrit works were translated into Bengali. The architectural monuments of Husain Shahi period include the *Chota Sona Masjid* at Gaur, built by Wali Muhammad during the reign of Husain Shah (A.D. 1493-1519) and a mosque at *Bagha* in the Rajshahi district dating from 1523. Both these mosques are in Pakistan, but the *Bara Sona Masjid* at Gaur, completed by Nusrat Shah in 1526, and the

Qadam Rasul mosque, completed by the same emperor in 1533 are now in India.

Nusrat Shah was assassinated in 1533, and after his death, the resultant political confusion enabled the Afghan adventurer Sher Khan Suri who had established himself in Bihar, to intervene in the affairs of Bengal, and ultimately conquer it in 1539. The Afghans continued to hold the province until it was conquered by Akbar in 1576 and incorporated in the Mughul Empire.

JAUNPUR 1393-1479 A. D.

The independent kingdom of Jaunpur was established in 1393 by Malik Sarwar Khwaja-i-Jahan, a minister of the later Tughluqs, who, seeing the prevailing confusion in Delhi, retired to Jaunpur and after suppressing the Hindu rebellions in the Gangetic Doab and Oudh, threw off his allegiance to Delhi. His family continued to rule Jaunpur for a little more than eighty years and included two rulers of some distinction. Ibrahim, who ruled from 1402 to 1436 was essily the ablest ruler of the Sharqi dynasty[c]. He intervened in the affairs of Bengal, but his reign is chiefly distinguished for literary, cultural and architectural activities. His chief Qazi, Shihab-ud-Din Daulatabadi, wrote a commentary on the Quran besides other works on Islamic law. Ibrahim built some magnificent buildings and gave protection to a number of learned men, who, during the disturbed conditions at Delhi following the invasion of Timur, sought refuge at Jaunpur. Vidyapati a Hindu poet has bestowed high praise on the prosperity and wealth of the city, which on account of its literary and cultural activities came to be known in later days as the Shiraz of India. The last king of Jaunpur, Sultan Husain Sharqi, was an ineffective ruler, but a great patron of fine arts, and occupies an important place in the history of Indian music. In 1479 he was driven out of Jaunpur by Buhlul Lodi of Delhi, and after some year's stay in Bihar, from where he vainly tried to regain his lost territory, sought refuge in Bengal. He was hospitably accommodated by Sultan Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah at Kahalgaon (Colgong), where he lived in retirement until his death in 1500.

No contemorary account of the kingdom of Jaunpur has

(c) The rulers of Jaunpur were known as Sharqi (Eastern) kings, partly on account of the situation of their kingdom, which was to the east of Delhi and partly on account of the title of the founder of the dynasty Malik Ush Sharq (King of the East).

survived and some subsequent potentates controlling the area like Sikandar Lodi and Burhan-ul-Mulk, Nawab Wazir of Oudh systematically tried to efface the achievements of the Sharqi rulers. There are, however, plenty of indications to show that art and learning were very actively patronised at Jaunpur, and the brief Sharqi rule had its own contribution to make to the stream of Indo-Muslim civilisation. Not only was the period marked by certain far reaching developments in the realm of Indo-Muslim music, but the Sharqi rulers by bestowing rich endowments on scholarly families and the Sayyids at Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Bialgram, Chiriakot etc. laid the foundation of the intellectual importance of the area, which made itself manifest during the Mughul period, and has been maintained till recent times.

KASHMIR

Kashmir remained outside the kingdom of Delhi until the days of Akbar, but Muslim rule had been established in the area in the first half of the Fourteenth Century. Islam was introduced in Kashmir by Shah Mirza, an adventurer from Swat who in 1315 entered the services of Suhadevak, the ruler of the valley. Suhadeva was overthrown by Rinchana, a Tibetan who is stated to have accepted Islam at the hands of a Muslim saint and made Shah Mirza his Minister. On Rinchana's death there was confusion in the state and Shah Mirza ascended the throne in 1346, under the title of Shams-ud-Din Shah. He proved a model ruler. According to the Cambridge History of India, "The new king used wisely and beneficiently the powers which he had acquired. The Hindu kings had been atrocious tyrants, whose avowed policy had been to leave their subjects nothing beyond a bare existence. He ruled on more liberal principles, abolished the arbitrary taxes and cruel methods of extorting them, and fixed the state share of the produce of the land at one-sixth.[8] Shams-ud-Din died in 1349 Sikandar, the next important ruler wielded power from 1394 to 1446. During his reign Amir Kabir Sayyid Ali Hamdani, a distinguished writer and saint from Iran, came to Kashmir with a large number of followers who initiated a powerful movement for the Islamization of the valley. In this they were assisted by Sikandar's Minister, Sinhabhat,[(d)] "a converted Brahmin with all a convert's zeal for his new faith." Forcible burning of widows was

(d) Vide History and Culture of the People of India Vol : VI p. 373. He is also styled as Sinhadeva.

a common Hindu practice in Kashmir and Sinhabhat, who wanted to put an end to this practice, persuaded the king to initiate stringent measures against those who refused to give it up. Many Hindus were forced to leave Kashmir, some temples were taken over and idols made of precious metal were broken and converted into money. These measures became such a prominent feature of Sikandar's reign that he is known in history as Sikandar, *But-shikan*—"the iconoclast".

The short reign of Ali Shah (1413-1420)

Sikandar died in 1416, and after *one* brief reign, his son Zain-ul-Abidin ascended the throne in June, 1420. and continued to rule for almost half a century. He completely reversed the policy of his father and Sinhabhat, restored temples, introduced a policy of toleration of all religions and allowed Hindus to "observe all the ordinances of their faith which had been prohibited, even to the immolation of widows." He abolished *Jizya* on non-Muslims and freely patronised Hindu learning. He caused the *Rajatrangini*, a Sanskrit history of Kashmir, and Mahabharta to be translated into Persian and several Persian and Arabic works to be translated into the local language.

Zain-ul-Abidin was proficient in Persian, Hindi, Kashmiri and Tibetan, and patronized poetry, music and painting. He estalished Persian as the court language, and is said to have introduced firearms in Kashmir. His death in 1470 was followed by great confusion. In 1487 Shams-ud-Din, a disciple of Mir Nur Bakhsh came from Iraq to Kashmir and started propagating Nur Bakhshi tenets. He believed Mir Nur Bakhsh to be the promised *Mahdi*, and in some matters agreed with the *Shias*. The Chak Tribe adopted these doctrines and it is from that time that *Shia-Sunni* differences started in Kashmir, which at times led to violence and blood shed. In 1568 a religious disturbance gave Akbar's envoy a pretext for intervention in the affairs of the kingdom and although shortly thereafter there was a patch-up, confusion in the realm continued and in 1586 Akbar annexed the territory.

SIND AND MULTAN

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had conquered Multan and Mansura, two seats of Muslim power in the former Arab dominion of Sind and Multan. By 1053 however the Ghaznavid hold had grown so weak that though Multan and upper Sind remained linked with the Ghaznavid empire, lower Sind came under the power

of the Sumras, a native Rajput tribe. The province was reconquered by Muhammad Ghuri, whose lieutenant, Nasir-ud-Din Qubacha, maintained a magnificent court at Uchh. Iltutmish defeated Qubacha and annexed his territory, but owing to the incursions of the Mongols, the situation in Sind and West Punjab remained confused under the later Slave kings. In fact, for sometime the area was under the control of rulers who owed allegiance to the Mongols rather than the Sultans of Delhi. Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq reasserted the authority of Dehli, but the lower Sind retained so much autonomy that in the days of Muhammad Tughluq, the Sammas, a Rajput tribe of Cutch and lower Sind ousted the Sumras, without any interference from Delhi. They continued their old Hindu tribal names, and many Hindu practices. The Samma rulers had adopted Islam, but the fifth Samma ruler who had spent some years at the court of Firuz Tughluq as a hostage, was the first native ruler of Sind with a Muslim name.

After the Delhi government grew weak, the rulers of Sind became independent and built up relations with Gujarat. There were intermarriages between their ruling families. Some saints of Multan went and established themselves at Patan and Ahmadabad in Gujarat, and in the days of Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat, efforts were made by the latter to spread the knowledge of true Islam in Sind. The best-known Samma ruler was Jam Nizam-ud-Din (popularly known as Jam Nanda). He came to the throne in 1439, and reigned for nearly sixty years. Towards the end of his reign the Mughuls of the Arghun clan, who had established themselves at Qandhar, began to make their influence felt in Sind, and when in 1521, Shah Beg Arghun was driven out of Qandhar by Babur, he came to Sind, and expelled Nanda's son, Jam Firuz, who took refuge with the ruler of Gujarat.

Shah Beg Arghun was a brave ruler, patron of learning, and according to Ma'asir-ul-Umara, author of many scholastic works. In 1556 he was succeeded by his son, Shah Husain, who for a time had Multan under him. During his reign Humayun went to Sind in search of help. Tarkhans, who belonged to an elder branch of Arghun clan came to power and continued to rule Sind until Mirza Jani Beg was defeated in 1591 by Akbar's general, Abdul Rahim Khan Khan-i-Khanan, and Sind was incorporated in the Mughal Empire. During their short rule, the Arghuns and the

Tarkhans were able to introduce into Sind the cultural traditions which had grown up at Herat and Qandhar, and the cultural life of the territory was greatly enriched.

Multan, which the Arab geographers mention as the principal city of the upper Sind, became independent during the confusion following the invasion of Timur, when the authorities at Delhi did not even nominate a governor. In 1438 the people of Multan chose as their ruler Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, the guardian of the shrine of Hazrat Baha-ud-Din Zakariya. The Shaikh, however, was a simple man of piety and devotion and was soon beguiled out of his possessions by an Afghan chief, Sahra Langah, who set up in 1348, the Langah dynasty, which endured until the capture of Multan by the Arghuns of Sind in 1528. Husain Langah, who defeated the armies sent by Buhlul Lodi, the contemporary king of Delhi, and held power from 1456 to 1502, was the ablest of the local rulers of Multan. In 1528 the Arghuns of Sind captured Multan, but their occupation of the city was marked by such cruelty and oppression that the inhabitants rose against the Arghun governor under Langar Khan, the former commander of Multan army. After driving out the Arghuns, Langar Khan submited to the Mughul governor of the Punjab, and Multan was once again united to Delhi.

GUJARAT

The kingdom of Gujarat was established in 1403, when Zafar Khan, who had been appointed governor of the province in 1391 assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and declared himself independent in 1391. He was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad Shah (I411-1432), who extended his dominion over the whole of Gujarat and built the city of Ahmadabad which is named after him. His grandson, Mahmud Begarah (1458-1511) was the most eminent member of the dynasty. He waged successful wars against the Ranas of Kathiawar and the Rajput chiefs, annexed Junagarh, and led an expedition to Somnath He successfully interfered in the affairs of Malwa, Khandesh, Sind and the Deccan. So great was his prestige that anybody having a grievance against rulers in these areas would approach Mahmud and usually these grievances were redressed through his intervention. Towards the end of his rule he came in conflict with the Portuguese who had appeared on the Malabar Coast in 1498, and were interfering with seaborne traffic in the Indian Ocean.

The last king of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah (1526-1537) occupied Malwa in 1531, conquered Chitor in 1533 and repulsed the attacks of the Portugese on Diu. In 1535 Humayun invaded Gujarat and two years later the fugitive Bahadur Shah was drowned off Diu. The defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah threw the kingdom into a state of anarchy, and it was ultimately conquered by Akbar in 1572.

During the two centuries of their independent rule the kings of Gujarat built many magnificent building and founded new cities like Ahmadabad and Mahmudabad. They encouraged arts and crafts, and laid the foundation of many industries for which Gujarat became famous during the Mughul period. Gujarat also became an important centre of Muslim learning. Cambay and Surat were two important ports for pilgrims and scholars visiting Hijaz and Gujarat were even more renowned than those of Delhi.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

More magnificent than most of the contemporary kingdoms of the North was the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan. It was founded in 1347 when Hasan, the leader of Muslim nobles in the Deccan revolted against Muhammad Tughluq's severity and set up an independent kingdom with Gulbarga as its capital. The Bahmani kingdom lasted from 1347 to 1526. For a little less than a century and a half (1347-1482) it prospered, until it extended from the west coast of India to the eastern coast. Towards the end of this period weaknesses set in, but the affairs of the state were well-managed by the scholarly *wazir* Mahmud Gawan, who ranks as one of the ablest Muslim statesmen of the subcontinent. He was an honest and efficient organiser, who reformed the administration and centralized authority in the hands of the king. But the Deccani nobles got jealous of him and poisoned the king's ears against him. The able minister was put to death on false charges, and soon the order and unity which he had maintained in the kingdom came to an end. Mahmud Gawan was also a distinguished writer and his Persian letters have been recently published. He maintained contact with many celebrities outside Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and amongst those who benefitted by his munificience was the famous poet Jami.

The death of Mahmud Gawan in 1488 was followed by a period of anarchy, and the kingdom broke up into five principalities

the Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490-1686) the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar (1480-1633), the Imad Shahis of Berar (1410-1568), the Barid Shahis of Bidar (1580-1609) and the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda (1512-1687).

The Bahmani kings and their successors at Bijapur and Golkonda "were great builders who have left massive fortresses which are monuments of high military engineering and their mosques and tombs are impressive." The college established by Mahmud Gawan at Gulbarga, though now in ruins, must have been a magnificent building at one time, and the Gol Gumbad at Bijapur is the second biggest dome in the world.

The rulers of Deccan attracted scholars, poets, and statesmen from Persia and other lands, but local talant was also employed to a much larger extent than was the case at Delhi. In some cases, the principal ministers, as at Bijapur, were Hindu, and the Maratha chiefs like Shahji of Ahmednagar, the father of Shivaji, occupied distinguished positions in the army. In linguistic matters also, there was closer collaboration between the Hindus and the Muslims. Marathi was the language used for village records, and the saints helped the development of the Deccani variety of Hindustani. They themselves composed verses in that language and encouraged others, and it was not a mere accident that although Hindustani appeared in Northern India in the very beginning of the Muslim rule, it was the Deccani idiom which first attained literary status.

MALWA AND KHANDESH

Malwa became independent after Timur's invasion in 1401 and remained so until 1531, when it was incorporated in the kingdom of Gujarat. The kingdom of Malwa was never very extensive, but the independent rule was distinguished by some interesting developments. One noteworthy feature of the activities in independent Malwa was the erection of the splendid buildings with which the two capitals of Dhar and Mandu were adorned. The rulers also encouraged literary activity and permitted greater freedom of thought than was customary at Delhi or other states in Northern India with the result that the kingdom became a refuge for many heterodox sects. Sayyid Ahmad, the Mahdi of Jaunpur, received a warm welcome in Malwa, and Shaikh Abdullah of the less orthodox Shattari Order made it the centre of his activities. Perhaps the most important contribution of Malwa to

the cultrual history of the subcontinent was the encouragement which the local rulers, particularly Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, gave to Hindustani music. Not only did music flourish during their reign, but such important centres were established as at Dhar, that for centuries later, a large number of the musicians who distinguished themselves at the Mughul court were from this area.

Another minor kingdom was that of Khandesh, with its capital at Burhanpur. It was established in 1382 and came to an end in 1601 when Akbar incorporated the kingdom in his empire. Burhanpur, however, continued to be an important cultural centre under the Mughuls.

HINDU KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

The break-up of the Delhi Sultanate led not only to the establishment of a number of Muslim kingdoms, but in certain areas the Hindu chiefs re-asserted themselves. In addition to the minor chieftains, who became virtually independent, the Sisodias of Mewar established a powerful state in Rajputana. Kumbh (1433-1468) defeated the ruler of Malwa in 1437 and built a tower of victory at Chitor to commemorate his success. He was assassinated by his son in 1468 and after some querrels within the family, Rana Sanga came to the throne in 1509. He was successful not only against the king of Gujarat, but defeated the Lodi ruler of Delhi at Khatauli in 1517. By 1526 he had become the most powerful ruler of northern India, and when Babur was establishing Mughul rule, his most important victory was not against the Lodi ruler at Panipat, but against Rana Sanga and his Afghan confederates at Kanwah (1527). Sanga was poisoned shortly after his defeat, and the importance of Mewar declined with him.

In the South, a bigger and more important Hindu kingdom was established. Two brothers Harihar and Bukka, who had embraced Islam were appointed by Muhammad Tughluq as governor and deputy-governor of Kampili, and were sent there to restore order. After initial set-backs they were successful, but southern India was at this time in a ferment. The Hindus had recovered from the stunning effects of the Muslim victories, and were trying to reassert themselves. Muhammad Tughluq's ineptitude and conflicts with Muslim nobility gave them their chance. There was a revival of Hindu power in the south and the rise of a powerful politico-

religious movement in the area. In this atmosphere Harihar and Bukka were reconverted to Hinduism by the Hindu religious leader Madhava Vidyaranya, and instead of remaining loyal to Delhi, Harihar declared himself independent and laid the foundation of a new capital at Vijayanagar in 1336. The kings of Vijayanagar became independent of the control of Delhi, but they had often to fight the Bahmani rulers and their successors. In order to increase their military strength they recruited a large force of Muslim archers, and gave them special privileges. Their task was facilitated by differences amongst the Muslim principalities into which the Bahmani Kingdom had broken up. Occasionally the aid of the Raja of Vijayanagar was obtained by Muslim kingdoms in their mutual conflicts, and it was due to excesses committed by the army of Vijayanagar in one of such campaigns that sealed its fate. In 1557 the kings of Bijapur and Golkonda sought the assistance of Vijayanagar army in an attack against Ahmadnagar, but the way in which the Hindu soldiers behaved shocked even their confederates. They laid waste the entire country and according to Firishta; "The infidels of Vijayanagar, who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised; they insulted the Muslim women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Quran." This outraged Muslim sentiment, and all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan combined to form a grand alliance against Vijayanagar. In December of 1564, the hostile forces met near the town of Talikota, where the Vijayanagar army was completely defeated, and the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar came to an end.

The Portuguese

Shortly before the advent of the Mughuls, a new power appeared in the south which did not establish a large regional kingdom, and was confined to the coastline, but which became a powerful factor in shaping the destinies of the subcontinent. On may 27, 1498, Vasco da Gama, guided by the Arab pilot Ahmad ibn Majid and his companions whom the Portugese had pressed into service on reaching the East African coast, appeared before Calicut, and a new chapter opened not only in the history of Indo-Pak subcontinent, but of the entire East. The object of the Portugese was twofold—to regain direct access to spices and other goods of the Indies for which Western Europe was now dependent on Egypt and Venice and to wrest the trade and political power in the east from the Arabs.

The pattern of the Portuguese activities was laid down by

Vasco da Gama himself. "Without any kind of warning he intersected and destroyed any vessel he came across on his voyage," but special treatment was to be meted out to the ships carrying Muslims. Vasco da Gama came across some unarmed vessels returning with pilgrims from Mecca. He captured them, and "after making the ships empty of goods, prohibited anyone from taking out of it any Moor, and then ordered them to set fire to t."

Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon in August, 1499, but soon the Portuguese forces returned in greater strength. In 1506 a strong fort was built at Cochin, and a year later, a settlement was established on the Island of Socotra near the entrance of the Red Sea. The zamorin, the Hindu ruler of Calicut had welcomed the foreigners, but soon the behaviour of the Portuguese led to hostilities. The zamorin was succsesful at first, but when strong Portuguese forces started coming, he realised the need for allies. The Portuguese actions and plans were also fatal to the interest of Egypt, and they had made themselves obnoxious to the Muslim rulers of Gujarat. It was, therefore, arranged by correspondence between the Sultan of Egypt, the king of Gujarat, and the zamorin, that a powerful fleet should be equipped at Suez and sent to the Indian coast, where it should be reinforced by the vessels of the other two allies. Amir Husain Kurd, the Governor of Jidda; was the Commander of the Egyptian fleet, while the contingent of Gujarat was under the command of Malik Ayaz, a Russian convert to Islam who had accepted employment under the king of Gujarat. In 1507 a fierce fight took place at the harbour of Chaul (near morden Bombay) where the Portuguese forces were utterly defeated, but this victory was without lasting results. According to Sir Denison Ross, this was due to the fact that in the following year there was another desparate fight near Diu, where the entire Portuguese fleet met the Egyptian fleet and the Indian auxiliaries. "In the desperate battle which followed, The Muslims were totally defeated and the Egyptian fleet was almost entirely destroyed." Dr. Pannikkar, who had access to the Portugese achival records in Lisbon, states that inspite of the fact that the Portuguese had secretly won over Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu, "action was inconclusive".[10] Whatever may have been the exact course of the battle, the outcome of the developments at Diu was very definite. The Egyptian commander became so disgusted with the behaviour of Malik Ayaz that he withdrew

from the Indian Ocean. The confederacy broke up and even if the naval battle was "inconclusive" the Protuguese by their successful diplomacy had attained results which a complete victory would have achieved.

In 1570, Egypt was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. The struggle between the Egyptians and the Turks and the dislocation inevitable in a new conquest "gave the Portuguese respite during which they were able to consolidate their naval position." By now they had occupied and fortified Diu, and were interfering with all navigation in the Indian Ocean which was not covered by their permits. These factors, high-lighted by the tragic death of Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat, at the hands of the Portuguese, brought the situation home to the Ottoman Sultan, Sulaiman I. He ordered Sulaiman Pasha, the governor of Egypt to equip a fleet and proceed to Indian waters to deal with the Portuguese. Sulaiman Pasha was to join hands with Khwaja Safar, the Commander of the naval forces of the ruler of Gujarat and the admiral of the zamorin of Calicut. This collaboration, however, did not materialise. On his way, Sulaiman dealt harshly with the Governor of Aden and some people around Khwaja Safar played on the dangers from the Turks and "convinced him that Gujarat had nothing to gain by their taking the place of the Portuguese at Diu[11]. In the meantime the Portuguese Governor was able to force the Calicut admiral to fight an action and to disperse his ships. Getting no real help from Khwaja Safar, the Turkish Commander sailed back to Egypt, after a futile cruise of the Arabian Sea. This left the Portuguese navy in full control of the Indian waters for the next sisty years.

It is not known whether amongst those friends of Khwaja Safar who dissuaded him from active collaboration with Sulaiman, there were any agents of the Portuguese, but they had, in case of Malik Ayaz, shown great skill in fostering treachery amongst their enemies. Some years later they achieved a signal victory at Chaul and Goa, where with the help of a very small force they defied and defeated a much larger and better equipped army (1570). Commenting on this success, Sir Wolseley Haig says, "These victories were due no less to the skill with which Portuguese exploited corruption(e) and dissensions of their enemies than to their valour and discipline[12]."

Having become master of the seas, the Portuguese established

themselves at important ports. They had already established a fort at Cochin (1506). In 1510, Albuquerque, who was the principal exponent of occupation policy, secured the island of Goa, the principal port in the kingdom of Bijapur. He introduced a system of direct administration for the district of Goa, which became, "the first bit of Indian territory directly governed by Europeans since the time of Alexander the Great." The Portuguese had some keen and efficient administrators, and they made useful contributions to Indian life and society. They introduced printing in Goa in the Sixteenth Century, and though this did not immediately extend to other parts of the subcontinent, some of the articles introduced by the Portuguese have been generally adopted. They were the first to encourage the growth of tobacco, potatoes and cashew nuts. Some articles of daily use (e.g. table) bear Portuguese names in Indian languages and were probably introduced by them into the subcontinent. They were, however, religious fanatics and failed to conform to the standards of international and interreligious conduct current in Indo-Pak subcontinent at the time of their arrival. "Albuquerque reported to his master that he had put every Moor in Goa to the sword." The mosques would be filled by Muslims and set to fire. Soon others began to share the fate of the Muslims. To quote Vincent Smith, "After Albuqeurque's death, the Government of Portugal, under the guidance of King John III, a bigoted fanatic, based its policy on a desire to make Christians by fair means or foul, rather than on political or commercial motives. The Inquisition, which had been established in Goa in 1560 indulged from the beginning of the Seventeenth Century in an atrocious religious persecution, torturing and burning relapsed converts and unlucky wretches supposed to be witches"[13].

CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE DELHI SULTANATE.

Early Indo-Muslim Literature on administration and political theory.

The old histories of Medieval India, by confining themselves to accounts of wars and conquests, have created the impression that early Muslim rulers were only rough and rude soldiers, with no cultural interests and without well-developed views on the proper role of government. The earlier chapters of this book, in which an attempt has been made to trace the administrative changes introduced in different reigns and the political views of rulers like Iltutmish and Balban, would have removed this impression. Before, however, we deal with the administrative structure evolved during the Sultanate, it may be useful to refer to two works on government and political theory, which have somehow survived and which show that the newcomers had amongst them thoughtful and well-read intellectuals, who applied their minds to the general principles and technique of public administration and government.

The earliest work which is of special importance in the history of political thought of Muslim India, and was probably intended to be a blue-print for the first Muslim Government at Delhi, was written by a contemporary of Iltutmish. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, whose father was a distinguished scholar of Ghazni and whose great grandfather had served in a prominent position under Sultan Ibrahim (1059-1099) spent a considerable part of his life at Lahore, where he met Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, and was later presented to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Aibak in 1205. He was the author of a Book of Genealogies, and the historical introduction to this work, which he completed in 1206 and presented to Aibak, has been edited and

published by Sir E. Dennison Ross. A more important work, variously styled as *Adab-ul-Muluk wa Kifayat al Mamluk* (Rules for the Kings and the Welfare of the Subjects) or *Adab-ul-Harab wal-Shujaat* (Rules of Warfare and Bravery) has not yet seen the light of the day. The first part of this book, is a work of political theory, dealing with the privileges and responsibilities of kings, with separate chapters giving the qualifications and functions of different officers of state—*wazir, mustaufi, wakil, mushrif, amir-i-hajib, amir-i-dad* and *sahib-i-barid*. In the chapters dealing with different dignitaries Fakhr has drawn on old historical works, books on statecarft and theological works to illustrate and elaborate his views. The remaining book is a manual dealing systematically and in some detail with the art of war and warfare. This book, in which a distinguished scholar-statesman of the age laid down the lines for administrative setup and military organization of Muslim India, was doubtless intended by the author to be a guide book for the rulers. The book was presented to Iltutmish and as the contemporary histories show, the government organizaiton set up by him corresponded very much to the structure visualised by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir.

Another early work connected with political theory, of which an incomplete copy has survived, belongs to a different category. Fatawa-i-Jahandari (Rulings on Goverment) which is in the nature of a political phantasy[a] consists mainly of a number of imaginary discourses supposed to have been addressed by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni to his successor. It was written after Barani had retired from the royal court in disgrace and is concerned more with general policies than with the structure of the state. The book reflects Barani's bitterness against recent trends, his extremism and his acute class-consciousness. He is bitter not only against the Hindus but also against the Muslim lower classes, who according to him should be taught rules about *hajj, zakat* etc., but should not be "taught reading and writing, for plenty of disorders arise owing to the skill of the low-born in knowledge....For on account of

(a) On the form of this somewhat peculiar book, Prof. Habib writes in his introduction to the English version,...."We discover that Sultan Mahmud is the hero of the book, but curiously enough we find three persons speaking one after the other—Sultan Mahmud, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, and Barani himself—and it is difficult to say where speech of one of them ends and the speech of the other begins. Also Mahmud is sometimes spoken of as living and at other time as dead" (Medieval India Quarterly, Aligrah, 1958)

their skill, they became governors, revenue collectors, auditors, officers and rulers." If the teachers disregard this edict and "are discovered at the time of investigation that they have imparted knowledge or taught letters or writing to the low-born inevitably the punishment for disobedience will be meted out to them(1)."

Fatawa-i-Jahandari is of interest, like everything else from the pen of a brilliant write like Barani, but it represents an individual's views and made no impression on the course of Indo-Muslim history or political thought. Indeed, it is not referred to by any later writer or historian, and is not included in an incomplete, but fairly full list of Barani's works given by his contemporary, Amir Khurd. The importance of the book is partly personal, as giving an insight into the mind of Barani, and partly topical, as it gives his views in the context of political and social situation then prevailing. In spirit and sentiments Fatawa-i-Jahandari is in complete contrast with Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's book, which is throughout inspired by practical idealism, moderation, and good sense.

Besides Fatawa-i-Jahandari, Barani has dealt at length with political philosophies of early Muslim rulers, statesmen and religious leaders in his well-known historical work, Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi. The long discourses on political affairs and statecraft contained in his book, like Nur-ud-Din Mubarik Ghaznavi's advice to Iltutmish on the responsibilities of a Muslim "Defender of the Faith" (Din Panah), Balban's views on kingship, and his long lecture to his son, Bughra Khan, the Governor of Bengal on the relationship between the Central and the Provincial Governments, Ahmed Chap's advice to Jalal-ud-Din Khalji, Kotwal Ala-ul-Mulk's discourses at Ala-ud-Din's consultative assemblies, Qazi Mughis's views on major political and legal problems of the day and several others were dramatised and enlarged by the eloquent historian. They are presumably coloured by his own predilictions, and should not be treated as authentic in every word, but the views attributed to different rulers and dignitaries are so distinct and so much "in character" that they may be taken to generally represent the individual views of the persons to whom they are attributed. For an understanding of Muslim political thought during the Sultanate, a study of Tarkh-i-Firuzshahi is helpful, although it is not a work of political theory.

Muslim state in India was not a theocracy. Apart from the general question whether in a society which does not recognise an ordained priesthood there can be a theocracy, especially in areas not under the direct control of the *Khalifah*, the historical factors, the declared policies of early Sultans and the presence of a large non-Muslim population ruled out the establishment of an Islamic theocracy in India. The Sultans of Delhi were practical men, and since their power rested largely on the Muslim army and nobility, two of them, strengthened their position, in the eyes of the orthodox by obtaining formal recognition from the contemporary *khalifahs* and some others continued to designate themselves on their coinage as the "Helpers" of a living or dead *khalifah*. But this pious legal fiction did not alter the reality. By the time Muslim rule was established at Delhi, the temporal authority of the *Khalifah* at Baghdad dwindled into a mere shadow even within his own territories, and the actual reality of the Indian links with the *khalifah* may be judged by the fact that occasionally a *khalifah* would be dead for years before Delhi became aware of the event, and made any change in the *khutbah* or the coinage. The patents obtained by the rulers from the *khalifahs* meant so little that at one time the contemporary *khalifah* sent such patents simultaneously to more than one independent Sultan in India *i.e.* the rulers of Delhi and of Bengal.

Delhi Sultanate not a Theocracy

Besides, the policy adopted by the early Sultans under the stress of circumstances with which they were confronted could hardly permit the growth of theocracy. Iltutmish, practically the first Sultan of Delhi, pointed out the essentially secular nature of the Sultanate, and explained why under the conditions prevailing in India, it was not possible for him to be a "Defender of the Faith", (Din Panah), except in some limited spheres. Balban, the next important ruler, dominated Northern India for nearly forty years and built up the political and administrative pattern which was followed by the later sultans, even went further. Barani makes it clear that in spite of Balban's courtesy to the leading *ulama* and his personal observance of religious practices, in matters of administration "he carried into effect whatever he considered to be in the interest of the state, irrespective of whether it was in accordance with Islamic law or not". Ala-ud-Din Khalji, followed the same policy. Barani writes about him; "When he obtained kingship, it was firmly ingrained in his mind that government and

administration were one thing, while the citations and injunctions of Islamic law were another, and that while the government orders were the concern of the king, the decisions of Islamic law concerned the *qazis* and the *muftis*. Accordingly, in affairs of government, he did whatever appeared expendient to him, and in whatever way he saw the welfare of the state, whether it was allowed or forbidden by Islamic Law. In administrative matters he never asked for legal opinion, and very few learned men visited him".[2] It was under the Tughluqs, particularly under Firuz, that Muslim jurists got some recognition, but by then the pattern of Muslim rule in India had become firmly established.

The early Ulama, realised the complexity of the Indian situation and the need for strengthening the Muslim government. After a brief period of doubts and questionings they accepted the course, which Iltutmish wished them to adopt (b). The local needs and the spirit of the times encouraged this and a realistic *modus operandi* was evolved. The lack of rigidity shown by the Muslim *ulama* may be judged by the fact that Raziya ascended the throne of Delhi, although Muslim legal opinion is firmly opposed to women rulers, and it was left to a much later scholar, (Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis (1551-1642), in the more legalistic days of the Mughuls, to criticise the selection of Raziya and express surprise at the action of the contemporary jurists and Shaikhs in confirming it. There was an equally glaring departure from the correct legal position in Qutb-ud-Din Aibak's being accepted as the Sultan, years before his manumission. Dr. Ashraf has correctly summed up the position regarding the early *ulama*; "The Ulama whatever their spiritual significence did lend a hand, and perhaps not unsuccessfully, in helping the advancement of Muslim society in Hindustan, instead of harnessing all the religious passions of the Muslims to impede its progress".[3]

With the good sense shown by rulers like Iltutmish and practical, broad-minded juristis like Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj, the lines indicated by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir were followed. From early days the practice grew that so long as a sultan undertook to safeguard

(b) About this brief but important chapter in the constitutional history of Muslim India, some details are found in the work of the historian Barani. In his *Sahifa-i-Na'at-i-Muhammadi*, he gives a long anecdote about the views expressed by some extremist *ulama* regarding the Hindus, and the evasive reply given by the *wazir*, *Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi* at Iltutmish's behest, (see Medieval India Quarterly Vol: I, Nos. 3 & 4 pp. 104-5). The views of an influential early theologian, Nur-ud-Din Turk Ghaznavi, on the basic

the honour or the observances of Islam, did nothing in open defiance of the principles of *shariat*, appointed *qazis* and made arrangements for religious education and observances of religious practices, the *ulama* did not interfere in the affairs of the state, which the sultan and his officers administered according to their lights.

The Sultan

The title "Sultan[c]" signifies a sovereign ruler and marks the transition from the quasi-theocratic *Khilafat* to a secular institution. Although the process was implicit in the establishment and administration of the Umayyad caliphate, it was strengthened by the Persian ideas regarding "the divine right of kings". These influences, which had gradually become dominant in Baghdad under the later Abbasids were even more marked at *Ghazni*. At Delhi "in the early days of the Turkish rule, there was some opposition to the idea (of the divine right of kings) in very orthodox circles of Muslim thinkers." and the pious minded Iltumish was almost apologetic about his kingly role. The position completly changed with Balban, who was a great advocate of Persian ideas, modelled his court after the Persian style, assumed the title of Zillullah and introduced Persian etiquette, court ceremonial and festivities. With him Persian ideas of monarchy became dominant. The process was facilitated by the fact that the Hindus were already used to regarding the king as a representative of Divine powers.

These theories based on Persian political ideas and antecedents gave medieval kings powers which occasionally were used arbitrarily, but there were a number of checks on the absolute exercise of authority by the Sultan. For one thing, the Islamic theory curtails the law-making power of a ruler, and although there was nothing to stop an autocratic ruler from becoming a law unto himself, he could only do so in defiance of the system which gave him power, and usually the Sultans found it unwise to do so. Even an autocratic and wordly minded ruler like Ala-ud-Din Khalji admitted that administration of justice was the concern of

policy to be adopted by a Muslim king in India are given at length in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (PP. 41-44). Barani wrote more than a century after these discussions, and his information was based on hearsay. His own extremist, anti-Hindu attitude may also have coloured his account, but this echo of early debates in his works is not without significance for the historian.

(c) Court poets of Mahmud of Ghazni refer to him as Sultan, but his historians refer to him as Amir. The Saljuk ruler Tughrul (1037-1063) was the first to adopt the title of Sultan on his coins.

the Muslim jurists and rewarded Qazi Mughis-ud-Din for his bold criticism of his own actions, for which he could even offer some justification.

Equally important was the opinion of the nobility. "No feudal lord in Europe exercised a greater check on royal power than the nobles in India".[4] The kings consulted their chief nobles and the routine affairs of the state were left to them. Minhaj refers to a dignitary, *Amir-i-Majlis*, whose duties were to arrange meetings for the Council of Advisers consisting of his most intimate officers. In these meetings of his Council important questions were discussed freely, and some of his pet schemes (like his desire to establish a new religion) were ruled out. These factors, together with the influence of public opinion, and the natural desire of the Sultan to maintain his position, exercised a check on the theoretical absolutism enjoyed by him.

According to Muslim theory, particularly of the Sunnis who formed the bulk of Muslim population in India, election is the accepted method for selecting the *amir*. Both Turko-Iranian ideas of kingship and the Hindu conception of sovereignty were opposed to this principle, but "generally the form of limited election was maintained" at Delhi. The acceptance of the governors of the provinces, the principal nobles of the capital and of the chief theologians, was taken as the indirect consent of the mass of the people[5].

Department of the State.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, lists the following principal dignitaries of the state (1) *Wazir* (2) *Wakil-i-dar* (3) *Amir-i-dad* (4) *Amir Hajib* (5) *Mushrif* (6) *Mustaufi* (7) *Sahib-i-Barid*. *Mushrif-i-mumalik* was the Accountant-General, while *Mustaufi* (*Mustaufi-i-mumalik*, was the Auditor-General Later, the *Mushrif* became the accounts offieer responsible for income, and the *Mustaufi* for expenditure. *Amir-i-Hajib* (or the Barbek) is often designated as the Chief Chamberlain, but this does not fairly describe the functions and the duties of this officer. *Amir-i-Hajib* was the master of the ceremonies at the court and nobody could enter the royal presence without being introduced by one of his assistants. All petitions were presented to the Sultan through the *Amir-i-Hajib* or his subordinates. The post, therefore, was one of great prestige and was reserved for trusted nobles. At least one holder of this post (Balban) was the most powerful noble of the day. *Wakil-i-dar* (not to be confused with

the *Wakil-i-Sultanat* of the Sayyid dynasty and the *Wakil-i-Mutliq* of the Mughuls) was the Controller of the Household, while *Sahib-i-Barid* was incharge of the royal post, communications and intelligence.

History of Wizarat.

The chief minister of the Sultan was called the *wazir*. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir considered the *wazir* a "partaker in sovereignty" and recommended that in his own technical domain he must be left free by the monarch. He describes the normal functions of the *wazir* in the following passage: "The kings know well how to lead expeditions, conquer countries, give rewards, and shine in the assembly or battlefield; but it is the domain of the *wazir* to make a country prosperous, to accumulate treasures, to appoint officials, to ask for accounts, to arrange for the stock-taking of the commodities in the *karkhanas*, and the census of horses, camels, mules and other animals, to assemble and pay the troops and artisans, to keep the people satisfied, to look after the men of piety and fame and to give them stipends, to take care of the widows and the orphans, to provide for the learned, to administer the affairs of the people, and organise the business of the state".[6] This was the position in early days, when the *wazir* used to be in charge of the entire government, both the civil and the military departments and the functions which were later entrusted to Sadr-i-Jahan, but this arrangement underwent drastic changes in the light of practical experience. In view of the importance of the office and to illustrate the administrative experiments that were carried on under the Sultanate, it would be useful to sketch the history of *wizarat*.

Few details are known about administrative arrangements during the brief rule of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, but presumably the practice of combining civil and military offices (which was introduced by the Ghaznavids at Lahore in Masud's reign, and was continued under the Ghuris) remained in operation. This was also the position under Iltutmish. His first *wazir*, Nizam-ul-Mulk (Kamal-ud-Din Muhammad) Junaidi was in charge of all sections of the government, and in addition to his civil duties was occasionally entrusted with military commands. He held this office during the brief reign of Iltutmish's immediate successor, but as he refused to take the oath of allegiance to Raziya, she promoted his deputy, Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-Din to the *wizarat*. During the troubled reign of Raziya and her successors, Khwaja

Muhazzab-ud-Din played an ambitious and dangerous game. He used his influence with the weak rulers and his own capacity for intrigue to consolidate his position and "took all power out of the hands of the Turkish *amirs*". At first an attempt was made during the brief rule of Bahram, to curb the *wazir's* (and the king's) powers by the creation of the post of the Naib (the Deputy of the Realm), but this did not work and the *wazir* continued to be all-powerful. Muhazzab's opponents, therefore, joined hands and had him assassinated on October 28, 1242.

The end of Khwaja Muhazzib-ud-Din marks the close of a period in the history of *wizarat*. The way he used his proximity to the king and his authority in the military sphere to secure unlimited power frightened the nobles. The provincial governors and other administrative officers representing the backbone of government would not permit an individual, selected for his ability in office work, to obtain so much power. Not only did Muhazzab's overwhelming ambition bring about his own violent end, but it also led to a change in the character of *wizarat*. His successors were selected for their docility. Balban, even before he become Deputy, was more powerful than the *wazir*, and when he became king, he took away the military functions of this functionary. He made the Rawat-i-Arz (The Muster-Master, who was originally in charge of the financial side and of records of military personnel only) independent of the *wazir*, and raised him to the rank of the War Minister. Actually in Barani's list Balban's venerable Rawat-i-Arz comes before Khwaja Hasan, the wazir[(d)], possibly on account of his personal eminence. This change marked the end of the dual—civil and military—role of *wizarat*, so dear to the Muslim political theorists, and remained in operation till the days of Firuz Tughluq. Under the pleasure-loving Kaiqubad, Nizam-ud-Din, Dadbak gained ascendency and contributed to the ruin of the young king. When Jalal-ud-Din Khalji came to the throne, *wizarat* was entrusted to Khwaja Khatir, who had been Deputy *wazir* in Balban's days. He was confirmed in his office by Ala-ud-Din Khalji, whose Deputy Wazir Sharaf Qai is also praised for efficiency, but during the last days of the king Malik Kafur, the

(d) The low position to which Balban reduced the *wazir* proved disastrous to his own schemes. At his deathbed he had desired that Kaikhusro son of Khan-i-Shaheed, should succeed him. Some influential nobles of the capital decided to ignore Balban's wishes and enthroned Kaiqubad. The *wazir* favoured adherence to his old master's will, but was powerless to enforce it and was sent into exile.

royal Deputy, wielded real power. During the short-lived rule of Khusrau Khan, Malik Wahid-ud-Din Quraishi, who had proved successful as provincial *wazir* in Gujarat, became *Wazir-ul-Mumalik*. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq made an even more interesting experiment. He created a Board of three ex-wazirs, with the senior most having the high title of *Malik-ul-wuzara* (The Chief minister). Ghiyas "honoured them by permitting them to sit in his presence, and not only consulted them in all matters but gave full weight to their opinions". The routine work of *wizarat* was carried on by Malik Shadi, the son-in-law of the king. Muhammad Tughluq entrusted the *wizarat* to Khwaja Jahan Malik Ayaz, who had been in charge of Public Works under his father. The *wazir* could not sway the self-willed Sultan, but was considered competent and continued to hold his office till the end of the reign.

With the general policy of the Tughluqs to approximate to Muslim practice in all matters and Muhammad Tughluq's preference for the Arab and Persian ways, we notice the beginning of a change in the character of *wizarat*. Khwaja Jahan, though essentially a civil servant was occasionally entrusted with military duties. This change is more marked uuder Firuz, whose *wazir* fully approximated to the Arab notion of an all-powerful *wazir*, the *Wazir-i-mutliq* advocated by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. Khan-i-Jahan, originally a Hindu from Telingana, who had accepted Islam at the hands of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, exercised both civil and military powers. His position may be judged by Firuz's frequent remark that Khan Jahan was virtually the king of Delhi. After his death in 1372, his son became *wazir*, and maintained his father's traditions over a long period, but this naturally led to jealousy, and in 1387 he lost his life while in opposition to a prince. This also marked the end of the power of Firuz Tughluq and the decline of the dynasty. Khwaja-i-Jahan Sarvar-ul-Mulk, the *wazir* of Muhammad Shah, commanded great power both in civil and military spheres, but realising that the Sultanat was tottering to its fall, he had one of the military leaders made *Wakil-i-Sultanat*, and himself left for the eastern provinces, where he carved out a kingdom for himself in Jaunpur.

The vicissitudes of *wizarat* under the Sayyid dynasty are not very important, and Buhlul Lodi, true to his tribal conception of kingship did not establish an organised *wizarat*. Sikandar Lodi, however, saw the impossibility of successfully applying this tribal

conception to a huge territory, and had a regular *divan* and a *wizarat*. His *wazir*, however, seems to have confined himself to civil work, "mainly in relation to the treasury." Mian Malik Bhuva, the second *wazir* of Sikandar continued to hold office under his son, Ibrahim. He was not a young or energetic officer, but was very pious and upright. Once when Ibrahim asked him to pay a large sum of money to a chief, the old minister violently objected saying that "the monarch accumulates treasure as a matter of policy and spends it on proper objects. It is not desirable that money should be spent without good reason."[7] The youthful Sultan was so enraged at this blunt reply that he ordered the arrest of the *wazir* with whom he was even otherwise unhappy, but the office of the *wizarat* was entrusted to his son.

Ibrahim Lodi lost his throne to Babur in 1526, and the developments which took place under the Mughuls will be described elsewhere. Essentially, however, *wizarat* followed the lines laid down by Balban, and the holder of the office was confined to civil duties. This became the normal arrangement in Muslim India. The arrangements by which the *wazir* had the comprehensive powers assigned to him by Muslim political theorists, did not work badly under Firuz, but he was a mild, if not a weak ruler, and the normal tradition in Muslim India was to have strong, active monarchs under whom the system evolved by Balban worked best. Even popular opinion favoured this. Hindus and Muslims knew only monarchical government, and "on the whole people tolerated an absolute ruler rather than an absolute *wazir*."

Finance.

The financial arrangements of which the *wazir* was incharge, were in accordance with the normal Islamic theory and practice, as inherited from the Ghaznavid predecessors, and modified in the light of local needs and usages.

The land revenue was, as in Hindu India, the mainstay of the government. As the Muslims had to pay *zakat*, which was fairly high, and were subject to military duty from which non-Muslims were exempt, Islamic practice often authorised a variation of the incidence of taxation between Muslims and non-Muslims.[(e)] In India, however, ordinarily no such distinction

(e) Differential treatment was not unusual in the Middle ages. In Hindu India Brahmins were free from all taxation (a position which Muhammad bin Qasim recognised vis-a-vis the levy of *jizya*) and death penalty could not be imposed on them for any offence.

was made in regard to the main source of state revenue, the revenue from land.

Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, the first Muslim ruler fixed the state demand (Kharaj) at one-fifth of the gross produce. In land revenue, as in other spheres, Balban laid down the administrative pattern for the Sultanate. "With regard to assessment, he advised a middle course : over-assessment would result in the impoverishment of the country, but under-assessment would render the peasants lazy and insubordinate : it was essential that they should have enough to live in comfort, but they should not have much more.[8] According to Moreland. "it may be fairly said then that Balban had grasped the main principles of rural economy in an Indian peasant-State, at a period when the environment afforded little scope for individual advance; he aimed at a peaceful and contented peasantry, raising ample produce and paying a reasonable revenue; and he saw that it was the King's duty to direct the administartion with this object in view.[9] When under Ala-ud-Din Khalji, owing to the need for building up a large army, additional funds were needed, the state demand was raised to one-half of the produce, the uppermost limit allowed by Muslim law in respect of *Kharaj*, but in the following reign "the heavy *Kharaj* and heavy demands" were lowered. There is a difference of opinion about the scale of demand in the reign of the first Tughluq king. According to the *Cambridge History of India* and Dr. Tripathi, Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq fixed the demand at ten per cent of the produce, while according to Moreland, the relevant reference in the contemporary history only refers to the limit of increase being ten per cent Dr. Qureshi, is of the opinion that "except for a few well-defined areas, which paid the half or single *tithe*, the general charge on land was a fifth of the produce, which was maintained from the earliest days of the Sultanate until, at least till the end of Firuz Shah's reign; the only exception was Ala-ud-Din Khalji's special demand of a half." Under the Mughul rulers who followed the precedent of Timur in charging a third of the produce as land revenue, the scale was raised and Sher Shah, who had seen the increase in the state demand under Babur and Humayun, followed their example[(f)].

Apart from the land revenue there were a number of local

(f) For details see *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*. Qureshi. pp. 111-114

imposts. Orthodox Muslims considered them illegal and the two Muslim monarchs who made an attempt to run the state in accordance with Islamic law, Firuz Tughluq and Aurangzib, abolished these extra-Sharai taxes. But these imposts were of ancient origin and raised their head again and again. Most Sultans permitted them, as they were sanctioned by custom, and at times when the state abolished them, they were realised by corrupt officials or even by *panchayats*.

During the early period, when the subcontinent was being conquered and new areas were being occupied, the *ghanimah* (the spoils of war) provided an important source of state income. According to Islamic law, all booty should be collected and a fifth (Khums) set apart for the state, the rest being distributed among the soldiers. Later, the practice was reversed and four-fifths of the booty was appropriated by the state treasury. Firuz Shah's *ulama* considered it illegal and the king ordered the adoption of the share fixed by Shara. A tax which gained importance during Firuz's reign was the charge levied for use of canal water. Firuz was not the first to dig canals, but he was the first monarch to ask Muslim jurists whether irrigation tax was lawful. The reply of the jurists was in the affirmative, and so a ten per cent addition was made to the land revenue in case of those using canal water for irrigation.

Zakat, Jiziyah

With regard to the religious taxes contemporary historians do not record that *zakat* was levied by the Sultans of Delhi, but their silence has been taken by some historians to mean that the normal procedure of the levy of *zakat* was followed. At any rate there were arrangements for the receipt of *zakat*, paid voluntarily by Muslims as a religious duty, and Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi mentions a separate treasury for *zakat*. Towards the end of the Sultanate, Sikandar Lodi abolished the *zakat* on grain and it was not renewed by any subsequent Sultan *Jiziyah*, or poll-tax, was levied from non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life, and property and exemption from military service."[10] The Holy Quran uses the word *jiziyah* lika *kharaj*, to mean a tax and early writers of Muslim India do not attach any technical significance to the term. It was, however, soon levied as a capitation tax. As such it was borrowed from Persia where it was called *gezit*. The Romans also imposed a poll tax on those who were not Roman

citizens, and in the Middle Ages it was quite common to charge special taxes for military needs. *Jiziyah* apparently served the purpose of what "hoost tax" was in France "Common penny" in Germany, and the "Victual money" or "Scutage" in England[11].

As military duty was compulsory for Muslims, they were free from *jiziyah*. According to Dr. Tripathi, until the legalistic and orthodox Firuz Tughluq took up the matter, the recovery of *jiziyah* was often in abeyance. "Although it is true that *jiziyah* had not been ablolihed and was probably realised to some extent it was gradually falling into disuse. The ablest of the Delhi Sultans were taking more and more interest in the secular revenue and were inclined to ignore jiziyah."[12] He says elsewhere, "There is no definite evidence to show that *jiziyah* was levied from the Hindu subjects living directly under the Government of Delhi. From the trend of conversation between Ala-ud-Din and Qazi Mughis-ud-Din, it appears that the Sultan was well satisfied with the maximum tax he had imposed upon the people and was not inclined to press for *jiziyah*. Zia-ud-Din would surely have not failed to mention it if it had been levied at all."[13] Dr. Levy expresses similar opinion, though he states that Ala-ud-Din did not levy *jiziyah* from the Hindus because he refused to accord them the status of zimmis[14]. This interpretation is not correct. Very often for the sake of convenience and more often in rural areas *jiziyah* and *kharaj* were realised as a consolidated tax. In the early days of the Sultanate the rulers had not built up an elaborate organisation, and tax farming—ultimately through Hindu middlemen—was the normal means of recovery. It appears unlikely that apart from a comprehensive demand made on a village or a territory, separate and specific realisation of *jiziyah* was feasible. Where *jiziyah* was recovered it was charged in three categories, The richest paid four *dinars*, per head per annum, the middle groups two *dinars* and the lowest class paid one *dinar*[15]. The women, the children and "those who had not enough to pay the tax after defraying the cost of their living" were excused.

Coinage

Nothing illustrates the practical and statesmanlike approach of the early Muslim rulers better than the slow, cautious evolution of their coinage system. Muhammad Ghuri was the founder of the Muslim empire in

India. Some modern historians refer to him as a "soldier of faith" keen on the destruction of Hindu idols and the establishment of Islamic religion. Yet the three of his coins which are extant, and they show him to be a cautious, practical man of affairs, rather than a fanatical soldier of faith. Two of those tell-tale coins are mere imitations of the earlier Hindu coins, with even the figure of the goddess Lakshmi reproduced, the only distinguishing element being the sovereign's name inscribed in Indian characters. The third coin, though based on the *dinar* of the Muslim countries, bears a Devnagri legend and the figure of a horseman, much in the tradition of the Hindu coins. The Muslim rulers were faced with the problem of establishing a new currency, amongst a people unacquainted with the Muslim coinage system much less with Arabic, and they tried to do this with minimum disturbance of the existing usages and practices. "It was Balban who more than sixty years after the conquest of Delhi finally replaced the Hindu device of the "bull and horseman" with the sovereign's name inscribed in Devnagri characters".

In the early years of the Sultanate, *jital*, corresponding to the modern *anna*, and an adaptation of the old *dehliwala* current before the Muslim rule, was the token coin in use. The silver *tankah*, (which was replaced by *rupiah* of Sher Shah and Akbar), was introduced by Iltutmish and marked "the commencement of the Indo-Muslim monetary system". In addition to its indiginous name, it was linked up with the weight standard, with which the people in India were familiar. It was planned to contain one *tola* or ninety-six *ratis* and to be divisible by the thirty-two *rati purana*, to which weight the older *dehliwala* approximated. Once the Muslim monetary system became established, the rulers introduced changes and improvements in the designs and legends of their coins and made them approximate to the normal Muslim coinage in legend and appearance. Iltutmish started the practice of inscribing the name of the mint on his *tankah*, By 1225, the name of the contemporary Abbasid Khalifa had begun to appear on the coins, which already contained the Muslim *kalimah*. With the improvement of mints, the beauty and design of the coins improved, and in course of time kings and currency experts could indulge in their own whims or experiments. The fertile brain of Muhammad Tughluq thought of using coinage for propaganda. "Not only are his coins noted for their novelty, for their superb

die execution and for their design", but by his giving up the tradition of the predecessors who styled themselves "Sultans" or "Shahs" or by similar titles uniformly maintained. He issued coins with different legends and titles such as (a) The Just Sultan (b) Fighter in the Way of God (c) The Slave, Hopeful of the Grace of God.

Careful planning and skilful adjustment to local conditions ensured the success of the currency introduced by the Muslims. "As a measure of the ability of the Delhi financiers, it would be observed that the relative value of the currency pieces remained static throughout the century". The silver *tankah* was the principal coin which ruled all other dominations like *jital*, (of mixed metal) and the copper *fals*, (corresponding to modern *paisa*). The gold *tankah* was equal to ten silver *tankahs* in value in the time of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. Apart from Muhammad Tughluq's unsuccessful effort to introduce token currency of mixed metal, the coins were of pure metal and standard weight and the state took every precaution to maintain the purity and the weight of its coins.

The Ariz :

Significantly enough Fakhr does not refer to a Qazi-i-Mamalik, presumably, as his functions were originally performed by Amir-i-dad, with the help of the Qazis and other advisers, or by Qazi-i-Lashkar, and the office of Qazi-i-Mamalik was perhaps created after Iltutmish. Nor does Fakhar devote a separate chapter to the functionary known as *Ariz* or *Ariz-ul-Mamalik* during the Sultanate (the Mir Bakhshi during the Mughul period) possibly as this functionary was, during the early days, directly under the *wazir*, who looked after the military and financial side of the work and it was only under Balban that the Ariz was made independent of the *wizarat* The Ariz was already performing many of the duties later assigned to him. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir describes a military review thus. "The *ariz*, from a point of vantage, saw the left wing, the centre and then the right wing march past him, both cavalry and infantry. The *naqibs* stood by, and the *ariz* scrutinised each soldier, his arms and his horse. Every soldier had an appointed place; the *naqibs* had charts for arranging the soldiers in battle array".[16]

The king was the commander-in-chief of the forces but with the expansion of the empire and the growth of the military side of the government, the importance of the *Ariz* increased immensely. Not only did he function sometimes as the General of the Forces, but he also acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary

of each recruit. The commissariat was under him, and the *diwan-i-arz* disbursed salaries to the troops. Even Amir Khusrau and other court officials who held a military rank received salaries from this office. Thus already under the Sultanate we can see the beginnings of the Mughul system of placing all public servants on the army pay-list and giving them *mansabs*. *Ariz-i-Mumalik* was not the commander-in-chief, or even the seniormost general—the king named the generals for different campaigns,—but it is not difficult to see in contemporary accounts the power and the importance of the head of the *diwan-i-arz*. Jalal-ud-Din Khalji held this post before he ascended the throne, and the part played by Shaikh Farid, who held the corresponding position of Mir Bakhshi under Akbar, in securing the accession of Jahangir is well-known.

Rawat Arz

In the early period the post gained immensely by the sagacity, popularity and competence of Rawat Arz. He began service under Iltutmish, who later appointed him as head of the *Diwan-i-Arz*. He retained this position during many political changes which took place after Iltutmish's death, and was confirmed in his office by Balban, who made him independent of the *wazir* and raised the office to the level of an independent Minister. In fact, Balban had ordered that Rawat Arz should take precedence over all nobles and chiefs. Rawat Arz seems to have been a most remarkable officer. He retained his position in those troubled times for sixty two years[17], which in itself seems extraordinary, but the paternal way in which he looked after his soldiers was even more remarkable. Any *sawar* who accidentally lost his horse or armour was sure to get it from the private account of Rawat Arz. "He was kinder than a father and a mother to all his soldiers" and he used to say, 'I am the guardian of the kingdom, and a prop of the kingship of the rulers, who have entrusted to me all affairs relating to the armed forces. If I am negligent in looking after the army, and do not spend my day and night in making arrangements for them and do not treat my soldiers better than my brothers and sons, I would be considered untrue to my salt in this world and will look small on the Day of Judgment".[18]

He had an open table where not only nobles but clerks and peons were welcome and were entertained on a lavish scale. He maintained the efficiency of the War Office, which is praised by

contemporary historians, but his success was also due to his tact and statesmanship. Partly on account of the political condition and partly on account of Rawat Arz's own personality, the importance of the office increased enormously. Balban laid down that he should be supreme (*mutlaq-ul-inan*) in his department. He had direct access to the ruler, and the officers of the departments placed their annual reports regarding the army and the muster directly before the king.

Army

The situation with which the Muslim rulers were confronted in India necessitated maintenance of an effective army. Muslims had their superior generalship and quality of troops facilitated their task, but developed the science of warfare to high level. We have already referred to Fakhr Mudabbir's book on government. Of the two extant copies of the book, one is entitled *Adab ul Muluk wakifayat ul mumluk* and the second is called *Adab ul harb wa'sh shuja'ah.* One third of the book deals with organization of government, but the greater part is a War Manual, dealing with different aspects of warfare. It deals with such practical subjects as camping places, battle-array of the armies, despatch of spies and scouts, (*Tilaya*), surpise night attacks, and different types of equipment and arms. Three chapters are devoted to horses, the qualities of good horses, directions for maintaining them in a fit condition and method of treatment in case of illness.

The steps taken by Balban to keep his troops in good trim and by Ala-ud-Din Khalji to raise and maintain a large standing army have been described by Barani. The cavalry was the backbone of the army, but the sultans did not confine their organization to the traditional pattern. They soon began to employ elephants on an extensive scale, and Balban considered a single war elephant to be as effective in battle as five hundred horsemen. The foot-soldiers (*Payaks*) were mainly Hindus of poor classes, slaves or other persons of small means, who wanted employment and could not afford horses. The military grades were organised on a decimal basis. "A *sar-i-khail* had ten horsemen under him, a *sipah salar* commanded ten *sar-i-khails*, an *amir* ten *sipah salars*, a *malik* ten *amirs* and a *khan's* forces comprised at least those of ten maliks".[19]

The use of naphtha and Greek fire was known from early times. Incendiary arrows and javelins as well as pots of cumbustibles were hurled against the enemy. The Delhi army used

grenades, fireworks and rockets against Timur, but although there are references to a crude form of cannon, and in the provincial kingdoms of Gujrat and the Deccan this arm was properly developed, the Sultanate of Delhi had not made much progress in the use of artillery. It was the neglect of this arm which turned the scales against the Delhi forces in the battle of Panipat in 1526.

One of the main military tasks before early Sultans was the security of the north western frontier. The Mongols who had overwhelmed Muslim states in central and western Asia were always at their doors. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Sultanate was to save India from this calamity, and this was made possible not only through an adequate army but by the completion of the network of forts in the western Punjab. The magnitude of this achievement is more easily appreciated if we compare it with the ineffective efforts put in by the Rajput rulers to deal with the smaller problem of Muslim invasion, and their complete failure to develop and work out any system of frontier defences.

Judiciary

Muslim judicial practice recognised four types of courts (1) *diwan-i-mazalim* presided over by the ruler or his representative ; (2) *qazi's* courts; (3) the courts of *muhtasibs* to deal amongst other things with certain offences against religious ordinances and (4) the police (*shurta*) courts. In Muslim India the third type of courts gained in power and prestige under the Tughluqs, and later under Aurangzeb.

Amir-i-Dad

The first important judicial dignitary of the Sultanate at Delhi to whom a reference is found in comtemporary records, was *amir-i-dad*. (Chief Justiciary or Chief Magistrate). Sipah Salar Ali Ismail, the first *amir-i-dad* of Delhi was the head of the group of noblemen and officers who invited Iltutmish to occupy the throne of Delhi in opposition to Aibak's adopted son, Aram Shah. enthroned at Lahore. (1211). He was obviously a layman, and the office was usually reserved for a leading noble, with special aptitude for judicial work. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, who devoted a chapter to the qualifications of the *amir-i-dad*, desired that only a man belonging to the royal or a noble family, and known for piety and learning, should be appointed to this post and should have a large salary paid to him, as he may have to try complaints against governors and high commanders. In the absence of the Sultan, who functioned as Supreme Judge throughout Muslim rule, the *amir-i-dad* presided over the

"Court of Complaints and Justice". This court was described as *diwan-i-mazalim* under the Abbasid Government of Baghdad while Minhaj refers to the institution at Delhi as *Masnad-i-mazalim-wa-adl.* Amir-i-dad, who later came to be called *dadbak*, controlled "the *kotwal*, the police and the *muhtasib*."[20] He was also responsible for the proper 'maintenance of mosques, bridges and public buildings as also of the city walls and gates. His office kept copies of the documents registered with the *qazi*; it was his duty to forbid a covenant which transgressed the law". If he felt that there had been a miscarriage of justice, he could either draw the attention of the *qazi* to the fact or delay the execution of the decision until the matter was reconsidered by a fuller or a higher court.[21] *Amir-i-dad* ordered the apprehension of criminals, dealt with breaches of law, and tried cases, where necessary with the assistance of a Qazi, who functioned as a legal adviser. Minhaj has some interesting observations to make about one of the early occupants of this office, with whom he worked for several years, and his account shows that although *amir-i-dad* gave judgment and awarded punishment, his court functioned as a judicial bench. Minhaj says, "It must be about eighteen years since the *masnad-i-mazalim-wa-adl* has been adorned by his (Saifuddin Ajami's) dignity and during the whole period he has been obedient to the *Shariah*. The writer of this work, upon two occasions, for nearly eight years, was seated on the same bench with that just *malik* in the court of justice at the capital city—Delhi—and the author has seen that all his acts, procedures and expositions have been conformable with faith and its ordinances. By the dignity of his punishment and the majesty of his justice, the multitude of contumacious persons round about the capital and the gangs of evil-doers and robbers, having drawn back the hand of violence, are quiescent in the court of fear and terror[22]".

Amir-i-dad had his assistants in the provinces as well as in the army. For example, Malik Saif-ud-Din Aibak, with whom Minhaj worked at Delhi, was originally at Kara. Barani, at one place, refers to *Amir-dad-i-Mamalik*. The *Mir-i-adl*, to whom reference is made by the Mughul historians corresponded to *Amir-i-dad* or his regional representative, but the provincial and city governors and the kings began to handle some disputes themselves, and referred others to the *qazi*, and the posts of *Amir-i-dad* or *mir-i-adl* seem to have been filled in a few cases only. Still, the kings and

the governors made regular arrangements for personal dispensation of justice. Ibn Battuta and another Arab writer describe the detailed arrangements made by Muhammad Tughluq, who presided over the *diwan-i-i-mazalim*, with the chief *qazi* at his side "to give him legal advice." Under Sikandar Lodi, the *wazir* Mian Bhuva also functioned as *mir-i-adl* and presided over the Mazalim court, while the legal advice was given by the *qazi*, who was assisted by twelve learned lawyers.[23]

Qazis

While the system of dispensation of justice by the king or his representative continued, administration of justice by the *qazis* grew in importance and became a prominent feature of the Tughluq rule. The main concern of the *qazi* was with the civil disputes amongst Muslims, "but later his jurisdiction widened considerably and embraced supervision and management of the property of orphans and lunatics, the execution of testamontary dispositions and the supervision of *awqafs*."[24] They were appointed by the centre and were completely independent of the governors. The office of the *Qazi-i-Mamalik* or *Qazi-ul-Quzzat* was normally held by the head of the ecclesiastical department, who was generally known as the *Sadr-i-Jahan*. It is not certain whether *Qazi-ul-Quzzat* heard appeals against the judgements of the *qazis*. "Possibly, his functions with regard to *qazis* were merely administrative ; as an appeal judge, he probably sat with the king." The chief *qazi* was also the Sultan's legal adviser in matters relating to *shariat*. With the monarch retaining the powers of appointment of the chief *qazi* though the enlightened opinion and books on Muslim statecraft emphasise the importance of appointing only honest, pious and well-qualified *qazis* in the realm, the Sultan had the final say in the framing of the judicial structure. Still public opinion was critical of the appointment of chief *qazis* for considerations other than those of merit, and an appointment made by Ala-ud-Din Khalji was very unpopular. Most of the kings took steps to uphold the prestige of the judiciary. The manner in which on one occasion Muhammad Tughluq appeared like an ordinary plaintiff in the court of a *qazi*, and saluted him may be nothing more than a theatrical gesture, but such episodes built up the prestige of the courts and enabled the general public and the legal profession to realise what was expected of the judges. There are plenty of instances to show that, although under a despotic monarchy there were obvious

limitations to the role which an individual could play, the jurists acted with courage and independence. When Jalal-ud-Din Khalji wanted Sayyidi Maula, who was accused of high treason to vindicate himself by walking through fire, the jurists vetoed the idea by contending that fire did not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. The Sultan bowed to their decision, though he later instigated and connived at Sayyidi's murder. Similarly, in spite of Ala-ud-Din Khalji's reputation for ruthlessness, Qazi Mughis-ud-Din did not fail to criticise his actions, and let it he said to the credit of the Sultan, that in spite of this condemnation he rewarded the *qazi*, with a *Khilaat*. The sanctity attached to the office of the *qazi*, his being an expert in Islamic law, and the pressure of public opinion encouraged an honest and independnet judiciary, the need for which was universally recognised.

RISE OF INDO-MUSLIM LAW

Nur-ud-Din Mubarik Ghaznawi (d.1234)

The first important personality, who is stated to have been consulted on questions of Islamic Law in the Sultanate of Delhi was Sayyid Nur-ud-Din Mubarik Ghaznawi. His figure is shrouded in obscurity, but the long extract which Barani has given of his address to Iltutmish about the lines on which a Muslim king should conduct himself and the forthright manner in which he expressed himself indicate his importance. According to *Akhbar-ut-Akhiyar*, he was "the leader and the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Delhi. and was known as the chief of Delhi in the days of Sultan Shams-ud-Din (Iltutmish)."[25] In Ottoman Turkey "Shaikh-ul-Islam" was the principal dignitary entrusted with the exposition of Islamic law, but in Muslim India the term has normally been applied to the principal Sufi Shaikh of the day. Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Mubarik was not a jurist but a mystic. On account of his prominence and Iltutmish's regard for the Sufis, he seems to have been consulted on questions of Islamic law and political theory, which normally are not the concern of the mystics. He was born in Ghazni, and was one of the early immigrants to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. He was held in high regard by Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, who is stated to have appointed him as Shaikh-ul-Islam. He died in 1234 shortly before Iltutmish's death. Barani's account of his discourse shows that he was extremely critical of the court etiquette and the mode of living adopted by Muslim kings. The Shaikh

wished the Sultan to deal firmly with non-Muslims, and condemned not only all heresy, but also the study of philosophy. Barani usually puts some of his own ideas in the discourses which he attributes to important personalities, but the puritanical, ultra-democratic and ascetical approach which he attributes to Nur-ud-Din Mubarik Ghaznawi, appears typical of the early days of Muslim India, when simplicity and piety found favour not only with the jurists, but with the ruling monarch.

Minhaj-us-Siraj, Chief Qazi of the Realm

A different type of personality and one whose policy left a great impress on the history of Islamic law in the country was Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj, better known as the most important historian of the Slave Dynasty. In the days of Iltutmish's successors he held the important office of the Chief Qazi of the Realm for a number of years, and though his close association with a particular group of nobles in later years with Balban's party resulted in his displacement when his enemies came to power, but he was re-appointed after a brief interval. Hazarat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya is reported to have stated that the *sama* (ecstatic dances), to which most orthodox lawyers objected, became prevalent in Delhi when Minhaj became Qazi. He also quoted a contemporary of Minhaj as saying that the later was not fit to be a *qazi*, but should have been the principal Sufi Shaikh. These significant statements give a clue to the policies followed by Minhaj, as Qazi of the Realm (and of the capital.) Minhaj himself has recorded that he was not popular with other ecclesiastics and once the latter even attempted to have him assassinated[26].

In the light of these observations (and even Minhaj's very close association with Balban), it is reasonable to infer that he was not rigid in the application of Islamic Law, and his long tenure as Chief Qazi of Realm contributed towards the evolution of suitable *modus operandi* for the new Muslim government. Minhaj was one of the most learned men of his day and was an eloquent preacher. Hazarat Nizam-ud.Din Auliya says that he used to go every Monday to hear Minhaj's *tazikir*, and the contemporary rulers often called upon him to address the army or public meetings, when they were confronted with a crisis. When Iltutmish besieged the fort of Gwalior and met with difficulties, Minhaj under royal orders addressed the troops ninety-five times in the course of the protracted siege. Similarly, when after the Mongol invasion of the

Punjab and destruction of the city of Lahore in 1241, while there was panic at the capital, Bahram Shah, the reigning monarch, "assembled the people of the city of Delhi in the Kasr-i-Safad" and asked Minhaj to deliver a discourse. Minhaj was effective as usual and the people enthusiastically pledged their fealty to the Sultan.

Minhaj's scholarship and oratory were undoubtedly of a high order, but he was more of an "elder statesman" than a mere acclesiastic. He was called upon to exercise his diplomatic skill on a number of occasions, (*e.g.* when governors of Bengal and Oudh started fighting) and his versatile personality was not an unimportant factor in determining the course of events.

The tradition of strong common sense and realistic approach to problems built up by Minhaj was maintained by his maternal grandson, Sadr-ud-Din Arif, who was a *naib* to the Chief Qazi for a long time, and whom Ala-ud-Din Khalji early promoted as *Sadr Jahan.* According to Barani, he was not distinguished for scholarship, but was a strong executive officer and thoroughly understood the temperament of the people. "In spite of the crooks and the freed slaves with which Delhi was full, it was not possible for anyone to resort to swindling, deception or trickery before his *masnad* (court)." After him, the office lost its importance, and did not regain it till under the Tughluqs. His successor in office was Qazi Zia-ud-Din of Biana, who was a sound scholar, but who lacked piety and got this high office as a reward for his father's loyal services. To judge by the absence of crime even during the last days of Ala-ud-Din, the judiciary under Hamid-ud-Din could not have been inefficient, but Ala ud-Din's selection of a Chief Justice, not for qualities laid down in law books, but as a reward for loyal services, set up a precedent which was followed by others. His successor gave the office to Zia-ud-Din, whose father had been his teacher, and although he was steadfast in his loyalty to the ruler and the realm, and lost his life in the insurrection of Khusrau Khan. his appointment reduced the independence and the dignity of the post:

Maulana Burhan-ud-Din Mahmud Balkhi (d 1288)

Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj, and others mentioned along with him, held high judicial offices, and influenced the course of legal history by their practices and policy, but the scholar who directly influenced the course of Indo-Muslim law and was probably the first to introduce its systematic study in the subcontinent, was Maulana Burhan-

ud-Din Balkhi. He was born in Balkh, and was reputed to have seen, in his early childhood, Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din (d. 1196) the famed author of the Hidaya, and even studied under him. At any rate he introduced in India the study of Hidaya when he migrated to Delhi, and it became the favourite legal text book of Muslim India. The Hidaya became the subject of numerous abridgments (e. g. Wiqaya) and innumerable commentaries, and retained its pre-eminance so long that when at the end of the Muslim rule, the officers of the East India Company needed a text book of Muslim law, they selected Hidaya, which was translated in parts by Hamilton into English on the imperfect basis of a Persian translation, specially prepared for the purpose by Muslim scholars.

Maulana Burhan ud-Din did not hold any office, but such was his pre-eminence that according to Barani, even the punctilious Balban used to visit him after Friday prayers, with the entire royal cavalcade and listen to his discourses respectfully.

Maulana Burhan-ud-din laid the foundation of the study of Islamic law in India, but he does not appear to have been an extremist or unduly rigid in its application. On the crucial question of *sama*, which remained the major legal controversy of the day and generally provided the dividing line between the mystics and the ecclesaiasts, his practice, at any rate, was not different from that of the more tolerant Minhaj. Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya quoted him as saying, "I have not committed any major sin in life, except hearing of *sama*, which I have, and want to hear again, if I have an opportunity[27]:

Maulana Burhan-ud-Din died in 1288, and was buried near Hauz-i-Shamsi in old Delhi, and for a long time his memory was reverenced as that of the foremost scholar of early days of Muslim rule [g].

Some other legal text books written by scholars of Central Asia—mainly Farghana and Bukhara—were brought to the subcontinent a little later. They did not displace Hidaya, but their contents were incorporated in indigenous compilations. The popularity of Hidaya and other text books from Central Asia ensured that in legal affairs Muslim India followed the traditions of Central Asia.

(g) Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis, writing more than three hundred years later stated that the people of Delhi made their children reverance the dust of Maulana's grave so that they may rapidly progress in their studies.

The Hidaya and other text books introduced in India from Central Asia, mainly be refugees coming during Balban's reign, were in Arabic. With the efforts made by Firuz Tughluq to run the government according to Islamic law, it became necessary to have summaries and abstracts of Islamic law in Persain, the court language of Muslim India. We accordingly see a large number of manuals prepared in his reign, usually based on the compilations of the lawyers of Central Asia. In addition, more substantial efforts for compilation of books on Islamic law in Persian and Arabic were made. The earliest of such compilations prepared in India was in the time of Balban and was dedicated to him (c). *Fiqh-i-Firuzshahi*, which was a digest of civil and ecclesiastical law, was compiled under Firuz Tughluq's patronage and named after him. An earlier compilation was *Majmua-i-Khani*, prepared at Daulatabad and dedicated to Qutlugh Khan, originally the tutor of Muhammad Bin Tughluq and later governor of Daulatabad. The most comprehensive digest compiled in Muslim India, prior to the compilation of Fatawa-i-Alamgiri in Aurangzeb's reign was the Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania[28]. It was named after the pious nobleman, Tatar Khan who died a little after 1351 but who sponsored the compilation. It was prepared by a committee of Ulama, headed by Alim bin Ala Hindi and completed in 30 volumes. It attracted attention outside the subcontinent, and a summary was prepared by Shaikh Ibrahim, the Imam of the mosque of the Ottomon Sultan Muhammad, the Conqueror in Istambul (Constantinople).

Later Compilations.

Contemporary historians give meagre details about the provincial governments and it seems a fair inference that the provincial administrative structure did not properly crystalise till the days of Sher Shah and Akbar, and even then, it was possible because in the interval regional kingdoms had been established in what were orginally iqtas (regions) of the Delhi Sultanate and elaborate administrative organization had grown under them. From the earliest period governors (muqti's) and *walis* were appointed for large iqtas, which later became provinces, but their responsibilties were mainly the maintenance of peace, establishment and extension of the authority of the Government, and recovery of state dues from the Hindu chiefs and others. The observance of state laws and the maintenance of order depended on the ability and the

Provincial and Local Administration.

interest of the individual governor, and in some areas their authority must have been confined to main centres of administration and places easily accessible. The provincial boundaries were shifting and vague, and it was a long time before the territorial units took a stable form. Even the powers of all the governors were not identical. Governors in charge of bigger or more important areas or with special personal claims exercised wider powers than ordinary muqtis and were often referred to as *walis*.[29]

The governors enjoyed great autonomy in administrative matters. As a matter of fact before Balban they were often semi-independent military chiefs of the territories conquered by them or by their ancestors but many functions remained outside their domain. They were not given authority even in religious and judicial affairs, nor were the local officers of the intelligence Department under their control. These Departments were kept under the supervision of the centre. The provincial governor was concerned primarily with military and revenue departments, though as the *wizarat* became more organised at the centre and the provincial *diwans* were posted from Delhi, a close check was exercised by the central government over the recovery and transmission of revenue. The provincial *Sahib-i-Diwan* was appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the *wazir*, and submitted detailed statements of provincial accounts to the capital. On the basis of these statements the *wazir's* department settled the accounts with the *muqtis*[30]. Even in the military sphere, the powers of the provincial governors came to be regulated by the presence of the provincial *ariz* who was under the *ariz-i-mamalik*, and was responsible for the recruitment and supervision of the army.

Balban had asserted the authority of the central government over the provincial chiefs, and Ala-ud Din Khalji tried to introduce system and uniformity in the administration of the Doab (the fertile area between the Ganga and the Yamuna), the most dependable source of state revenue. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, who had a long experience of provincial administration in the Punjab, took steps to improve the administration, but details of his provincial administration have not been recorded. It is under his son, Muhammad Tughluq, that we get details of the hierarchy of provincial officials possibly following a pattern introduced by his father. His empire consisted of twenty-four provinces. "The provinces or *aqalim* were divided into a number of rural districts

or *shiqs* and urban districts, or *medinas* or *shahrs*. The rural districts were subdivided into *hazaris* or collections of one thousand villages and *sadis* or collection of one hundered villages. The cheif officer of the province was called *wali*, the *shiqs* were under the *shiqdars*, *amils* or *nazims*, while the *sadis*, the smallest administrative units (perhaps corresponding to the modern *taluqas* or *tahsils*) were under the *amiran-i-sadah*, under whom were smaller village officials such as *mutasarrif*, *karkun*, *balahar*, *chowdhuri patwari* etc."[31] The governor of a town was called "the *kotwal* or *Amir* while *amir-i-sadah* was something like the modern Tahsildar.[32] It is thought that the system broke down during the second half of Muhammad Tughluq's reign and could not be operated during the decline of the Delhi Sultanate. In the absence of historical evidence, this is a matter of conjecture. What is equally likely is that this system continued, at least in certain areas like Jaunpur, and provided the basis, which was improved upon by Sher Shah and paved the way for Akbar.

The province came to be subdvided into *shiqs* which would correspond to modern Commissioner's divisions. The next smaller unit after the *shiq* was the *pargana*, an aggregate of villages. In a *pargana* and in the villages, the old Hindu organisation continued. The head of each *pargana* was a *chaudhari*, while a *muqaddam* or a *mukhiya* was the headman of the village. The most important feature of Muslim administration in India was the local autonomy enjoyed by the rural areas. This was introduced by Muhammad bin Qasim in the earliest days of Muslim rule, and was maintained by the sultans of Delhi. Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, who originally handed back Ajmer to a son of Prithvi Raj, first adopted the policy of appointing Hindu officers for the administration of the country. A contemporary history (*Taj-ul-Massir* describing his conquest and settlement of Asni, refers to his posting of *ranas* on every side for the administration of the people and the territory. This was continued and of course, the organization in the rural areas was not disturbed. "The Hindu chief played such an important role in the rural life of the period, that to many he was the government, whereas the Sultan was almost a mythical figure.[33]

The character of government.

The position of the nobility and the officers was so dominant in the early period that collectively Minhaj, the historian of the period, devotes more space to an account of the principal officers of the realm than

to the kings. This is understandable as the administrative machinery was run by them and the strength and stability of the state depended on their ability and devotion. Dr. Qureshi, says: "In form, the sultanate was a monarchy, partially elective, partially hereditary; in reality it was a dictatorial bureaucracy."[34] And again, "The administration, therefore, was a bureaucracy, the major portion of which was not affected by changes of dynasty. It is a common mistake to think that a change of ruler involved the very current of the life of the people; actually only a small number of leading officials were affected. These revolutions were little more than ripples on the surface beneath which the water continued to flow steadily."[35]

The truth of Dr. Qureshi's observations comes out clearly if we study the history of various offices and the life story of prominent officials of the period. Of course minor officials like Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan, were not affected by the changes of rulers or even dynasties, but continuity of tradition and often the personnel, in the highest offices, is most remarkable. Amir Khusrau's grand father, Rawat Arz was, for example, in charge of the War Office for more than half a century. Even when there are short breaks in the continuity of the *wazirs*, we see them return to the office again. When a *wazir* was removed from office, his place was often given to his deputy, as we seen have in the case of Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-Din and Khwaja Khatir.

The power of the chief nobles and ecclesiastics can also be seen in the sad fate of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was a well qualified monarch, who had ample experience of administration and military command before ascending the throne, and who had a strong will but proved completely powerless against "the Establishment".

Temper of the Times.

We have not dealt at length with battles and warfare, and the horrors and atrocities connected with them This should not, however give an impression that the period was peaceful. The modern wars and the recent treatment of minorities have illustrated the extent to which man remains a brute in spite of scientific and intellectual advancement. Medieval times were, however, distinctly harsher, and human life was considered of little value. The smallest excuse could lead to the drawing of the sword and the flowing of human blood. This was not confined to the thoughtless and the

inconsiderate. In fact more blood was spilled in the name of justice, state policy and religion than on account of passion and anger. Rulers like Balban were not deficient in sense of justice or political ability. These qualities, however, did not deter him from awarding severe punishments and free spilling of blood. As a matter of fact, sense of justice and public welfare seemed to dry up the milk of human kindness. Once the "deterrent" theory of punishment was adopted and carried to extremes, all other human considerations gave way before it. In vain did the religious lawyers and intellectuals try to curb the punitive powers of the sultans. Qazi Mughis argued before Ala-ud-Din Khalji that his punishments were unauthorised and un-Islamic, while the historian Barani told Muhammad bin Tughluq that human life could be taken only for eight specific crimes. but the autocratic Sultans refused to accept this position.

Not only was human life held in little esteem, but there were revolting cases of torture and mutilation. In this Muhammad bin Tughluq, who was a highly educated monarch and enjoyed the company of intellectuals and philosophers, was the worst culprit. Some of the punishments awarded by him—for example to his cousin Gurshasp—are truly revolting. The Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta wrote about him, "Notwithstanding all his modesty, his sense of equality and justice, and his extraordinary liberality and kindness to the poor—, he had immense daring (sic) to shed blood. His gate was hardly free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. And I used to see frequently a number of people killed at the gate of the royal palace and the corpses abandoned there.

"The Sultan used to punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither the men of learning (ahl-ul-ilm) and probity (salah), nor those of high descent (sharaf). Every day hundred of people in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened were brought into the council hall. Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten. May God save us calamity".

It is true that these punishments were reserved for treason, and it is also true that conditions in the medieval ages in other parts of the world was not very much better, but the position in Muslim India in this respect seems to have distinctly worsened during the hundred years or so following the death of Iltutmish.

Possibly this coarsening of moral fibre was due to the example and impact of the Mongols, but harshness and severity associated with Muhammad Tughluq or even Balban and Ala-ud-Din Khalji did not exist in the days of Muhammad bin Qasim, Aibak and Iltutmish. Rightly did Firuz Tughluq rebel against these trends and issue firm orders against tortures and cruelties. "In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmans had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, poring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musulmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any man".[36]

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Muslim Nobility

During the Sultanate period the most important class in the country was the Muslim bureaucracy, consisting of governors, court officers, other dignitaries at the capital, and the officers in the provinces. The highest among the nobles bore the title of *Khan*, and as a special distinction some of them—usually never more than one—got the title of Ulugh Khan or Khan-i-Azam. Next in rank came the *Maliks*, and then the *Amirs*. There was no lower rank of aristocracy in the court of the Sultans of Delhi. Below them came the military ranks of *Sipah-salar* and *Sar-khail*, classified, as stated elsewhere, on a decimal system.

Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was the work of a central authority preparing a blue-print of annexation, obtaining necessary personnel and equipment, and carrying out the plan. It was largely and in its most fruitful phases, (*e.g.* Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji's conquest of Bihar and Bengal, and Ala-ud-Din Khalji's incursions into Malwa and Deccan) the work of brave and resourceful individuals, working on their own initiative. These individuals and their peers formed the aristocracy of the realm.

The Muslim nobles in the beginning, claimed to share sovereignty with the Sultan, and Iltutmish seemed to agree to this. After his death the corps of his "Forty" slaves managed the affairs of the country. But Balban, who followed the Persian theory of monarchy broke their power, and made the monarch supreme. The search for an organisation providing the "steel-frame of administration, however, continued and various experiments were tried by different rulers. The Khaljis, who were not liked by the old Turkish aristocracy, broadened the basis of administration, and freely encouraged the newly-converted Muslims, like Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan, but these converts mostly

from lower classes, showed themslves devoid of both moral scruples and statesmanship, and not only brought ruin upon themselves, but brought down the fabric of the Khalji rule.

The Tughluqs searched in other directions for the personnal of their Government. Muhammad Tughluq started by favouring foreign vistors from Muslim lands but the Muslim bureaucrats did not take kindly to his erratic policies, and he resorted to entrusting important offices of state to more pliant commoners of Indian origin. This plan also failed and his successor followed more orthodox ways. Firuz Tughluq's all-powerful *wazir* was a converted Brahmin and he recruited a large number of slaves, but until a well-organized bureaucracy, recruited from all available sources was built up under Akbar, no finality was reached and experiments continued to be made.

Under the early Turkish rulers power was in the hands of the Turkish nobles. and Balban was punctilious in entrusting good positions to Turkish nobles of high birth only. It appears, however, that in spite of their high-sounding foreign titles, at least some of the dignitaries were of indigenous origin. *Rawat Arz*, who was incharge of the War Office for nearly sixty years, is generally considered to be of Indian origin. Barani also says that the very first *wazir* of Iltutmish, who had the grand title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was originally a *jolaha*, (a weaver), though this does not necessarily mean that he was an Indian by birth.

The Turkish nobles and their spokesmen like Barani wanted high offices of the state to be the close preserve of the Turkish nobility, but there was stiff resistance to this from local elements. Behind many personal struggles for power this conflict between foreign and local Muslims can be seen. For example, the nearly successful attempt to oust Blaban from the position which he had gained under Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, has been described as a struggle of this type. "Being a Muslim was not considered enough to make any difference to his political status, unless he was a Turk of pure blood,"[1] and the two parties to the conflict were the Turkish Amirs and other foreigners led by Balban, and the Indians, including both Hindus and Muslims, led by Imad-ud-Din Raihan". Perhaps the attempt of Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-Din who took away power from the Turkish *amirs* had the same basis. The successful tenure of Khan-i-Jahan, the first important Indian *wazir* of the Sultanate meant the final end of the theory of Turkish supremacy and we do not hear of it again.

Muslim nobles were paid for their services by the grant of iqtas and it is sometime stated that they occupied a position similar to the feudal landlords in mediaeval Europe. The comparison, however, is misleading. The nobles had no hereditary or even life interest in their *iqtas*. They had a right to the income from these lands so long as they performed duties with which the grant was connected. The rulers would frequently transfer them and allot them new iqtas. The nobles were really civil servants, appointed and usually paid by temporary grant of revenue from land.

While many Muslims were in state service, civil or military, the common view that Muslim immigrants were not engaged in agriculture is incorrect. We get evidence of this from the fact that in the early days of the Sultanate a family as distinguished as that of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din was engaged in cultivation According to Siyar-ul-Auliya, Khwaja's sons were employed in agriculture and when the local officials demanded state authority for their exemption from land revenue, the venerable Khwaja had to go to Delhi to obtain it[2]. There are other similar cases on record.

Muslim Social Life

The formal histories of the Sultanate are largely devoted to military expeditions and palace revolutions, but other works like Travels of Ibn-i-Battuta, the *masnavis* of Amir Khusrau and the table talk of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya illuminate the social scene.

Muslim society during the period was dominated by the Turkish rulers and nobles who sought to maintain their position not only against the non-Muslim or the Muslims of indigenous origin, but also against other non-Turkish immigrants. Out of the four groups, which had played a prominent part in the establishment of Muslim rule, the Turks, the Tajiks, the Khaljis and the Afghans, the Tajiks were eliminated soon after the death of Iltutmish, the Khaljis (apart from the short-lived burst of glory in distant Bengal) did not come into their own until the rivalries of Kaiqubad destroyed the fabric of Turkish supremacy, and the Afghans had to wait till the days of the Lodis. The first hundred years of the Delhi Sultanate are a period of Turkish supremacy, when they produced not only two great rulers—Iltutmish and Balban—but also the greatest poet of the period, Amir Khusrau, and a large majority of prominent personalties of the period.

Under Imad-ul-Mulk Raihan the Indian Muslims attempted

to assert themselves, but Balban and the Turkish nobles were too powerful for them. Their number and position, however, gradually improved. Under the Khaljis, Malik Kafur and Malik Khusrav, both of Indian origin, attained high positions but their excesses brought about their early downfall. The position improved under the Tughluqs. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq had an Indian mother; Muhammad Tughluq appointed a Hindu as the Governor of Upper Sind, and the dominant personality of the reign of Firuz Tughluq was Khan-i-Jahan, a Hindu convert from Telingana.

It took sometime for the Indo-Muslims to reach positions of power, in the state but local usages and customs were influencing social life and behaviour even at an early period. The Indian *pan* (betel leaf) soon became popular amongst the Muslims. Both Barani and Khusrau, in their accounts of the latter's grand-father Imad-ul-Mulk, speak of the continuous relay of trays of this delicacy being brought to the assemblies in the *diwan-i-arz*, and distributed amongst those present. "The seasoning of food with rich spices and chillies, almost unknown in the Muslim lands, had also become widely prevalent; the culinary art brought by the Muslims to India had already absorbed several Indian elements. Standard dishes which, from their names, would appear to be of foreign origin, such as *pilau* and *qorma*, were now very different from what they had been in Iran or Khursan."[3] Amir Khusrau speaks of the head-gear known as the *chira* and the *pag*, which were both of Indian origin. "Among the religious ceremonies and social functions those of the *aqiqa*, the *bismillah*, the circumcision, the marriage and the funeral played the most important part in the life of an individual, and in these also we can easily trace Indian influence. Several ceremonies, connected specially with marriage and death, were common, as they are today, to both the communities, although the Muslims, following the old Arab tradition, continued in India, as elsewhere, to marry cousins and other close relations. The Indian bridal decoration, the *sola singhar*, had already become familiar to the Muslims, and is often mentioned by the name of '*haft-o-nuh*' by Khusrau and others."[4]

The popularity of music, in spite of the persistent opposition of the religious groups, also reflected the local atmosphere though the art was also highly cultivated at Damascus and Baghdad. Iltutmish tried to preserve a pious Islamic atmosphere at his capital

but his gay successor, Rukn-ud-Din Firuz made his *darbar* a centre of musicians and dancers of both sexes. During the reaction which set in under Kaiqubad, against the strict discipline of Balban, music and dancing again came into their own, and the accounts of Delhi at that time recall the later days of Muhammad Shah Rangila and Wajid Ali Shah. Under Jalal-ud-Din Khalji conditions became more regular but he also had a gay court and Barani recalls with nostalgia performances of music and dancing seen at that time. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq banned music but Muhammad Tughluq revived it and had a number of musicians in his service. This later became the normal tradition of the royal court, except under very orthodox rulers like Aurangzeb.

The everyday humdrum life of the common people "was frequently brightened up by the royal cavalcades, *jashns* (such as that of the *nauruz*), and receptions, when the pavilions (*qubbas*) were erected at regular intervals, in which there were stationed beautiful singing and dancing girls, and where the spectators were treated not only to music but also to pleasant drinks. Glowing accounts of the *qubbas* are found in the writings of Khusrau, Ibn Battuta and other writers"[5]. Anniversaries (Urs) of Sufi saints provided other occasions for outings, and often became popular public diversions.

The lives of Muslim upper classes were modelled very much on those of their Turkish and Persian counterparts. "The game of *chaugan* (polo), riding, racing, hunting, and archery were very popular as outdoor sports among the nobility and the better classes of Muslim society, but the poorer people could seldom indulge in them. Among the indoor games, popular both among the rich and the poor, chess and backgammon (*nard* or *chaupar*) are often mentioned, although they were usually frowned upon by the religious divines as frivolous pursuits beguiling the faithful from more useful and more serious occupations. Drinking of wine, in spite of the strict ban placed on it hy Islam, seems to have been very common, especially in the higher classes of society and convivial wine parties supplied another source of recreation"[6]. "The arrogant aristocratic classes gradually developed a sort of caste system which was alien to the spirit of Islam and was certainly the product of Indian influence. Thus a Turk (or Mughul), a Pathan, a Sayyid, or even a Shaikh, would never think of a matrimonial alliance with a person of a lower rank, that is one outside these four *dhats* or *qaums*, or even outside his own particular denomination. The *purdah* or seclusion of women had already become a common

practice. This is evident from the remarks made by contemporary historians and poets on the bold step taken by Sultana Raziyya in discarding the veil and dressing herself up in male attire"[7].

During early days the Muslims were largely city-dwellers. Many of them served in the army and were attached to the garrisons of important places. Their pastimes and games were naturally soldierly, and there was much of communal life amongst the rank and file. There were numerous *tanurs* in the cities, functioning as communal bakeries, instead of the separate *chulhas* of the Hindus. Bathrooms in individual houses were few, but *hummams* (Turkish baths) were common in towns. Although Amir Khusrau and others mention a number of dishes, yet the diet was much simpler than it is today. Even references to the elaborate Turkish dishes, like *Qorma*, *mutanjan*, and *pilau* are not very numerous in the literature of the Sultanate period. Food was not highly spiced. A popular dish, now out of vogue was *sakba* consisting of various kinds of meats. Another popular dish was *harisa*. The thin *chapati* had not yet been adopted, and the *nan* was the staple bread. On the whole living was much simpler and more soldierly than is at present, or was even under the Mughuls later.

Position of the Hindus

During military operations, the Hindus suffered losses in property and life. When these operations were over and the harsh laws of war gave place to the laws of peace, even then the Hindus suffered from certain handicaps. The loss of sovereignty itself was a major loss, especially in case of the Brahmins and the Kashatryas. This is inevitable in all periods of conquest and political change and the Sultanate period was no exception. As a matter of fact from the point of view of the Hindus probably, the Sultanate period was more difficult than any other period of Muslim rule. The liberal and conciliatory policy adopted by Muhammad bin Qasim had given place to a new relationship, while a proper integration of the Hindu population in the political and administrative structure was to come about in later days. Muslim conquest of Sind and Multan and even of Lahore and Peshawar had not led to the same tensions and conflicts which followed their domination over the heart of Aryavarta. Even the indirect effect of the Mongol invasion of Muslim lands led to a stiffening of attitude. The Muslim refugees, who had suffered so much at the hands of the pagan Mongols were not likely to be very soft in dealing with the non-Muslims in Indo-Pak subcontinent.

All these factors make the Sultanate a period of tensions and conflicts. Even the theory of Turkish racial superiority which held sway during the rule of early slave kings was not favourable to the employment of Hindus—or even indigenous Muslims—to high civil and military appointments, as was the case under the Arabs in Sind or even under the Ghaznavids. It would, however, be wrong to think that the Hindus were completely excluded from service, In rural areas the Hindu landed aristocracy still occupied a position of prestige and power, and the *Muqqadams*, the *Chaudhris* and the *Khots* were important limbs of administration. As Pannikar says, "The land system in fact did not change and, therefore, the Hindus in general in the countryside led fairly the same life as they had led before.

Nor is it to be understood that commerce and trade changed hands to any considerable extent. The Muslim invaders were military adventurers who looked down upon trade and to whom the elaborate system of Hundi and credit on which Indian business was based was a mystery. The commercial classes were no doubt mulcted heavily both by the imperial government and by its local officials, but the Hindu *banya* remained, then as now, a necessary element in the structure of society"[8].

The Muslim system of Government allowed certain basic safeguards to all minorities and non-Muslims living under Muslim rule and this enabled the Hindu population to maintain its economic and social structure. Generally speaking the position of the Hindus even during the Sultanate was no worse than the position of the Jews under Christian rule. Summing up the position of the Hindus under early Muslim rulers Sir Wolseley Haig observes, "On the whole it may be assumed that the rule of the Slave kings over their Hindu subjects, though disfigured by some intolerance and by gross cruelty towards the disaffected, was just as humane as that of the Norman kings in England, and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and the Netherlands[9]".

Hindu Upper Classes

This was the general position. In addition, the Hindus remained supreme and autonomous in important sectors of social and economic life, and were virtually sovereign, at least during the Sultanate, over a great part of the country. It is an established axiom of Islamic Law that while Muslims are governed by their own law, non-Muslim *zimmis* are subject to their own laws and social

organization. This legal position curtailed the sovereignty of the Muslim state and led in the Ottoman Empire to the institution of the Capitulations. In Indo-Pak subcontinent, the Muslim rulers accepted, from the days of Arab occupation of Sind, the right of the village and caste *panchayats* to settle the affairs of their community, and left autonomous structure of the rural and caste life intact. This meant that not only the Hindu villages remained small autonomous republics, as they had been since ancient times, but in commerce and industry also, the Hindu guilds ruled supreme. This position continued throughout the Muslim rule, but during the Sultanate, when the provincial administration had not been properly organised, the Hindu autonomy outside the principal towns was very real.

It is often forgotten—and Muslim court chroniclers are not keen to point it out—that at least, at this stage there were a large number of independent or quasi-independent Hindu chiefs, and as Moreland says, "a larger portion of the kingdom was obviously in their hands". Some of them were big enough to "rank as kings and others merely chieftains claiming authority over a few villages". Many of the chiefs belonged to old families, but new *principalities* were growing up, even after the establishment of Muslim empire at Delhi, bands of Rajputs would often set out "to found new kingdoms for themselves in the less accessible and more defensible parts of the country". Many of the states which now exist in Rajputana and in the Himalayas derive their origin from such movements during the Sultanate, as do some of the large landed estates still held by Rajputs in Oudh and in Bihar. "The position of these new foundations varied from time to time; they might be practically independent states, or they might merely be privileged units subject to a Muslim ruler, but their individuality has survived to the present day".

The position of the Hindu business community was even better. We hear a lot about the large incomes of the Muslim grandees and the splendour of their households, but Barani leaves us in no doubt that all of them were in the clutches of the Hindu money-lenders. "The *maliks* and the *Khans* and the nobles of those days were constantly in debt, owing to their excessive generosity, expenditure and beneficence. Except in their public halls no gold or silver could be found, and they made no savings on account of their excessive liberality. The wealth and riches of the *Multani*

merchants and the *Shahs* (Sahukars) were from the interest realised from the old *maliks* and nobles of Delhi, who borrowed money from them to the maximum limit, and repaid their debts along with additional gifts from their *iqtas*. Whenever a *malik* or a *khan* held a banquet, and invited notables, his agents would rush to the *Multanis* and *Shahs*, sign documents, and borrow money with interest"[10]. Even the powerful Ala-ud-Din Khalji, who seeing the danger to his government from the position and the dafiant attitude of the Hindu rural chiefs, made a determined attempt to curb their power and reduce their wealth, found it necessary to make Hindu traders (the *Multanis*) the main instrument of his price control measures.

Muslim historians tend to omit or ignore features, which show the limits or the set-backs to the authority of their patrons, but there is plenty of incidental evidence about the prosperity of the Hindus, both in the countryside and the cities. Barani quotes Jalal-ud-Din Khalji as saying, "Every day the Hindus pass below my palace beating cymbals and blowing conch shells to perform idol worship on the bank of the Yamuna. While my name is being read in the *Khutba* as the Defender of Islam, these enemies of God and his Prophet, under my very eyes, are proudly displaying their riches and live ostentatiously among the Muslims of my capital. They beat their drums and musical instruments and perpetuate their pagan practices"[11]. The position of the Hindus improved under Muhammad bin Tughluq, "The infidels and polytheists are regarded as *kharajis* and *zimmis*, and therefore, they are advanced to great positions, and are honoured; they are rewarded with drums ; banners and saddled horses are presented to them; and they are appointed to governorships, high offices and important posts." Barani further says that in the capital, the Hindus "build houses like palaces; they wear dresses of gold brocade and ride Arab horses with gold and silver harness; they decorate themselves with a hundred thousand insignia of greatness; they indulge in luxurious comfort; they employ Muslims as their servants who run in front of their horses, and the poor among Muslims beg alms from them at their palace gates."[12] When the great Jain scholar and saint Jinaprabha Suri visited the royal court, Muhammad bin Tughluq, according to the Jain accounts, "treated him with respect, seated him by his side, and offered to give him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined. The Sultan praised him and

issued a *farman* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basadi upasrava* i.e. resthouse for the monks. A procession started in his honour to his residence to the accompaniment of varied music and dancing of young women, and the saint was seated on the State elephant surrounded by Maliks"[13].

General Social Conditions.

Contemporary historians throw very little light on the condition of the masses. With the establishment of Muslim rule, there was a gradual improvement in the condition of the Shudras and the other classes at the bottom of the Hindu caste system. Muslim converts from the Hindu lower classes had of course, great opportunities before them, and one of them Khusrau Khan even sat on the throne of Delhi. But the Muslim example, the danger of conversion, and in course of of time, preachings of Hindu reformers, must have improved the position of these classes within Hindu society also. The conquest of Deccan and the resultant transfer of riches to the North engendered a wave of prosperity in the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, from which the general masses of Northern India also benefitted, but it was a temporary and local relief.

One feature of the social life of the period was the widespread prevalence of slavery. The number of royal slaves was often large and Firuz Tughluq from economic and humane motives increased their number considerably. They were, however, very, well looked after and were dependable, loyal personal servants. Sultan Muhammad Ghuri had set a noble example in taking paternal care of his slaves and the fact that, for a long time the throne of Delhi was occupied by those who were originally slaves or were descended from slaves, would show that slavery in that society meant something quite different from what it was in the Roman Europe or became during the European colonization and exploitation of Africa and America, during the Nineteenth Century. Invasions and wars added to the number of slaves, and of course, descendents of slaves inherited inferior status.

"The Muslim tradition with regard to women varied according to the country. The Turks in general gave their women a fair measure of freedom. The Persian woman was improving her position as compared with her Indian sister. In India the Muslims followed the older tradition of the ancient Persians, which put the woman in an inferior position"[14]. The intellectual calibre of women varied according to their class. There was a partial exclusion of

women in ancient India and upper class Hindu women were generally shut off from the gaze of the males and observed what even now goes under the name of *ghoonghat* but the elaborated and institutionlised form of purdah dates from the time of Muslim rule. It gradually established itself amongst Hindu upper classes, especially the Rajputs. Amongst the Hindus *sati* was not uncommon. Some Muslim Kings tried to stop it. According to Ibn Battuta Muhammad bin Tughluq tried to ensure that there was no forcible burning of the Hindu widows.

Amongst the contributions of Muslims towards the improvement of towns in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent may be noted their beautiful and spacious mosques, their gateways, probably the use of fountains, domes, the new arch, and an improved style of walls around the cities with wide towers and other military equipment of a more efficient pattern. Their buildings, mausoleums, tanks baths and beautiful gardens, all went to enrich and embellish the cities[a].

Special classes of people had their own distinctive dresses. There was no special uniform for a soldier, whose arms alone distinguished him from other people. The royal slaves were conspicuous by the use of a waistband, and handkerchief in their pocket, red shoes and the common *kulah*. The Hindus usually went bare-headed and bare-footed. They also stuck to their intricate arrangements of cooking and eating (*chauka*). They generally believed that purity of thought could only be attained by not being seen by others when eating food"[15].

Trade and Commerce

Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has a long history of inland and foreign trade, which was continued under the Sultanate. The important trading classes of the period were the *Multanis* in the north and the *banias* of Gujarat on the west-coast. Foreign Muslim merchants usually known as *Khurasanis*, also played an important role. The rulers of the coastal kingdoms in the Deccan accorded to foreign merchants certain extra territorial rights and special concessions in consideration of the heavy taxes which they paid to the treasury. There was an organised class of brokers, which handled the big business on the coast and inside the country. The money-lenders and bankers called *Sahus* and *Mahajans*, formed

(a) See K.M. Ashraf pp. 226-267 for an analysis of Muslim contribution to town-planning and the description of an average city of Hindustan in the middle ages.

an important section of the community and they did not find it difficult to recover their dues, including interest[(b)]. It is not possible to form any exact estimate of the volume of internal or foreign trade, though more information is available about the latter. The imports consisted mainly of certain articles of luxury for the use of the upper classes and a general supply of all kinds of horses and mules, in which India was deficient. Hindus had never attached any importance to the cavalry, but seeing the success of the Muslim horsemen, they also started to substitute horses for elephants. The exports of the Indo-Pak subcontinent were numerous and included large quantities of necessaries like food-grains and cloth. The exports of agricultural produce, consisted of wheat, millet, rice, pulses, oilseeds, scents, medicinal herbs, and other similar articles. Cotton and sugar were the principal exports of Bengal. Cotton cloth and other textiles were specially important items of export[16]. Some of the countries around the Persian Gulf depended on Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for their entire food supply, and islands in the Pacific Ocean, the Malay Islands and the East coast of Africa provided extensive markets for Indian goods. Some of these goods also reached Europe. They were carried by the Arabs to the Red Sea and from there found their way to Damascus and Alexandria, from where they were distributed over the Mediterranean countries and beyond.

Industry

The scale and organization of industries radically differed in the Middle Ages from that of the present, but many industries of considerable size and importance had been developed during this period. More important of these were textiles, various items of metal work, sugar, indigo, and in certain localities, paper.

The textile industry is very old in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but the variety of cloth produced was originally limited. Muslims took advantage of the local talent and introduced a number of fine varieties of textiles, most of which had Persian or Arabic origin. Barbosa mentions a kind of *sash* called *sirband* made in Bengal and much esteemed by Europeans as head dress for the ladies and by Persian and Arab merchants as turbans. Another European traveller, Varthema, gives the names of the various varieties of fine cloth,

(b) See Ashraf pp. 217-218 for references in the legal conpendium of Firuz Tughluq's reign for facilitating the work of brokers and for fixing the rate of interest *for tamassuks*.

which were being produced in Bengal, and in spite of mutilation, it is not difficult to recognise the Persian origin of most of these varieties—*Bairam*, *Namone*, *Lizati*, *Caintar*, *Donzar* and *Smabeff*.

The textile industry of Bengal attained to great height under the Mughuls, but we find indications of a fairly large volume of production in this area during the Sultanate period also. Gujarat was the other big centre of textile productions, and according to Varthema, Cambay "contributed about half of the total textile exports of India."

Next in importance were a number of industries connected with metal work, like sword-making and the manufacture of "basins, cups, steel guns, knives and scissors." Manufacture of sugar was also carried on a fairly large scale and in Bengal enough was produced to leave a surplus for export after meeting the local demand.

The Chinese are usually credited with the discovery of paper. They were the first to manufacture paper from "grasses and plants" but the "credit of first discovering rag-paper goes to the Arabs or rather to the paper makers of Samarqand." The large number of plain and illuminated manuscripts which have survived "leave no doubt as to the existence of a paper industry" during the Sultanate and there is even a mention "of a regular market of book-sellers in Delhi[17]," but the quantity of paper was not sufficient to meet the demand. Industry was mainly organised on a private basis, but the government also equipped and managed large-scale *karkhanas*, or factories for supplying its requirements. The royal factories at Delhi sometimes employed as many as four-thousand weavers for silk alone, in addition to the work done in other large-scale organisations. The example of the Sultan of Delhi was followed by the rulers of the regional kingdoms and the contribution of the state to the development of the industry was not a minor one.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL LIFE

CHRONOLOGY

Destruction of Baghdad by Hulagu.	1258
Amir Khusrau.	1253—1325
Death of Prince Muhammad.	1285

The cultural Importance of the Delhi Sultanate.

The fact that the historians of Mediaeval India, dependent in most cases for their information largely on Elliot and Dowson's work, have generally dealt only with the political and military events, has created an impression that the Sultanate had nothing to show in the cultural sphere. The ruthlessness and intemperence occasionally displayed during the conquest of the country, or later, when dealing with rebellions or internecine warfare, have further strengthened this impression, but as Sir John Marshall has pointed out "these were vices common in those ages to most Asiatic nations" and did not preclude the Delhi Sultans "any more than they had precluded the Ghaznavids from participating in the culture and arts of Islam."[1]

Far from being a cultural desert, Delhi was, after the sack of Baghdad in 1258, perhaps the most important cultural centre in the Muslim East. Lahore was known as "smaller Ghazni" at a time when Ghazni was the principal seat of literary and cultural magnificence associated with the House of Mahmud. Delhi was heir to the traditions of Ghazni and Lahore, but what increased its importance was the fact that soon after the foundation of Muslim rule in northern India, the Mongols, destroyed the cultural centres of Central and Western Asia, and the poets, scholars and men of letters from these areas took refuge in Indo-Pak subcontinent. A large number of works written during this period have been lost, but the contemporary histories leave no doubt about the rich cultural life of the period. Both Minhaj-us-Siraj and Isami pay eloquent

tribute to the attempt made by Iltutmish to make his capital a great cultural centre. This process became more active under his successors. In 1258 Hulagu destroyed Baghdad, and now men of letters came to Indo-Pakistan not only from Khwarizm, Turkistan and what is now modern Afghanistan, but from Persia, Iraq, and Western Asia also. Balban, who was particular about entrusting high offices of the state to persons of good families only, welcomed these distinguished refugees and many illustrious families of Muslim India trace their origin to this period. Ala-ud-Din Khalji was not a great patron of letters, but the general prosperity engendered by his conquests enabled nobles to replace royalty in the role of literary patrons. Judging from the number of eminent men of letters his reign seems to have surpassed the rest. Barani devotes more than fourteen pages to an account of cultural activities of the period, and gives a long list of scholars, poets, preachers philosophers, physicians, astronomers and historians who thronged Delhi in the days of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. As the works of most of the persons named by Barani have perished, it is impossible to assess their quality, but if the surviving poetry of Khusrau, the historical works of Barani, and the table-talk of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, are any indication of the cultural vitality and richness of the age, one can well understand why Amir Khusrau and others felt that Delhi was the metropolis of the Muslim East and were loud and eloquent in its praises.

The cultural life of Delhi received a set-back when Muhammad bin Tughluq moved the capital to Daulatabad and compelled the Muslim upper classes to migrate there. This resulted in some good in its turn, but we can understand the bitterness of Barani and others at the "madness" of the Sultan for undoing what his distinguished predecessors had built up during a century and a half. Firuz Tughluq, the next ruler, attempted to pick up the broken threads of cultural life, but his period was the golden age of the jurists and the orthodox ulama. The literary and cultural life of northern India was not restored till the days of Sikandar Lodi, who patronised not only poetry, theology and medicine, but was the first orthodox ruler of Delhi to patronise music on a large scale. Soon after his death the Mughul Empire was established and the most important period of cultural life in Muslim India was ushered in.

Pre-Mughul era was not a cultural void, but it cannot be

claimed that the Sultanate is a period marked by that solid scholarship and study of sciences, which distinguished Baghdad and Cordova, and produced al-Biruni and Avicena. The reason is obvious. Learned and gifted men had come to India, but without their libraries. Those who were escaping with their lives could not be expected to carry heavy loads of books over long distances. Already, we find Data Ganj Bakhsh missing in Lahore Ghazni's rich treasures of books. The position of those who were fleeing before the Ghuzz and Mongol marauders was naturally worse. We get a glimpse of this in the case of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, who fled from Ghazni even without his family papers, and had to wait for a suitable opportunity to go back and reclaim them The result of all this was that only those cultural activities gained prominence which, like poetry, *belles-lettres*, local history, sufism, architecture and music, were not dependent on accumulated stores of knowlledge.

Education

In Muslim society, education is almost a religious duty, particularly for the religious classes. They are expected to undertake teaching, with a view to earn religious merit and the Muslim state is expected to facilitate this by providing them with ample means of subsistence. This was the procedure generally adopted during Muslim rule in India, and *Sadr-i-Jahan*, in charge of the religious endowments, arranged for the grant of tax-free lands to *imams*, *qazis*, and other religious groups who provided education, particularly in Islamic subjects. Usually this education was of the elementary type, but the system also provided for the maintenance of scholars and learned men, who had specialised in different branches of learning and were attracting students interested in these particular subjects. We find even nobles and distinguished men of affairs teaching subjects in which they had become proficient to interested students. For example, Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya studied the Arabic classic, *Maqamat-i-Hariri*, under Shamsul-Mulk, who became *wazir* of Balban. The children of nobles were taught at their own residence by picked private tutors, whose guidance was often available for other students also. For advanced students *madrasas*, (colleges) were set up by pious and public-spirited rulers, and this activity received special attention during the early period. We come across two major *madrasas* called Muizziya and Nasiriya, established during the beginning of Muslim rule at Delhi. One of these was so

big that it was mistaken by the Ismaili raiders, who had come to Delhi to assassinate the reigning Sultan, for the Grand Mosque. The second was important enough to have as its Principal the learned Minhaj-us-Siraj. Details about these *madrasas* are lacking, but probably one of them was the college built by Iltutmish, and was repaired a century later by Firuz Tughluq. Similar steps to establish educational institutions were taken by Muslim rulers in the distant provinces, and we read of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji setting up *madrasas* at Devkot and other places in distant Bengal after the conquest of the country. Firuz Tughluq was an exception in looking after the institutions established by his predecessors, and probably, most of these establishments fell into decay when the original founders passed away or the grants made for the *madrasas* were diverted to other purposes.

Historians give few details about the staff, or the curriculum or the text-books taught at these institutions. The college about which some details are available and which was probably the most elaborate educational institution established by a Delhi ruler, was the one founded by Firuz near Hauz-i-Alai, and was known as Firuz Shahi Madrasa. Barani has given a lengthy account of the beautiful college building, and the surrounding gardens, which used to attract visitors and provided the centre round which people from Delhi set up their residences. The college had extensive courtyards, comfortable seating arrangements and provision was made not only for the general education but also for spiritual welfare of the students. Barani's account, written during the life time of Firuz is largely rhetorical, but other contemporary accounts also bear witness to the eminence and the grandeur of the *madrasas*. Mutahar, a well-known contemporary poet of Kara (near modern Allahabad), has written a long poem describing his visit to Delhi and the Firuzi *madrasa* was one of the important places he visited. Both Barani and Mutahar praise the comprehensive knowledge of Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the head of the institution. The main subjects taught seem to have been religious-*tafsir*, *hadis* and *fiqh*. For the study of *hadis* the favourite text-book was *Mashariq-ul-Anwar* and in *fiqh*, *Hidaya* held the field.

The intellectual and spiritual activity of the early Sultanate owed not a little to the scholars and the saints, who sought refuge from Mongol atrocities in the neighbouring countries. After this rush had ceased and Mongols had established their rule in the

north-western borderland, communication between Central Asia and northern India became difficult, if not impossible. This naturally had adverse effects on cultural and educational activities here, and it appears, that in the Deccan where contact was maintained with Iran by the sea-route, intellectual activity during the later centuries encompassed a wider range than was the position in the north. In northern India, apart from religious subjects mentioned above, literature, history, mysticism and ethics were the principal subjects studied. In the Deccan, scientific subjects were also receiving attention. The great Bahmani king Firuz (1397 1442) used "to hear lectures on botany, geometry and logic on Saturdays, Mondays and Thursdays."[2] He was also interested in astronomy and in 1407 started work on an observatory near Daulatabad. The untimely death of Hakim Hashim Gilani, the astronomer who was to supervise the observatory, however, put an end to the project. When Sayyid Gisu Daraz—who has left a large number of books on mysticism and was famous for his knowledge of religious subject —reached the Deccan Firuz went to meet him. The historian Ferishta records that the king missed in the saint that solid scholar ship, which he valued and made no secret of his disappointment. The fact that the king was not solitary in intellectual pursuits is evident from the account of a son of Daud Shah, who used to teach students three days a week and was very fond of *Zahidi*, *Sharh-Tazkirah* and *Tahrir-i-Uqlidas* (Euclid) in Mathemetics ; *Sharh-i-Maqasid* in theology ; and *Mutawwal* in rhetoric; and made them the course of study of his pupils.[3] Promotion of learning in the Deccan was largely the work of Persian statesmem and scholars, whom the rulers had attracted from Iran, and an interesting monument to the age is the ruined college of the Bahmani minister, Mahmud Gawan in Bidar. It was a magnificent building as can be seen from its beautiful minarets and facade, but during the wars of the Deccan kings with Aurangzeb it was badly damaged by an explosion of gun-powder.

When the worst fury of the Mongol holocaust had blown over and overland contacts between Iran and Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were resumed, new subjects were added to the curriculum. This activity was most fruitful during the Mughul period, but a beginning was made somewhat earlier at Talamba, near Multan, which was on the direct route from Iran. An extensive study of logic and *Ilm-ul-Kalam* (scholastic theology) was first undertaken

by Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Azizullah, who after an upheaval in Multan, went to Delhi during the reign of Sikandar Lodi and introduced new text-books on these subjects. The importance of Multan during this period may be judged by the fact that when Sultan Husain Langa, ruler of Multan, (1456-1502) wanted his capital to vie with Gujarat in architecture and was told that, with all his wealth, he could not erect similar buildings in Multan, his *Wazir* tried to console him by saying though Gujarat was noted for its buildings, Multan outshone it in learning and scholars.[4]

Medicine

The history of Indo-Muslim medicine, properly called Tibb-i-Yunani, has not been properly studied and the material for the early period is scanty but it would be useful to refer to available accounts, as the history of medicine is linked up with the development of medieaval science and provides a good index of Greek and Indian inflnences.

The foundation of Indo-Muslim medicine was laid during the Abbasid period, when *Vaids* and doctors from India were invited to Baghdad and translation of important Sanskrit works into Arabic was undertaken.(*a*) After that, the first detailed reference to the subject is by Barani, who gives details about prominent physicians of the reign of Balban. He gives an even more impressive list of the days of Ala-ud-Din Khalji (1296-1316). Foremost in the latter reign were Maulana Badr-ud-Din and Maulana Hameed Mutris, both from Damascus. They were not only sncessful practising physicians, but were also good teachers and taught the standard works on medicine to aspiring students. Maulana Hameed was, in particular, an effective teacher, and specialised in the teaching of Avicena's *Qanun* and its abridgment, *Qanuncha*, and "other works on medicine." He was a practising Sufi also. Barani mentions a few other names, including the Hindu physician Man Chandra, Raja Jarrah (surgeon) and Ilm-ud-Din Kahhal (eye doctor), but it appears that physicians from Syria, which was an important centre of Greek sciences, were dominant.

The earliest woık on medicine of which an imperfect manuscript copy has survived, was written in 730 A.H. (1329-30) in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Its author, Zia Muhammad was sent to the Deccan under the orders of the Sultan and after a prolonged illness prepared his book, *Majmua-i-Ziai*, based on a

(a) For details, see Chapter I.

number of earlier medical works. The author drew not only on *Qanun* and other books prepared in Central Asia, but received great help from an earlier indigenous work, *Majmua-i-Shamsi*, written by Shams-ud-Din Mustaufi (of Balban's days). Zia Muhammad's book gives local counterparts of Arab medicines, and several prescriptions based on the work of the Hindu physician Naga Rajan and other Yogis and *vaids*.

The succeeding ruler, Firuz built many hospitals for the public, and amongst the medical works composed in his reign was *Tibb-i-Firuz Shahi*, named after him. *Rahat-ul-Insan*, a work on popular medicine composed in 1376, was also dedicated to him. The death of Firuz was followed by the decay of the Sultanate but important medical works continued to be compiled in regional kingdoms. Two important books— *Kifaya-i-Mujahidiyyah* and *Tashrih-i-Mansuri* were composed in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin, the enlightened ruler of Kashmir (1423-1472). Of these, the first book which is more comprehensive, is dedicated to Zain-ul-Abidin, while the second is dedicated to a grandson of Timur. Both these works are still in use, and were lithographed during the last century. In the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begrah of Gujarat (1459-1511) *Vaghbit*, a collection of eight Sanskrit pamphlets, was translated into Persian under the title, *Shifa-i-Ahnnadi*.

As *Majmua-i-Ziai*[(b)] shows, Muslim writers on medicine were drawing on Hindu sources pratically from the beginning, and the translation of *Vaghbit* was an important link in this chain. The most important mediaveal work of this type was *Ma'dan-ush-Shifa-i-Sikandar Shahi*, also known as *Tibb-i-Sikandari*. This was completed in 1512-13 during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, by his wazir and court physician Mian Bhuwa. The author states in the preface that he once represented to Sikandar Lodi that there were difficulties in the proper application of Yunani medicine to people living in India. The author prepared this book, based on the works of well-known Sanskrit writers like Susyrat, Charak, Ras Ratnagar etc. and used local terminology in order to make the book useful to the residents of the subcontinent. *Tibb-i-Sikandari* has remained a standard text book with students of Indo-Muslim medicine and has been lithographed at Lucknow.

The brief account given above is enough to show that the study

(b) See Hamdard-i-Sihat, Karachi, November, 1959, pages 3-6 for an account af Majmua-i-Ziai by Hakim M. Abdul Wahab Zubairi.

and practice of medicine was not neglected during the Sultanate, and as in other spheres, material available in Hindu as well as classical Islamic works was utilised.

Literature

Works of the poets of Iltutmish's days have perished, and only brief accounts of them and a few of their poems have been preserved in general histories. Their study shows that the imperial secretariat was a great repository of literary talent, and some of the prominent poets of the period were holding appointments in the secretariat. The general historians have naturally preserved only those poems which were written for special occasions such as the poems of Dabir-ul-Mulk Taj-ud-Din Sangreza on the arrival of the patent of sovereignty for Iltutmish from the Abbasid *Khalifa*, and his verses on the accession of Iltutmish's son or Ruhani's poem on Iltutmish's conquest of Ranthambhore. These poems have the usual limitations of "occasional" poetry, but other verses included in anthologies indicate high poetic skill

The early men of letters naturally represented a trans-Indus tradition. Most of them had received their education beyond the border, and although they had settled down in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, indigenous tradition really began with Amir Khusrau. Of the early tradition, the two most important representatives were Sadid-ud-Din Muhammad Aufi, and Muhammad bin Mansur Qureshi, generally known as Fakhr-i Mudabbir. Aufi (circa 1172-1242) who was a native of Bukhara, visited many countries before coming to what is now West Pakistan. He first came to Lahore, but soon moved to Uchh, where Qabacha was maintaining a brilliant court. Aufi completed the first extant collection of biographies of Persian poets (*Lubab-ul-Albab*) at Uchh, and later moved to Cambay where he was appointed as *qazi*. Here he compiled the voluminous encyclopaedia of anecdotes, Jawami-al-Hikayat which apart from its literary interest "is an inexhaustible mine of curious and interesting information" relating to this and earlier periods. On the fall of Qabacha Aufi moved to Delhi, where Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, the *wazir* of Iltutmish patronised him and persuaded him to finish his incomplete works. Aufi also wrote or translated a sequence of short stories entitled *al-faraj-bad-al-Shiddat*.

The work of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the author of *Adab-ul-Muluk* has already been dealt with. The short-statured Secretary-General (Dablr-ul-Mulk) of Iltutmish called Reza (The Atom) or Sangreza (the Pebble) was the first Persian poet of the period, who was born and bred in India. The most distinguished writer of the period, however, is Amir Khusrau. He was born in 1253 in Patiali (near Budaon) and died in 1325. His father was a junior Turkish officer under Iltutmish and had married a daughter of Rawat Arz, the famous war minister of Balban. Khusrau showed literary promise at an early age, and after spending some time at the provincial court of Awadh, became attached at first to Prince Bughra Khan, the governor of Samana, and later of Bengal, and subsequently to Prince Muhammad, the heir-designate of Balban, who maintained a magnificent court at Multan. In 1285 the Prince lost his life in a skirmish with the Mongols, and the poet had to move to Delhi. Balban's youthful successor, Kaiqubad was Khusrau's first royal patron, but his gay reign soon came to an inglorious end. Besides Balban, Khusrau saw seven different rulers on the throne of Delhi, but his position at the court remained unaffected. His own loyalty was to his muse, and it is doubtful whether he felt greatly hurt by the kaleidoscopic changes of royalty. Apart from lyrics, *qasidas*, five books written in reply to Nizami's *Khamsa* and completed in three years (1298-1301), he wrote poems relating to contemporary events. Qiran-us-Saadain completed in 1289, gives an account of the historic meeting of Bughra Khan and Kaiqubad on the banks of the river Sarju, and contains an interesting description of Delhi of those days. Miftah-ul- Futuh(1291) is a versified account of the exploits of Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji. In Ashiqa (1315) Khusrau gave an account of the romance of the Gujrati Princess Dewal Devi and Prince Khizr Khan, son of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The latter's conquests are the subject matter of Khazain-ul-Futuh (1311) in ornate prose, while Nuh Sipihr completed in 1318, celebrates the reign of Qutb-ud-Din Mubarik Shah. In this book Amir Khusrau challenged the poets of Iran, and sang of his native land, its hoary past, its love of learning, its flowers and its fair and intelligent people. *Tughlaq Nama* describes the successful expedition of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq against the usurper Khusrau Khan. Khusrau was also among the earliest writers of Hindi poetry, and though the origin of Hindi poems which are being new attributed to him is doubtful, he

himself has referred to his Hindi verses in the introduction to one of his Persian Diwans. He played a major role in the development of Indian music, and it is not without justification that professor D. P. Mukerji has called him "Leonardo da Vinci of India".

Hassan, a friend and companion of Khusrau, is the other important poet of the age, whose work has attracted attention outside India. Jami praised him in his *Baharistan*. He also wrote beautiful prose and his Fawaid-ul-Fuad, a record of the table-talk of his spiritual guide, Niazam-ud-Din Auliya, is a literary classic of the period. Equally interesting, though not so well known, was Ziya Nakhshabi (d. 1350). He wrote on a number of subjects and was a master of simple and eloquent prose. His romantic *masnavi*, *Gulrez* has been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and his *Silk-ul-Suluk* is well known in Sufi circles. Even more famous is his *Tuti Namah*, based on the Persian translation of a Sanskrit book. Nakhshabi's version or its summaries have been translated in Turkhish, German, English and many Indian languages. He seems to have taken special interest in translations from Hindu sources, and his works include a translations of *Kok Shastra*, an old Indian book on sexology.

Historians

There were many distinguished names in the realm of poetry and *belles-letters*, but, perhaps, the most important Muslim contribution of the period was in the field of history. The Hindus practically produced no historical literature, and Muslims introduced the art of historiography in Indo-Pak subcontinent. Prof. Dodwell writes about these writings thus: "The advent of Islam begins a great series of Indian chronicles—the Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles. They were written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had seen and taken part in the events they recount—the Muslim period is one of the living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows."[5]

Historical literature is a valuable part of the heritage of Muslim India, but it is marred by serious deficiencies. The most serious defect of these chronicles is that they tried to paint a picture of Muslim conquest which is impossible to accept on closer study. All modern historians of the period, like Haig, Tripathi, Pannikar, Qureshi and Habibullah have had to warn against taking the accounts of these historians literally. Sir Wolesley Haig says:

"The rhapsodies of Muslim historians—might delude us into the belief that the early Muslim occupation of Northern India was one prolonged Holy War waged for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam, had we not proof that this cannot have been the case.[6]" Of course, many of the chronicles were written specifically for certain kings or nobles and the historians tried to show that their patrons were actuated by unselfish and religious motives in extending their dominion. Even apart from this, these historians often wrote for the Muslim reader—in Muslim lands. Dr. Qureshi says about the histories of the Sultanate period : "At this particular period the Persian-speaking part of the Muslim world happened to be under the grinding tyranny of infidel, uncivilised Mongols ; hence the chroniclers saw an excellent opportunity for display by telling the down-trodden Muslims in other lands how powerful the faithful were in India. This propagandist tendency in the average Muslim chronicler of our period should be constantly kept in view in spite of the fact that it overshoots the mark and loses its effect.[7]"

The historian with the most obvious bias is Zia-ud-Din Barani (1285-1357). Otherwise the most gifted of the early historains, he wrote at a time when Muslim reaction against the excesses committed by the companions of the half-converted Khusrau Khan was in full swing. The Tughluqs came to the throne with the battle-cry of "Islam in Danger" and their era is naturally marked by religious enthusiasm, and Barani wrote for Firuz the greatest champion of Islamic orthodoxy before Aurangzib. Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, in fact represents a triple reaction—the reaction of the Tughluq period, against the latitudinarian Khalji regime, of the legalist Firuz against the "experimentalist" Muhammad Tughluq, and even of Barani trying to "compensate", in a theologian-dominated age, for his own pleasure-loving and irreligious past. Barani had been, for seventeen years, a boon companion of Muhammad Tughluq, who persecuted the Sufis and the *ulama* and in the new reign dominated by these classes he had to adjust himself. He was out of favour with the new Sultan, who banished him from the court, and even imprisoned him for a time. During his exile, Barani wrote his books on government and history, hoping thereby to win the favour of the orthodox and religious-minded Firuz. This has inevitably given a peculiar point of view to *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* which we

do not find in earlier histories or books like *Adab-ul-Muluk*. Apart from the atmosphere in which Barani composed his works, his attitude is coloured by the fact that he was a champion of Turkish supremacy. To him, indigenous or what he calls the lowborn Muslims were as much of an anathema as the Hindus, and the fact that his fulminations against the Hindus intended really for the preservation of Turkish supremacy, can get a religious justification, has also coloured his writings.

These peculiarities, however, should not obscure the historical and literary worth of these chronicles. They have their deficiencies, but very few western chronicles of the corresponding period are free from such shortcomings. No charge of suppression of truth has been brought against them and the peculiarities of method and language can easily be accounted for. The number of historical works of the Sultanate period, which have reached us is not large, but even then they possess a rich variety. The historians of the period include Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Hasan Nizami, Minhaj-us-Siraj, Afif, Khusrau, Yahya and Isami. Most of them occupied high official positions, and even write from personal knowledge, generally in distinguished style. Barani is the most interesting amongst them. He is not very particular about dates (normally the strong point of the Muslim historians) and this naturally detracts from the value of his book. He also had a definite political philosophy and an orthodox coterie to which he belonged. But he wrote history as an artist, selecting, and carefully arranging his material so that his book, instead of becoming a monotonous chronicle of events, emphasized the characteristics of various rulers and different reigns. He does not confine himself to the kings, but gives details about the political philosophies of different monarchs and leading men of the times, the literary and the religious history, the prices in the market and other matters of concern to the ordinary people. Even more interesting is the gallery of portraits which he has brought to life not only by a skilful analysis of the personalities with whom he had dealt, but by providing those significant small details which most Oriental historians omit and which would have delighted Lytton Strachey; for example, the picture of the disciplinarian Balban, who never laughed in public and whom even his valet did not see without his shoes and stockings.

Hindu Thought and Culture.

With the end of the Hindu rule at Ajmer, Kanauj etc. Hindu culture was deprived of state patronage at many important centres. It suffered certain other handi-

caps also, but the impression gained from the study of the court chronicles that Hindu cultural activity ceased during the Sultanate is incorrect. Some sources of state patronage did dry up, but Hindu scholars and writers moved to other centres like Mithila, Gujarat and Rajputana. Places like Navadip in Bengal rapidly regined their importance as centres of Sanskrit learning, and on the whole Hindu intellectual and religious life does not seem to have suffered a serious setback. This was due to the fact that apart from the coutinuance of Hindu states in Rajputana, Bundhelkhand, Mithila etc., powerful Hindu landlords continued in rural areas and the economic power of the Hindu commercial classes remained undiminished.

Writing about Sanskrit literature, Panikkar says, "We have in Gujarat the great resurgence of Sanskrit associated with Hemachandra Suri and the magnificent and learned court of Viradhavala whose minister, Vastupala, himself a poet of eminence, revived the traditions of Bhoja in the west. Nor was Sanskrit less patronised in Rajputana. Apart from Prithviraja Vijaya of Jonaraja and Hammiravijaya of Alauddin's time, we have the outstanding figure of Kumbha whose court was a centre of learning and culture. Kumbha himself was the commentator of Gita Govinda, and author of Sangitaraja, an encyclopaedic work on music, and numerous other poems in Sanskrit. What presumably happened was that with the conquest of the Gangetic valley, scholars and poets took refuge in the courts of Hindu rulers in distant areas and this would perhaps explain the sudden efflorescence of Sanskrit literature in places like Mewar, Kalinjar and Gujarat."[8]

Contemporary with the Sultanate was the great revival of Jainism, which produced teachers like Hemachandra Suri, "comparable only to Sankra" and who, according to Panikkar, "is one of the makers of modern Indian mind and takes his place with Valmiki, Vyasa and Sankara".[9] There were unmberous other Jain writers of Sanskrit, some of whom were honoured by Muslim sultans like Muhammad bin Tughluq.

Hindu religious life found vigorous expression in the Bhakti movement with which we have dealt elsewhere. Equally interesting were the developments in the Hindu law. Islamic conquest posed new social problems, and led to legal adjustments. A large number of commentaries and digests of Hindu law were prepared during the period 1200 to 1500 A.D." The great *Mitakshara* of Vijnanes-

wara cannot be placed earlier than the Twelfth Century. Kalluka, the most famous commentator of *Manusmriti*, lived early in the Fourteenth Century in Bengal. Chandeswara, who belonged to Bihar and who wrote numerous digests of Smritis, claims that he was a minister and had himself weighed in gold in 1314 A.D."[10]

In the early period the cultural activity at Delhi was mainly Muslim. This was partly on account of the heritage of Ghazni and Lahore, and also due to the fact that Delhi, which was a town of no importance immediately before the Muslim conquest and ranked second—i.e. below Ajmer—even in Prithviraj's kingdom, was essentially a centre of Muslim immigrants. Gradually however, Hindu influences and an interest in Hindu culture became manifest. There was no al-Biruni, but Khusrau wrote Hindi poetry, and even in his Persian work *Nuh Sipihr*, (1318), eloquently praised Indian sciences, religion and other products of Indian genius. We have already referred to Zia Nakshabi's versions of Sanskrit books. When Firuz Tughluq conquerred Kangra in 1361, he came across Sanskrit books dealing with astronomy and music. Under the orders of the Sultan they were translated into Persian with the help of Brahmin scholars. The book on astronomy is called *Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi*, while the book on music is probably *Barah Sangata*, which was translated by Abdul Aziz Shams of Thanesar.

Another interesting development of Firuz's reign was the composition of a *mathnavi* in Hindustani and its popularity with all classes of Muslims. Maulana Daud wrote the romance of Lorak and Chanda in the local language and dedicated it to Khan-i-Jehan II, the all-powerful wazir of Firuz. The puritanical Badauni, who wrote his history at Agra two centuries later, says, "In view of the popularity of the book in those areas it needs no introduction Makhdum Taqi-ud-Din, the Muslim preacher in Delhi, used to recite verses from this book from the pulpit, and this used to have a wonderful effect on the congregation."[11]

Regional Languages.

Perhaps the most important cultural phenomenon of the pre-Mughul period and the greatest cultural contribution of Muslim rule to India was in the realm of the regional languages. The rise to the literary level of modern Indo-Pakistani languages was directly due to the encouragement given by the Muslim nobles and kings, as they were not hampered by the Hindu ban on the patronage of languages

other than Sanskrit. For Hindus, Sanskrit was *Deva Bhasha* or the Language of gods and the all powerful Brahmins threatened with Divine displeasure those who cultivated other languages. If a per son hears the eighteen Puranas of the Ramayana recited in Bengali, he will be thrown into Reurava hell[12]". Muslims were free from this crippling taboo, and freely encouraged the languages of the people. Dr. Sen, after explaining this, tersely remarks : "If tne Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengali would scarcely have got an opportunity to find its way to the courts of the kings."[13] So far as Hindi is concerned, Dr. Lachhami Dhar says ; " It must not be forgotten that Muslims were the first to employ the indigenous language or Hindi for a literary purpose, which, as we know was totally neglected by the Brahmins as a vulgar speech unworthy of attention."[14] The same was true, in a varying degree, of the other regional languages.

The Muslim rulers of Bengal engaged scholars to translate the *Romayana* and the *Mahabharata* from Sanskrit into Bengali. "Thus Sultan Nusrat Shah of Gaur had the *Mahabharata* translated into Bengali. Vidyapati says much in praise of this Sultan and also of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, whose Bengali version of the *Ramayana* has been regarded by some as the Bible of Bengal, enjoyed the patronage of a "King of Gaur." Maladhar Vasu translated the *Bhagavata* into Bengali under the patronage of Sultan Husain Shah and received from him the title of Gunaraja Khan. Husain Shah's general, Paragal Khan, caused another translation of the *Mahabharata* to be made by Paramosvara, also known as the Karindra, and Paragal Khan's son, Chuti Khan, governor of Chittagong, employed Srikara Nadi to translate the *Asvamedha Porvo* of the *Mahabharata* into Bengali."[15]

In the distant Kashmir Hindu literature, philosophy and arts were studied enthusiastically at the court of Zain-ul-Abidin. *Rajatarangini* was translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and a supplement was prepared to bring the account up to date. Other works on music and mathematics were composed by Hindu scholars at Kashmir court. In the south the Muslim ruleres of Golconda and Bijapur employed Hindus as ministers, and maintained the state records in the Marathi language.

Cultural histories of various provincial governments are yet unwritten, but a similar process was at work at all places, although the scale of activities varied and at different centres different

activities were given prominence; for example music at the court of Sultan Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur.

Painting

There are some indications that the art of painting was not completely neglected during the Sultanate. There are references to ornamental figures, both animate and inanimate, painted on walls. The orthodox Firuz forbade the practice of decorating the walls by coloured representations of living objects. This would confirm the view suggested by references in literary works that such decorations were not unknown. Dr. Goetz, who has made a special study of the subject, says. "To judge from late indications, painting seems to have followed what is commonly called the Baghdad School of the thirteenth century."[16]

Music

Though the art of painting did not come into its own until under the Mughuls, yet the art of music was well developed during the earlier period. The Indians had already developed the art of music when the Muslims came to this subcontinent, but the newcomers were neither new nor indifferent to this art. Arab music had flourished at Damascus, Baghdad and Granada, and serious thinkers and philosophers like Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina had written learned books on the subject. We have already referred to Dr. Halim's views on the impact of Indian music on the Perso-Arab system during the Abbasid period, and the affinities between the two systems. When Muslims came to India they were not only heirs to the rich Arab heritage in music, but had also benefited by the development of this art in Iran and Central Asia. They brought a number of new musical instruments and new rules and regulations. In course of time, thanks to the work of masters like Amir Khusrau and Sultan Husain Sharqi, the two streams of Perso-Arabic and Indian music mingled more closely then was possible at Baghdad, and a new school of music arose, which is today for all practical purposes, the national music of India. Writing on the history of Indian music, a Hindu scholar says : "Just after Sharangdev, (*c*) *i. e.* soon after the close of the Thirteenth Century, the Muhammadans invaded the Deccan and overthrow the dynasty of the Yadavas of Devagiri. This had

(*c*) He was a Kashmiri Brahmin, who migrated to the Deccan, and became attached to the court of the Raja of Deogir. He is the author of *Sangit Ratnakar* an important work on music, which was composed towards the end of XIII century, and shows the position regarding Indian music, just before it came under Muslim influences.

its own reactions on Indian mustic, as on other aspects of culture. Persian models began to be introduced into Indian music, evidently widening the gulf between the Northern and the Southern schools. The Northern school later on adopted a new scale as its model or *Shudda* scale, while the Southern school retained the traditional one. Scholars believe that this change in the Northern school was wholly due to our contact with the Persian art, of which Amir Khusrau was the poineer. "[17]

Dr. Halim says, "The time of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji may rightly be considered as the period of assimilation of the Indian system by the Muslims and even importing a certain individualty of their own to the Indian system. Thus Amir Khusrau himself introduced into Indian music nearly a dozen Perso-Arabic airs like *aiman, ghora, sanam, chanam, sazgari, firudast, zilaf, ushd-shaq, mvowofiq sarparda*, etc. The Hindus, for the first time, conceded to the Muslim Amir Khusrau, the coveted title of Nayak (one proficient in the theory and practice of the music of the past and the present), a title which was denied to Tan Sen, who was only a Gandharb (one proficient in the practice of music)." [18]

While this far-reaching process of assimitation was going on, unalloyed Perso-Arabic music continued to flourish at the royal court—as it continued to do till the days of Shah Jahan side by side with the Indian system.

Amir Khusrau started the process of synthesis, and raised the prestige of the art in the eyes of the local Muslims. The insterest of the Chishti Sufis in the art and its practical cultivation by them further ensured its popularity. The next important stage was reached during the establishment of the independent Muslim kingdom at Jaunpur, not far from Benares and Kannauj, the old centres of Hindu arts. Here music received special attention, both at the royal court and in the Sufi monasteries. The two most important Indian Muslim musicians of the day were Sultan Husain Sharqi, the last king of Jaunpur, and the contemporary saint, Pir Bodhan ef Barnawa, to whom Sultan Husain would send distinguished musicians of his court and his own compositions for advice and opinion. The monastery of the saint became a rendezvous of musicians from Delhi, the Deccan and Jaunpur and these traditions were more than maintained by his son and grandson. The contribution of Sultan Husain to the development of Indian music was, however, much more specific. He is regarded as the original

founder of the *Khiyal* school of music, which slowly matured and took its final shape in the days of the late Mughals, particularly under Muhammad Shah. So far the traditional Hindu music consisted of *Dhrupad*, which was devotional in its aim and had invocation to Hindu gods and goddesses as its themes. *Khiyal* though, generally echoing Krishan's pranks with the *gopis* was not devotional music, and its themes were secular or thinly veiled descriptions of human love and romance.

Another regional kingdom, where music was highly cultivated after the breakdown of Sultanate was Gwalior. Here the ruler Raja Man Singh (1486—1516) was a Hindu, but the chief musician at his court, Nayak Mahmud, was a Muslim under whose leadership a band of musicians tried to re-systematise the Indian music in the light of changes it had undergone since the advent of the Muslims. This resulted in the compilation of *Man Kantuhal*," which contains almost all the airs introduced by the Muslim musicians in the country."[19]

The independent kingdom of Jaunpur came to an end at the hands of Buhlul Lodi, but he appointed his nephew, Sikandar, to the viceroyalty of the newly conquerred territory. Sikandar, during his stay at Jaunpur, became deeply interested in music and maintained that interest when he succeeded Buhlul on the throne of Delhi. Students of art must deeply regret Sikandar's destruction of many architectural monuments of his predecessors at Jaunpur.[20] He was ready at one stage to destroy even the beautiful mosques built by Sharqi kings in order to obliterate the memory of his foes but was held back by the ulama."[21] He had a furious temper, but withal that he was the first orthodox Muslim king of Delhi to patronise music on a lavish scale, and his example was followed by his Mughul successors.

During the Sultanate Kashmir remained outside the control of Delhi, and developed special features of its own. " Kashmiri music is the product of diverse elements, which have blended with one another. But the chief contribution to its development was made by Persia and Turkistan. In fact, the main schools of music in the Valley were founded by the Irani and Turani musicians in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

The classical music of Kashmir is known as *Sufiana Kalam*, mystic theme or poetry which borrowed its style from Persian music. It has about fifty-four *maqamat* (modes), out of which some are

like the Indian *ragas*, and bear Indian names like Bhairavin, Lalit and Kalyan, while others have Persian names, as for example, Isfahani, Dugah, Panjgah, Iraq, Rast-i-Farsi and Sehgah. The most prevalent *tals* are Sehtals, Nimdur, Dur-i-Khafif and Turki Zarb. These *tals* are different from those of India. The *bols* too are different. Moreover, unlike the Indian classical music the *Sufiana Kalam* is always sung in chorus. In this respect Kashmiri music is unique. Formerly singing was done to the accompaniment of *Hafiz Naghma*, a dance which expressed the meaning of songs by physical movements. The accompanying instruments are *Dhukra Santur*, *Saz* and *Sitar*. Other musical instruments common were Mizmar (a kind of flute) and Tambur (lute or guitar). The most popular instrument used in folk music is the *Rabab* which was borrowed from Persia. *Ud*, which was introduced in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin, is also common. The most popular types of folk music are the *Chhakkri*, *Tambur Naghma* and *Bacha Naghma*, all of which are sung in chorus with often a little dancing. Among these the most common is the first which is sung in spring to the accompaniment of the *Rabab*."[22]

Architecture.

Music attained a high level when the synthesis of Indian and Perso-Arabic music took place during the pre-Mughul period, but the main expression of the artistic genius of the Muslim rulers in India has been in architecture. In this, as in other spheres, they were able to effect without a "decisive break in the continuity of thought in India," a gradual "change and broadening of vision extending over a considerable transition period, which eventually had a far-reaching effect on all the human activities of the country."[23] Indian masons had for centuries been engaged on the erection of "great stone temples of exquisite designs," and had achieved great mastery in the art of handling stone, but as Percy Brown says ; " During this long period (they) had neither invented important methods nor acquired any scientific building procedure, their technique having remained static through persistent isolation."[24] Muslims, on the other hands, came to India after Muslim architecture had already gained full maturity and the great mosques of Cairo, Baghdad, Cordova and Damascus had bean long in existence. Muslim builders were able to draw on a rich store of experience, and using the Indian masons they were able to erect " more notable buildings than all the other countries that came under the influence of Islam."[25]

Architectural activity under the Sultanate commenced immediately with the establishment of the Muslim Empire. In the same year in which Delhi was occupied, foundation of the mosque of Quwwat-ul-Islam was laid by Qutbuddin Aibak "to commemorate the capture of Delhi, and dedicated as its name implies, to the might of Islam." Aibak, however spent most of his brief reign at Lahore, and adornment of the new Muslim capital was essentially the work of his successor, Iltutmish. He more than doubled the size of Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, built Qutb Minar, regarded by Ferguson, "as the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere," built the college known Nasiriya Madrasa and, to meet the needs of the growing population of Delhi, excavated the great Hauz-i-Shamsi. He also effected changes in architectural style. In Aibak's days Hindu masons, and even Hindu material had to be employed. The position had already changed by 1230, when Iltutmish extended the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, and used specially quarried material for the purpose, giving the extension a more prominent Islamic look.

After the death of Iltutmish, there was a prolonged lull in architectural activity owing presumably to Balban's preoccupation with the consolidation of the newly conquered areas and it was not taken up on a large scale again, until the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji who made beautiful additions to Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, excavated a huge tank known as Hauz-i-Alai extending over 70 acres, built the Madrasa-i-Alai, and constructed many other buildings.

In architecture, as in other spheres of cultural life, early Muslims were helped by the indirect effect of the Mongol invasion Writing about this great tragedy of humany history during which "countries were obliterated, civilizations destroyed and whole populations exterminated," Percy Brown says : "Delhi fortunately escaped, and it seems fairly clear that artisans trained in the practice and traditions of the building art as evolved under the Saljuq rule, came and settled in the rising capital to find ready patronage at a time when by its architectural productions and other enlightened activities the Sultanate was aspiring to the position of a leading cultural power."[26] The new- comers also changed the pattern of Indo-Muslim architecture, and the Indian element ceased to be dominant.

The golden age of the Sultanate in architecture, as in other

spheres, was attained after the arrival of these refugees. Other factors contributing to the flowering of the art were the vast opportunities which Indo-Pak subcontinent offered to the newcomers, and the availabitity of skilled indigenous masons but as these things had been there even before the arrival of the Muslims the fact that the available builders were exploited fully was due to the "remarkably good taste and to natural talent for building" which the newcomers had. "Doubtless, it was due," says Marshall in a great measure to this inborn artistry, coupled with a natural catholicity of taste, that the newcomers were so quick to appreciate the talent and adaptability of the Indian craftsmen and to turn these qualities to account on their own buildings. Few things in the history of architecture are more remarkable than the skill with which, from the very outset, the Muhammadans transformed Hindu and Jaina temples into mosques for the Faithful, or the imagination which they displayed in employing Indian sculptors to adorn their edifices with designs imcomparably more exquisite than their own. To create a successful building out of such alien materials, to reconcile two styles so characteristically opposed, without transgressing the standard formulas of Islamic art, might well have been deemed on impossible task."[27]

Indo-Muslim architecture derives its character from both Muslim and indigenous sources, but the proportion of local influences varied with the period and the areas. The buildings at Delhi, where foreign Muslim builders were available in the largest numbers display the traditional characteristics of Muslim architecture at its highest. Here the Hindu craftsmanship had only a very limited play. "At Jaunpur, on the other hand, and in the Deccan, the local styles enjoyed greater ascendency, while in Bengal the conqurers not only adopted the established fashion of building in brick, but adorned their structures with chiselled and moulded enrichments frankly imitated from Hindu protetypes. So, too, in Western India they appropriated to themselves almost *en bloc* the beautiful Gujarati style, which had yielded some of the finest buildings of mediaeval India ; and in Kashmir they did the same with the striking wooden architecture which must long have been prevalent in that part of the Himalayas. But much as the Muhammadans architecture owed to these older schools, it owed much also to the Muhammadans themselves ; for it was they who, in every case, endowed it with breadth and spaciousness, and enrich-

ed it with new varieties of form and colour. Before their advent, concrete had been little used in India, and mortar scarcely ever; by the Muhammadans these materials were employed as freely as by the Romans and became two of the most important factors of construction. Thanks to the strength of their binding properties it was possible for the Muslim builders to span wide spaces with their arches, to roof immense areas with their domes and in other ways to achieve effects of grandeur such as the Indians had never dreamt of."[28]

Even at Delhi the styles varied with different periods. In the buildings erected during the very first few years, when the new-comers had to make arrangements out of whatever was available to them—even the ruins of old Hindu temples—and when Muslim architects and supervisors were not yet available, the Hindu elements are clearly visible. But the reaction against the Indian style began almost immediately and the manifestations of true Islamic style can be clearly seen in Iltutmish's buildings. By the time of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, Muslim traditions had become firmly established on Indian soil, with the result that not only had methods of construction been revolutionised, but ornament had become an integral part of the scheme, rather than a quasi-independent accessory, as was the case in the earlier Hindu buildings. The Jama'at Khana mosque at the *dargah* of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, constructed in the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, is the earliest surviving example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Muslim ideas. Even more important from an architectural point of view is the Alai Darwaza, which now in imperfect state of preservation is "one of the most treasured gems of Indian architecture". The tomb of Shaikh Rukn-i-Alam at Multan "one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the death" was also built during the Khalji period.

The Tughluqs introduced a new and austere phase in architecture as in other spheres. Muhammad Tughluq, who shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, had no interest in the old capital while many buildings erected during the reign of his successor Firuz show "a severe and puritanical simplicity," possibly due as much to the need for economy as Firuz's own strict orthodoxy. In the Tughluq architecture Hindu influences were reduced to the minimum, but it suffered from many serious faults—"the monotonous reiteration of self-same features, prosaic nakedness of ideas

and dearth of everything that might make for picturesque charm or elegance."[29]

Under the Lodis there re-emerged a vigorous and catholic spirit of design, replete with creative energy and imagination and almost reminiscent of the Khalji period. Besides, with the conversion of the Mongols to Islam and the reduction of chaos in Central Asia, inspiration from the sources of Islamic art in Persia was now available in architecture (as in literature) but, the Lodis were soon to be replaced by the Mughuls, under whom Persian influences really became dominant.

CHAPTER XIII

INTERACTION OF ISLAM AND HINDUISM

CHRONOLOGY

Chaitanya of Bengal. 1485-1523

Spread of Islam

We have dealt with the expansion of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the work of Muslim generals and rulers. This was of great importance, but perhaps even more lasting has been the result of activities in the spiritual fields. The Muslim empire came to an end in due course, but the spread of Islam in the subcontinent had consequences which are visible and vital even today.

For a long time it was held by Western writers that Islam was spread by the sword in India. This view, has, however, now been abandoned in responsible circles, as apart from lack of evidence in its favour, the very distribution of Muslim population in the subcontinent does not support it. If the spread of Islam in the subcontinent have been due to the might of the Muslim kings, one would naturally expect the largest proportion of Muslims in those areas which were the centres of Muslim political power. This, however, is not the case. The percentage of Muslims is at its lowest around Delhi, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar, and Bijapur, which were the principal seats of Muslim political power. Even in the case of Mysore, where Sultan Tipu is said to have forcibly converted people to Islam, the ineffectiveness of royal proselytism may be measured by the fact that Muslims are hardly five per cent of the total population of the state. On the other hand, Islam was never a political power in Malabar, but today, Muslims form nearly thirty per cent of its total population, and European observers like Arnold have estimated that if in the Sixteenth Century, the Portuguese had not put an end to the peaceful spread of Islam in this tract, all its inhabitants would have become Muslims[1].

These facts have now led even Western scholars to admit that spread of Islam in this country has not been by the sword.

"The position of the early Mohammadan dynasties," says William Crooke, "was too precarious to admit of any general propaganda. Even in the time of the early Mughuls, the emperors were too indifferent towards spiritual affairs, too much engrossed in schemes of conquest and administration to undertake the task of conversion in earnest. Their power was in a large measure dependent on links with the Rajput princes. The native princesses whom they married brought a strain of Hindu blood into the royal line and promoted tolerance of Hinduism[2]." Sir Alfred Lyall expresses a similar opinion in Asiatic Studies. "The military adventurers who founded dynasties in Northern India and carved out kingdoms in the Deccan, cared little for things spiritual; most of them had, indeed, no time for proselytiem, being continually engaged in conquests or in civil war. They were usually rough Tartars or Mughuls themselves illgrounded in the faith of Mohammad and untouched by the true Semetic enthusiasm, which inspired the first Arab standrad-bearers of Islam."[3]

In Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, the heaviest concentration of Muslims is in the two areas, which now form West and East Pakistan, and the spread of Islam in these areas has been studied by two eminent non-Muslim scholars. Both of them have come to the conclusion that the spread of Islam in these areas was the work of Muslim Sufis, and in the western areas the process was greatly facilitated by the fact that in the Thirteenth Century thousands of Muslim theologians, saints and missionaries migrated to India to escape the Mongol terror.

Sir Edward Maclagan, writes, "In one respect, indeed, the devastation of Khurasan and Western Iran was to the benefit of this part of India, for it led to the settling of a considerable number of pious and learned men, most of whom no doubt passed on towards Delhi, but many of whom stopped to bless Multan with their presence. The preliminary disturbances of Ghuri tribes had driven the Gardezi Syeds to this district. A little later came a family of Kureshis from Khwarizm, which settled at Kot Karor near Leiah and which gave birth to the famous Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakaria or Bahawal Haqq, who, after traversing nearly the whole Muhammadan world, chose Multan as his place of residence. To Multan also about the same time came Pir Shams Tabriz from Sabzawar and Qazi Qutab-ud-Din from Kashan, to Pakpattan came Baba Farid Shakar Ganj, to Delhi (by way of Multan) came

Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, and to Uchh came Syed Jalal, the founder of many sacred families in Multan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur. In the same period arose Sultan Sakhi Sarwar, whose father had emigrated from Bukhara to Sakot in this district (Multan)".

These holy men, together with others too numerous to mention, would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islam the remaining Hindu agriculturists and nomads in this part of India, and it is to their persuation and reputation, rather than to the sword of any conqueror, that the people of the South-western Punjab owe their faith in Islam. The lukewarmness of the population in previous times was roused into a keen fervour by the pagan invasions; an emperor's tomb was granted as the resting place of the body of the Saint Rukn-i-Alam, and from this time forward the holy shrines of Multan bestowed upon the city a unique reputation throughout the whole Mussalman world."[4]

In the History of Bengal, Professor Kalike Ranjan Qanungo says: "The Balbani regime in Bengal was not only a period of expansion but one of consolidation as well. It was during this time that the saints of Islam who excelled the Hindu preisthood and monks in active piety, energy and foresight, began proselytising on a wide scale not so much by force as by the fervour of their faith and their exemplary character. They lived and preached among the low class Hindus then as ever in the grip of superstition and social repression. These new converts in rural areas became a source of additional strength to the Muslim government. About a century after the military and political conquest of Bengal, there began process of the moral and spiritual conquest of the land through the efforts of the Muslim religious fraternities that now arose in every corner. By destorying temples and monastries the Muslim warriors of earlier times had only appropriated their gold and silver ; but the sword could not silence history, nor carry off their immortal spiritual treasure wherein lay rooted Hindu idolatory and Hindu nationalism. The saints of Islam completed the process of conquest, moral and spiritual, by establishing *dargahs* and *khanqahs* deliberately on the sites of these ruined places of Hindu and Buddhist worship. This served a double purpose of preventing the revival of these places of heathen sanctity, and later on, of installing themselves as the guardian deities with tales of pious fraud invented by popular imagination. Hindus who had been accustomed for

centuries to venerate these places gradually forgot their past history, and easily transferred their allegiance to the *pirs* and *ghazis*. The result of this *rapprochement* in the domain of faith ultimately created a more tolerant atmosphere which kept the Hindus indifferent to their political destiny. It prepared the ground for the further inroad of Islam into Hindu society, particularly among the lower classes who were gradually won over by an assiduous and persistent propaganda regarding the miracles of these saints and *ghazis*, which were in many cases taken over *in toto* from old Hindu and Buddhist legends. Perhaps the most notable example of the invasion of the sites of Hindu worship by Muslim saints is the transformation of the *Sringi-Rishi-kund* into the *Makhdum-kund* at Rajgir, and the translation of the miracle working Buddah of the Deva-dutta legend into a venerable Muslim saint, Makhdum Sahib. We shall elsewhere discuss in detail the process of the spiritual conquest of Bengal by Auliyas and lesser saints whose tombs and *asthanas* lie scattered over the land."[5]

But the phenomenal spread of Islam in Bengal was not entirely due to the ability and efforts of the Sufi missionaries. It was greatly facilitated by certain local developments. In Bengal, the main factor in the spread of Islam "was a reaction of the lower classes against the strict Hinduism enforced by the Senas. It will be recalled that the indigenous Pala dynasty which ruled from the eighth to the twelfth century had been devoted to Buddhism, a faith under which the lower classes enjoyed practical freedom. In the twelfth century the Senas entering Bengal from the south, brought with them the severe rules of Hinduism, under which the lower classes were subjected to many onerous restrictions ; and at the end of the same century, before these restrictions had become customary. Islam arrived, preaching freedom and culture for all, even if the equality was not always apparent in practice. In these circumstances, a mass movement towards the new creed is so inherently probable that it is unnecessary to seek further afield for other hypothetical causes."[6]

The old Bengali literature contains echoes of the manner in which representatives of the older faiths which were suppressed under the Senas expressed their joy at the defeat of the Brahmins at the hand of the Muslims. " The followers of the *Dharma* cult, a modified form of Mahayanism, could hardly contain themselves with glee at the chastisement which their erstwhile oppressors suffer-

ed. In their sacred book entitled *Sunya Purana* and written in the eleventh century by Ramai Pandit, there is a chapter headed "The Anger of Niranjan" (Niranjanev Rukhm) and evidently interpolated in the fourteenth century, which refers to a free fight between the Muhammadans and Brahmins at Jaipur."[7] After describing the sufferings of the Sat-dhatmis (Buddhists) at the hands of the Brahmins, the author says : "The Brahmins began to destroy the creation in the above manner, and acts of great violence were prepetreated on the earth. *Dharma*, who resided at *Baikuntha* was grieved to see all this. He came to the world as a Muhammadan."[8] Popular songs like *Dharma Gajan* and *Bada Januni* expressing the feelings of the lower classes "bristle with spite and jealousy against the Brahmins" and the joy at the hope that the "caste dissensions will slowly be broken—for, behold, there's the Muhammadan in a Hindu family." These references indicate the highly favourable atmosphere in which Muslim missionaries worked in Bengal.

It is interesting to record that Islam gained its greatest successes in areas on the eastern and western fringes of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, where Buddhism had not yet been completely wiped out by the revival of Brahminism, and the steel-frame of caste system had not yet gained its hold over society.

Another interesting fact about the spread of Islam in what is now Western Pakistan is that some of the most active missionaries in this area were Ismaili preachers sent from Yemen and Iran. The modern Bohra sect has come into existence on account of the former's efforts, while the Khojas were converted by missionaries from Iran. But the work of Ismaili missionaries is not to be assessed only by the numbers belonging to these two sects. There is enough evidence to show that in Sind and West Punjab Ismaili doctrines were in ascendency at one time. The conquest of these areas by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and later by Muhammad Ghuri destroyed the political basis of Ismaili influence, but quiet missionary work, particularly as directed from Iran, seems to have been intensified. Ismailis believed in secret propaganda, and allowed for major adjustments to local conditions. The principal Khoja missionary, Sadr-ud-Din who died at Uchh, on the border of the Punjab and Sind and wrote the basic texts of the Khojas, tried to show that Hazrat Ali, was the long expected tenth incarnation of Vishnu. The doctrines preached by

Ismaili missionaries provided a sort of half-way house between Hinduism and Islam, and when the influence of Sunni Pirs and rulers increased in these areas, the Ismaili converts gradually approximated to orthodox Sunni Islam.

The orthodox Hindu attitude towards religion facilitated the work of the Sufi and Ismaili missionaries. Hinduism is not a missionary religion. On the contrary, with the ancient Hindus, spiritual enlightenment was a privilege of the few rather than a basic right of everybody. Under orthodox Hinduism, a large section of population such as the untouchables had no right to spiritual enlightenment and naturally these people were only too glad to find somebody interested in their souls.

Social and Cultural Consequences.

By the end of the Fourteenth Century Islam had permeated all parts of India, and the process was fully under way which led not only to the conversion of a large section of the Indian population to Islam, but also resulted in far-reaching cultural and spiritual changes outside the Muslim society. The developments in the cultural sphere—development of regional languages, rise of Hindustani and the evolution of Indo-Muslim music and architecture—have been outlined elsewhere. Here, it is proposed to deal with the changes in the religious activity which took place in Mediaeval India, largely as a result of the advent of Islam.

The social and the cultural influence of Islam was on lines characteristic of the new religion. With its strong traditions of spiritual and social democracy, Islam presented a striking contract to Hinduism, in which caste reigned supreme, and spiritual and intellectual enlightenment was the privilege of the higher classes. After its contact with Islam, the character of the Hindu society was materially changed. A new conception of human relationship began to grow, and in course of time reformers such as Ramanand, Nanak and Chaitaniya arose in Hindu society to denounce the rigidity of the caste and emphasise the importance of good deeds rather than birth. In course of time poets and writers from the lower classes began to obtain a hearing, and although the caste system continued to maintain its hold over the Hindu society, its rigours were relaxed, and life became more bearable for the lower classes. The full measure of Muslim influence in this respect becomes clear if one compares the position in the extreme South, which practically remained outside the Muslim rule, and where even towards the end of the British rule, persons from lower castes

were not allowed to walk on the public roads with the conditions in predominantly Muslim areas like Sind where, according to a Hindu scholar, writing in 1924, caste was " virtually absent " even amongst the Hindus.

The other most important developments were in the sphere of religion. The best study of the subject, although admittedly incomplete, is Dr. Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture.* So far as the South India is concerned, he has endorsed the views of European scholars like Barth and Fawcett, who held that the rise of neo-Hinduism under the great organiser Shankaracharya was directly and indirectly influenced by Islam. Shankara was born in the ninth century on the coast of Malabar where Islam had made considerable headway through Arab traders and settlers, and some scholars see in his teachings indirect traces of Islamic influences, and even attribute his revivalist fervour to the challenge presented by the new religion. As Fawcett says, Shankara's "country was in peril. Her king had been converted to Islam and that religion was gaining ground. Brahminism must be revived, so Siva was reincarnated in the child of a window."[9] Dr. Tara Chand says on this subject : " Shankara was born at a time, when Muslims were beginning their activities in India, and if tradition is correct, when they had gained a notable success in extension of their faith by converting the king of the land. He was born and brought up at a place where many ships from Arabia and Persian Gulf touched. If his extreme monism, his stripping of the One of all semblance of duality, his attempt to establish the monism on the authority of revealed scriptures, his desire to purge the cult of many abuses had even a faint echo of the new houses that were abroad it would not be a matter for great surprise or utter incredulity."[10]

Shankaracharaya's life and works are wrapped in a mist, but more is known about his successor Ramanuja, who is traditionally regarded as a bridge between the Bhakti movement of the south and the north. Through his influence the characteristics and attributes of the new movement were transferred to Northern India.

Ramananda, who is recognised as the great leader of the Bhakti movement in the north was a disciple of a teacher, who belonged to Ramanuja's Sri sect. Ramananda, who probably flourished during the last quarter of the Fourteenth and the first half of the Fifteenth Century, was born at Allahabad and educated at Benares. He had an independent mind and travelled a lot.

According to Macauliffe "It is certain that Ramananda came in contact at Benares with learned Musalmans[11]." As a result of his studies and discussions he introduced many changes in Hindu social system. He admitted to his new sect, disciples from all castes and even from among the Muslims, and rejected the regulations of Ramanuja about the preparation and partaking of meals. Ramananda's teaching gave rise to two schools of Hindu religious thought, one conservative and orthodox, the other radical and cosmopolitan. To the first school belonged Tulsidas and Sur Das, while Kabir is considered the best known exponent of the second. We shall deal separately with Kabir, but the influence of Islam on Hinduism can also be seen, in a varying degree, in Nanak of the Punjab, Chaitanya of Bengal and Namdev and Tukaram of Maharashtra.

Guru Nanak was born in November, 1469 in Central Punjab, an area where Islam was more dominant than in the south or even in the Gangetic plains. He studied Persian as well as Sanskrit, and counted both Maulvis and Pandits among his teachers. After a short period of service under a Muslim Nawab he became a wandering *faqir*, and in the company of Muslim minstrsel, Mardana, and Hindu companion, Bhai Bala, he is stated to have visited holy plaees not only in India but in Persia and Arabia. About Islamic influences on his teaching Dr. Tara Chand says, "How deep Guru Nanak's debt is to Islam, it is hardly necessary to state, for it is so evident in his words and thoughts. Manifestly he was steeped in Sufi lore and the fact of the matter is, that it is much harder to find how much exactly he drew from the Hindu scriptures. His rare references to them lead one to imagine that Nanak was only superficially acquainted with the *Vedic* and *Puranic* literature."[12]

Chaitanya of Bengal (1485-1523) does not show any deep acquaintance with Islam, but he also came across Muslim faqirs in the course of his wanderings, and his teachings and practices show, at least, indirect effect of Muslim ideas. Some of his disciples were well versed in Islamic lore, and two of them (Rup and Sanathan) knew Persian and Arabic well, had held high posts at the courts of the Muslim sultans of Gaur, and had, in the opinion of some Hindu scholars, even accepted Islam at one stage.

One would not expect any deep influence of Islam in distant Maharashtra, but the writings of Namdev and Tukaram are not

only full of Muslim ideas, but they use a surprisingly large number of Muslim expressions. Namdev's writings contain a number of Persian and Arabic words, and the way Muslim ideas had permeated the writings of Tukaram may be seen from the following translation of two of his hymns.

> "What Allah wishes that is accomplished,
> O ! my friend (Baba), the maker is the sovereign of all.
> Cattle and friends, gardens and goods all depart.
> My mind dwells, O ! friend, on my Lord (Sahib) who is the Maker.
> I ride there on the back of the horse (Mind) and the self becomes the horseman.
> O ! friend, meditate (zikr) on Allah, who is in the guise of all,
> Says Tuka, the man who understands this becomes a Darwish."[13]

and again :

> "First among the great names is Allah, never forget to respect it.
> Allah is verily one, the prophet (nabi) is verily one.
> There Thou art one, there Thou art one, There Thou art one, O ! friend.
> There is neither I nor thou."[14]

There were scores of other Hindu thinkers, poets, seekers after God, in whose teachings and writings influence of Islam is clearly visible. Dr. Tara Chand has given an account of minor groups, showing these influences, but his list is far from complete. Besides the successors of Kabir and Dadu, and sects like *Satnami*, *Laldasi*, *Ram Sanehi*, *Shivanarayani* and *Swaminavayani* orders, there were a large number of Hindu mystics who wrote in Persian and Indian languages, echoing Sufi thoughts.

In his foreword to the fifth volume of *History of Culture of the Indian People*, Mr. K.M. Munshi gives information about another Hindu sect which came into existence in the Thirteenth Century as a result of "action and reaction" of Islam and Hinduism. He writes, "Hindu and Muslim saints, not unoften, had a common appeal to both the communities and sects of both the religions, by way of action and reaction, and sometimes by way of challenge, influenced each other. The Mohanubhara sect, a non-idolatorous Krishna Cult, founded by Chakvadharasvami (died in A.D. 1272(

about the first Sufi saints settled in Aurangabad is a case in point." (p.XVII).

While tracing the influence of Islam on original leaders of the Bhakti movement it is worth mentioning that most of the dominant elements in the teaching of Shankara, Ramanuja and Ramananda have appeared at one stage or another in ancient Hindu thought, but these elements in their totality and characteristic emphasis of Mediaeval India appear to indicate Muslim influence. The position changes considerably when we come to Kabir and Nanak and their successors, one of whom was a Muslim and the other a product of predominently Muslim atmosphere. But while studying mutual influence of Islam and Hinduism in relation to early Hindu thinkers, it must not be forgotten that Islam, particularly Sufi thought had been subjected to direct and indirect Hindu and Buddhist influences, and in many cases Hinduism was only receiving back in a revivified and elaborate form what it had already given.

Kabir and Dadu

The religious thinkers we have dealt with so far were Hindus, but some of the leading figures of the so-called Bhakti movement were Muslim. It is now generally recognised that Kabir was born in a Muslim *Jolaha* (weaver) family. His name as well as the name of his son, Kamal, is Muslim, and he was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi and other Muslim Sufis. His grave at Maghar has always been in the keeping of Muslims, though the *Kabir Panthis* have also put up a *Samadhi* in the neighbourhood. The cult which Kabir preached was adopted mainly by the Hindu lower classes, and with the shift from the synthetic to the sectional approach during later centuries, Kabir's life story has been embellished with legends which obscure his origin and true self, but in the light of recent studies of Rev. Westcott, Professor Kshitimohan Sen and Dr. Mohan Singh, the right conclusion seems to be to regard him as a Muslim Sufi, who came under Ramanand's influence, accepted some Hindu ideas and tried to reconcile the Hindu and the Muslim points of view. Much of what is attributed now to Kabir is not his[a] but he was all along critical of formalities in religions emphasised by their rigid orthodox champions. Muslim biographers writing about Kabir

(a) "The teaching of Kabir has gradually become more Hindu in form. At any rate we have no right to assume that the teaching of Kabir was identical with that given at the present time by the Mahats of the Panth that bears his name". Kabir and the *Kabir Panthis* (Westcott) p. 28.

during the Mughul period describe both the Hindu and the Muslim influences in his life, but have no hesitation in treating him as a Muslim Sufi. The author of *Mirat-ul-Asrar* (Manuscript) writing during the days of Shahjahan, says about Kabir and his son Kamal: "And another successor of Makhdum Bhika was Kabir, the *Malamatiya.* At first, he became a disciple of Shaikh Taqi, son of Shaikh Ramzan Hayk Suhrawardi, who is buried in the town of Jhusi near Allahabad. After that, he came in contact with Ramanand Bairagi, and undertook strenuous mystical disciplinary exercises. The cult of *Tauhid* dominated him, his discerning eye completely grave up any consideration for the people caring for externals, and began to speak without the veil. The superficial people linked him with heresy, but the agnostics with inner light considered him a sincere Muwahid.[b] He followed the free *malamatiya* mode of thought. At last, he wore the garments of the *Firdausi* Order at the hands of the Makhdum Shah Bhika, and attained poise in the cult of Peace for All. His sacred tomb, in the town of Maghar, in Gorakhpur *sarkar* attracts many visitors".

Shaikh Kamal, son of Shaikh Kabir, the *malamatiya* received training under his father. He also followed the *Malamatiya* cult and was even more audacious than his father. He went towards the province of Gujarat, and was held in great esteem by Hazrat Shah Alim—Peace be on him. After this, he achieved great fame and his tomb in Ahmedabad, Gujarat is well known.

According to the popular *Tazkirah-i-Auliya-i-Hind* (Lives of Indian Muslim Saints), Kabir (1440-1515) was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi Suhrawardy, studied the art of Hindi versification under Ramananda and later became a disciple of Shaikh Bhika Chishti.

Mirat-ul-Asrar contains the earliest authentic biographical account of Kabir, but subsequently the history of this remarkable personality has been subjected to a queer process. Professor Kshitimohan Sen observes in this context: "*Sadhakas* of the India Mediaeval age were mostly from the lower strata of the society, but the sects which their teachings gave rise to, have tried

(b) "This term, Muwahid, was not, so far as I can learn, ever applied by Muhammadans to those they regard as idolators. It implies that he (Kabir) was a Theist, and not a Pantheist. The prevailing impression that Kabir was a Pantheist appears to be based upon two false impressions, (1) that he is responsible for all the teaching given by his Hindu followers at a later stage and (2) that all statements contained in the Bijak represent his personal views". *ibid.* p. 23.

afterwards to pass them as men of higher castes. Thus many sayings of such *sadhakas* had either to be left out or distorted.

An enquiry into the family history af Kabir and Dadu will make this process very clear. The fact that Kabir was the son of a Muhammadan weaver has been sought to be obliterated by many absured stories. But historical criticism has mercilessly exposed such frauds. It cannot now be doubted that Kabir was born in a Jolaha family. [(c)] "

The same process has been at work in the case of Dadu, the founder of Dadu Panth, whose life and teachings are the subject of an able monograph by the Reverend Orr. Dadu is stated by his later followers to have been the son of a Nagar Brahmin, but recent researches have shown that he was born in a family of Muslim cotton-carders. This is borne out by his own works and the fact that all the members of his family bear Muslim names. "His father's name was Lodi, his mother's Basiran, his sons were Garib and Miskin and his grandson, son of Miskin, Faqir."[15] His teacher Shaikh Budhan, was a Muslim saint of the Qadri order, whose descendents at Sambhar continued till 1931, to send "a cotton robe, a turban and other articles of attire[16]" at the time of the installation of the new Mahant of Dadu panthis. The early followers of Dadu were not disturbed by the knowledge that he was a Muslim by birth, but the new legend about his Brahminical origin made its first appearance in a commentary on the Bhaktamala, written as late as 1800, by a Brahmin. Reverend Orr has no difficulty in declaring Dadu to be a Muslim by birth, and modern Hindu scholars have come to the same conclusion. Professor Kshitimohan Sen, after saying that, apart from other authorities on the subject, the researches of Chandrika Prasad Tripathi leave no doubt about this, and adds that "the keepers of these *Maths*, which furnished him with documents in the shape of old manuscripts, have now begun to burn, in their anger, those old and rare works."[17]

The metamorphosis to which the life-story and teachings of Kabir and Dadu have been subjected is not merely the work of those keepers of *Maths*, who were anxious to secure for their heroes high lineage and link them with Hinduism. It is really

(c) Mediaeval Indian Mysticism (Kshitimohan Sen) Pp. vi-vii for authoratative discussion of Kabir's origin see pp. 2 of Dr. Mohan Singh's "Kabir—his Biography."

symptomatic of the general movement of separation, which about the Seventeenth Century, began to gain ground in dominant circles amongst both Hindus and Muslims. The success of the Naqshbandiyah Mujaddidiya Order and the increase of orthodoxy amongst Muslims led them to turn away from figures like Kabir and Dadu, who were consequently absorbed more and more in the Hindu system of thought and sainthood.

Kabir's teachings have been analysed by Dr. Tara Chand who says; "The expression of Kabir's teachings was shaped by that of Sufi saints and poets. In the Hindi language he had no precursor, and the only models which he could follow were Muslim ones, e. g. *Pandnama* of Farid-ud-Din 'Attar.' A comparison of the headings of the poems of both brings that out clearly. He must also have heard the poems of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi and Sa'di besides the teachings of other Sufis, for there are echoes of them in his works."[18]

A number of books are attributed to Kabir, some of which, like *Das-Muqam-i-Rekhta* have never been published. With many of his works not available for study, and serious doubts existing about the genuinness of others, it is difficult to assess Kabir properly but there is no difference of opinion about the general tenor of his writings. He often uses Hindu or rather Hindi nomenclature for God, and is equally at home in Hindu as well as Muslim religious thought, but there is no doubt that the most salient feature of his teachings is "a campaign against polytheism, idolatry and caste." He is equally unsparing in his condemnation of Muslim formalism, but this he shares with most Muslim Sufis and even poets like Hafiz and Sa'di. Kabir did not confine his spiritual education to Muslim teachers ; he certainly benefitted by his visits to Ramananda, though, as has been stated by Dr. Tara Chand, "Ramananda passes out of Kabir's lengends quite early and leaves only a shady impression upon the development of his ideas." He also had no attachment for formal Muslim religion and made no distinction between what was sane and holy in the teachings of Hinduism and Islam. He was a true seeker after God, and did his best to break up the barriers that separated Hindus from Muslims.

Dadu was deeply influenced by Kabir's teachings, but he was a man of different temperament. "In Dadu there is less of the fierce iconoclast, and more of the quiet mystic ; less fondness for the bold conceit and startling paradox, and more for the great simple truths that shine by their own light ; less delight in the keen battle

of wits, the rapier thrust and skilful parry, and more in the patient undermining by instruction, warning, and appeal, of the false defences in which the soul is tempted to take refuge." Dadu, who was born in Hindu Rajputana, shows less influence of Islam in the background of his religious thought, but according to Orr, "his fierce intolerance of caste and idolatry—his vivid consciousness of God as Creator, Ruler and Judge, and his emphasis on moral freedom and responsibility, are part of his Muslim inheritance.[19]"

The So-Called Bhakti Movement

It is usual to group various religious and cultural activities, which gained momentum as a direct or indirect result of contact with Islam under the heading "Bhakti Movement." But is this correct? Are there any solid historical links between such movements in various areas? Did Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak have the same objects or outlook?

If the writings and activities of these teachers are carefully studied and analysed, it will be found that Hindu thinkers and religious leaders of the period had two different almost opposite points of view with regard to contemporary Muslim thought and institutions. One group accepted what was congenial to it in the new spiritual system, while the other group adopted a few elements from the spiritual structure of the dominant race in order to strengthen Hinduism and to close a few fissures which had widened and to make it better able to withstand Islam. The two trends are similar to the growth of the tolerant, cosmopolitan Brahmo Samaj and the militant Arya Samaj, when Hinduism was confronted with a similar problem in relation to Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. Guru Nanak, Kabir, Dadu and other founders of synthetic sects come under the first group while the movement in Bengal mirrors the latter tendency.

A full study of the movement in Maharashtra has yet to be made, but it appears that the religious attitude there was closer to that of Kabir and Nanak than to that of Bengal Vaishnavas. We have already quoted from Tuka Ram's hymns. The attitude of the Marathas to Muslim saints was one of respect and goodwill. As Duff records in his History of the Marathas, "Shivaji's grandfather had great faith in a Muslim saint of Ahmednagar, Shah Sharif, and named his two sons, Shahji and Sharifji—which are not Hindu names—after the saint."[20] Efforts are being made in modern times to obscure and blur the original Maratha attitude, but the

true position seems to be that the Hindu reaction in Maharashtra, led originally by the ancient landowning and ruling groups found expression in political action, rather than in th efield of religious revivalism and separation. With spiritual and literary activities, which characterised the new movement and new developments in Hindu religious life in which the masses could enthusiastically participate, a new life was created in the area, and the intellectual and the spiritual basis for the rise of the Maratha nation was provided. The reasons which made the followers of Nanak, the Hindu teacher closest to Islam, the most uncompromising enemy of the later Muslim rulers were of a different nature, and we shall deal with them separately, but there is considerable justification for Garrett's remark that but for the religious movements of the Fifteenth Century "it is most improbable that either the Marathas or the Sikhs would have formed themselves into the powerful combinations which they afterwards became."[21]

Chaitanya's movement revivalistic and not synthetic.

On the other hand, Chaitanya's movement in Bengal was a revivalist and not a synthetic movement. A good deal of work has been done on this movement, and it appears safe to infer that it was essentially a defensive movement against the sweeping success which Islam was having in the area. The thinking Hindus could only see with dismay that their policy of denying spiritual food to the lower classes was, in the changed conditions, driving them into the Muslim fold, and they also realised that the Sufi approach, with its institutions like *Qawwali*, producing religious ecstasy and fervour, as also the congregational prayers of Muslims made more powerful appeal to the masses than the meditations of the Hindu *rishis*. *Qawwali* was therefore answered by *kirtan* processions, which engendered a new spiritual fervour in the Hindu countryside, and all castes amongst the Hindus and even non-Hindus were admitted to the new spiritual life. With the great organising genius of Chaitanya and able men like Rup and Sanatana whom he was able to inspire, the movement soon passed from the defensive to the offensive and according to a modern Hindu writer, "Vaishnavas who took the lead in converting Muslims achieved considerable success."[22]

The attitude of Bengal Vaishnavas towards Islam and Muslims was a complete antithesis of the attitude advocated by Kabir and Nanak. As Professor Rayahaudhari says : "That there was an element of opposition to Muslim influence in Chaitan-

yaism seems almost certain. The *Premayilasa* referred to Muslim rule as the root of *Advaitaprakasa*, the spread of Muslim ways of life was deplored. Jayananda mentioned the adoption of Muslim habits by Brahmins as one of the aspects of the manifold degradations characteristic of Kali age."[23] Even economic pressure was brought against Muslims. "Sayamananda, who converted a number of Muslims .... asked the Raja of Narayonaged not to employ Muslim porters as was the usual custom there."[24] Even those Vishnavas whom the Muslim rulers had exalted to the highest offices in the state regarded their patrons as "Mlechchas" and considered themselves as fallen because of their contact with the Muslims. Rupa and Sanatana, one of whom was *Dabir-i-Khas* (Private Secretary) of Sultan Ala-ud-din Husain Shah of Gaur abstained from visiting the temple of Jagannath because of such considerations.[25]

A modern Hindu scholar has summed up the difference between Chatinyaism and the movement in Northern India, "Faith in the unity of the Deity, tolerance and respect for Islam and an open challenge" to the caste system were the most important "features of the movement associated with Namdeva, Kabir, Nanak and Dadu. These, however, were not in any way the strong points of Chaitanyaism. Unity of the godhead—in the sense in which either the Upanishads or the Quran preached it—was no part of Bengal Vaishnavaism. The Chaitnyaites, on the contrary, were eager to prove the superiority of Krishna to other gods and godesses of the Hindu Pantheon. As regards their attitude to Islam it was one of contempt, if not of positive hospility. The attitude to caste, though much more liberal than that of the orthdox both in theory and practice, never constituted a direct challenge to the age-old social organisation of Hindu India."[26] As a matter of fact, the movement in Bengal was "marked by a comparative indifference to social problems and inequities which were among the chief concerns of the movements originating from the composite influences of Hinduism and Islam."[27]

Bengal Vaishnavaism was a Hindu revivalist movement a counter—attack against Islam and was able to slow down the process of conversion of Hindus, particularly in West Bengal. "In West Bengal the very classes whose counterparts in the east were converted to Islam in large numbers, remained within the Hindu

fold, due no doubt, to a great extent to Vaishnava influence.[28] But the Vaishnava success was even greater. They not only arrested the spread of Islam in West Bengal, but what was perhaps even more remarkable, the spiritual and literary renaissance created by the Vaishnava *sadhus* and poets created an atmosphere in which the Muslims as contrasted with those in the ditsant north, where a different situation prevailed, came under Hindu influences, and outside the cities Muslim orthodoxy did not spread till the Nineteenth Century.

Bhakti Movement or Indian Medieval Renaissance ?

An attempt to group together revivalist movements and *synthetic efforts* under the same name " Bhakti " has inevitably obscured the true nature of these movements. It has hindered an objective study of the subject in other ways also. It was confined to what purports to be a story of " composite influences " of Hinduism and Islam to the work of Hindu seekers after God only, or at best to Muslims like Kabir and Dadu, who in order to conform to the Bhakti requirements have undergone a transformation, necessitating a falsification of history. The extensive non-missionary approach of Muslim Sufis or common Hindu-Muslim approach to spiritual problems which prevailed in centres like Manakpur, and paved the way for the rise of Kabir, have also been ignored.

Perhaps an even more serious handicap resulting from narrow nomenclature has been that the phrase "Bhakti Movement" is taken to include all the spiritual and cultural activities in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent which gained prominence primarily as a result of interaction of Hindu-Muslim civilization. Professor Mukerjee has stated that in view of the influence which the "Bhakti Movement" had on religion, the development of regional literature, and the growth of Indian music, it may almost be compared to the "European Renaissance."[29] Indian Medieval renaissance differed in several respects from its counterpart in Europe, or from the modern Indian renaissance, brought about by an impact with the West. Similar forces operating in different periods and areas seldom produce identical results. In India, owing to the local traditions, activity in spiritual shpere was predominant, and although there was a great loosening of the bonds of traditional thinking, there was not the same type of the freeing of intellect, associated with the European Renaissance. Professor Mukerjee

is, however, justified in emphasising the broad and general aspects of the Indian movement. Apart from the freedom from traditional thinking and old bonds of social organisation, there was the same general intellectual and spiritual ferment, the same rise of the new vernaculars, the growth of new literatures, the development of new forms of music, bold experiments in architecture, which we see in Europe during the Renaissance. All this has been obscured by treating the widespread religious, intellectual and cultural activity of the Middle ages as the "Bhakti Movement" It has resulted in lack of attention to non-spiritual activities, and to contribution of those, who were not *bhaktas*. Did not the laity—the rulers, who patronised regional languages, the poets, the musicians, and their patrons like Raja Man Singh of Gwalior and Sultan Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur—make any contribution to this renaissance ? The truth is that the activities in the Middle Ages covered a wide field and were the result of the activities of large groups of people, of *bhakats* and Sufi saints, of lay people, of poets, of musicians, of builders, and of some wordly rulers, who responded to the call of the times. A comprehensive and objective study of the subject can only be on broad and general lines, and will really begin after scholars approach the subject not merely as a study of the Bhakti Movement, which is only one fact of a general renaissance.

Influence of Hinduism on Islam.

Interaction of Islam and Hinduism did not operate in one direction only. Muslim society was also deeply influenced and, special features left a mark, at least temporarily, on Islam in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Some Western writers have even stated that Islam was influenced more by Hinduism than Hinduism by Islam. They seem to assume that Islam in India was originally pure and orthodox, but due to Hindu influences absorbed many un-Islamic features. This, however, was not the historical orders of things. The peculiar features were not incorporated at a later stage, but were the result of what may be called the original incomplete conversions. Indian Muslims did not start with orthodox Islam, but began by taking only a few things and only in the course of centuries particularly during the last two centuries, they have become more orthodox. The process is not absolutely complete in some lower classes, or those groups which like the Khojas, adopted a somewhat composite form of religion, but as Rev. Titus says,

"situation today is far better than it was a century ago, as a result of the reform efforts of Muslim preachers, the more general diffusion of education, and the extensive revival of Islamic spirit and learning in connection with the modern reform movements."[30]

As studies of Goldziher and Von Kramer show, Islam was subjected to Indian influences even before Muslims came to Lahore and Delhi. "Many Indians held posts in the financial department at Basra under the early Umayyads; the Caliph Muawiya is reported to have planted an Indian colony in Syria, especially at Antioch and Hajjaj is said to have established them in Kashgar. The black-eyed and olive complexioned Hindus were brushing their shoulders against those of Muslims in the cities of the Caliphate. The eastern dominions of the empire, that is Khorasan, Afghanistan, Sistan and Baluchistan were Buddhist or Hindu before they were converted. Balkh had a large monastery (Vihara), whose superintendent was known as the Barmak. His descendants became the famous Barmakide *wazirs* of the Abbasid Caliphate."[31]

After the Arab conquest of Sind there were closer contacts between the Hindu scholars and the Abbasid Baghdad. The results of these contacts have been described elsewhere, but other features like the consideration given to caste by many Indian Muslims were due to local influences. Foreign writers have commented on the way Indian Muslims classify themselves as *Sayyid, Shaikh, Mughul* or *Pathan.* But the loose manner in which this operated even in the Seventeenth Century, was commented on by Bernier, who said, in the heyday of the Mughuls, that anybody who put on a white turban began to call himself a Mughul. An old saying underlines the same process. "Last year I was a Julaha (weaver); this year a Shaikh; and next year if the harvest be good, I shall be a Sayyid." Besides, although till recently caste counted for something in social relations, when it came to worship, all influences of Brahmanical origin disappeared, and in the mosque the Islamic ideals of brotherhood and equality remained triumphant.

Muslims in India also adopted the Hindu practices of early remarriages and Hindu objection to widow remarriage. Some social ceremonies connected with births, deaths and marriages may also be traced to Hindu origin. But the reform movements initiated by Shah Wali Ullah, Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi and the

Wahabi preachers has concentrated on the eradication of these usages, which are disappearing. Some writers think that reverence for *pirs* and their graves, a marked feature of popular Indian Islam, is a carry-over of the Hindu idolatrous practices. This seems to ignore the historical factors, and also the fact that even outside India *pirs* and their tombs are objects of great attention and veneration. Even this reverence of *pirs* and their graves is now on the decline.

Limited results of Mutual Interaction.

There was considerable interaction of Islam and Hinduism, but as pointed out by Prof. Mazumdar, it touched merely the fringe and the external elements of life and even as such, the influence was confined to a small section of Hindus and Muslims of India taken as a whole......there was no rapprochement in respect of popular or national traditions, and those social and religious ideas, beliefs, practices, and institutions which touch the deeper chord of life and give it a distinctive form, tone, and vigour. In short, the reciprocal influences were too superficial in character to affect materially the fundamental differences between the two communities in respect of almost every thing that is deep-seated in human nature and makes life worth living. So the two great communities, although they lived side by side, moved each in its own orbit, and there was as yet no sign that the "twain shall every meet."[32]

In the beginning of the Eleventh Century, al-Biruni had made a fair and sympathetic study of the Hindu society, and was constrained to remark regarding their attitude towards the foreigners. "All this fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mlechha i e.* impure. and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted."

This was the Hindu attitude towards all foreigners. It probably arose during the invasions of the Huns, Sakas, and other invaders from Central Asia, and had fully crystalised by the time of al-Biruni long before the Muslim conquest of Northern India. The gulf which divided the Muslims from the Hindus was bigger than what separated the latter from most other foreigners. To quote al-Biruni again "The Hindus entirely differ from us in every

respect." Firstly there was the difference of language. "Secondly they differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and vice versa......In the third place, in all manners and usages, they differ from us to such a degree, as to frighten their children with us, with our dress and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be the devil's bread, and our doing as the very opposite of all that is good and proper."[34] This aversion increased manifold, when Muslims conquered the country. Fair and impartial al-Biruni writes ; "Mahmud ruined the prosperity of the country and performed wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."[35]

This was the position in 1030, when Kitab-ul-Hind was completed. Nearly 300 years later another traveller, Ibn Battuta, visited the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and although he was not a trained scientist and scholar like al-Biruni, he was a fair and humane observer. He records two occasions, when Muhammad bin Tughluq ordered the executioner to inflict punishment on certain Hindus brought before him. On one occasion Ibn Battuta turne. away his eyes while the punishment was being inflicted, and on the other he left the place on pretence of saying prayers. Professor Majumdar remarks, "Ibn Battuta's attitude on both the occasions does credit to him." These were not the only occasions, when Ibn Battuta expressed his sympathy and appreciation of the Hindus. He pointedly remarks that when he reached the camp of the Muslim ruler of Ma'bar he found that he had to appear at the court in full stockings. He did not possess any, and it was a Hindu who provided him with the same. "There were a number of Muslims there and I was astonished to find an infidel show greater courtesy than they did." There is no doubt that Ibn Battuta's account of the conditions in the subcontinent is that of a fair-minded and large-hearted, impartial observer. The state of relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims, which he describes, however, shows that the situation, if anything had worsened since the days of al-Biruni. The Hindus and the Muslims lived in separate quarters and as entirely separate communities. The Hindus maintained no social inter-course with the Muslims by way of inter-dining or inter-marriage. They regarded

the touch of the Muslims or "even the scent of their food as polution." If an innocent child happened to eat anything of which Muslim had partaken, the Hindu elders "would beat him and compel him to eat cow's dung which according to their belief purifies." Ibn Battuta who suffered serious inconveniences owing to the Hindu attitude towards Muslims during his journies in the Hindu areas, gives many instances of the treatment he received and contrasts it with the behaviour of the non-Muslims of Ceylon.

In such an atmosphere a real rapproachement between the Hindus and the Muslims was impossible. A "Chinese wall" divided the two communities, in spite of the work of the saints and the Sufis and savants like Amir Khusrau. The number of people directly affected by Sufi and mystic movements was not large. "The number dwindled very appreciably in course of time and the two orthodox religions showed no visible sign of being seriously affected by the sudden intrusion of radical elements. They pursued their even tenor, resembling the two banks of a river, separated by the stream that flows between them. Attempts were made to build a bridge connecting the two, but ended in failure. Even if there were any temporary bridge, it collapsed in no time."



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CHAPTER XIV

THE EARLY MUGHULS

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Babur	1483
Babur's conquest of Kabul	1504
First Battle of Panipat	April, 21, 1526.
Babur defeats Rana Sangha ...	March, 16, 1527.
Babur's death and Humayun's accession	1530
Humayun defeated at Chausa and Qaunauj	1539/1540
Humayun leaves for Iran	1543
Humayun recovers the throne of Delhi	1555
Death of Humayun	1556

Babur 1526-1530.

Babur the founder of the Mughul Empire was a Chughtai Turk, who claimed descent from Timur on his father's side and from Chengiz Khan from his mother's. He became the ruler of Farghana a petty principality in Central Asia at the age of eleven. He was driven out of Farghana soon after accession and was continually engaged in a struggle after that to repossess himself of his ancestral kingdom. He captured Samarqand, which he claimed on account of its having been the capital of his ancestor Timur, but was ultimately driven out of Central Asia by the Uzbegs, and in 1504 established himself in Kabul. In 1514, after the final destruction of his hopes of reconquering Samarqand, he turned his eyes towards India the north-western part of which had once been included in Timur's Empire, but before entering on a military conquest of the Punjab he wisely spent a number of years in consolidating his position in Kabul. In 1524 Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, sought his help against Ibrahim Lodi, the ruling sovereign at Delhi. Babur welcomed the opportunity and marched into the Punjab, but Daulat Khan turned against him and Babur did not consider it opportune to advance further. He returned to Kabul and continued his preparations. In November 1525 he left Afghanistan and shortly thereafter occupied Lahore. He desired to conquer Delhi and in this he appears to have been encouraged by Rana

Sangha and some other Indian chiefs, who thought like his grandfather, Timur, he would pay India only a flying visit. Babur met Ibrahim at the historic battlefield of Panipat on 21st April, 1526. His army was smaller in numbers but had the advantage of a fine artillery, and the Lodi king suffered a decisive defeat. Ibrahim died on the battlefield, and Delhi and Agra fell to the victor. This was followed by the occupation of Gwalior, Kannauj, and Jaunpur. Shortly thereafter Babur had to deal with the Rajputs. The combined Indian forces headed by Rana Sangha met him on 16 March, 1527 at Kanwaha, and in spite of the heavy odds against him and the advice of his companions to return to Kabul, he decided to take the risk and made arrangements to fight the enemy. He realised, all the same, that a supreme effort was called for, and displayed his gifts as a great leader of men in dealing with the situation. He made an inspiring speech before his troops, in which he appealed not only to their bravery, but vividly portrayed the eternal damnation, which would be their lot if they weakened on the battlefield of *jihad*, and the rewards in this world and the next, if they were steadfast. He also took a vow to give up drinking and appeared before his soldiers as a true leader of *jihad*. His army fought with enthusiasm and Rana Sangha's forces were routed. The place came to be known as Fathpur Sikri (Sikri, the abode of victory), in commemoration of the successful battle. Next year Babur occupied Chanderi and then turned to the Afghan chiefs in Bihar and defeated them on May 6, 1529 on the banks of the Gogra. Babur's career of triumph was however, cut short by failing health. Next year he fell ill and died in Agra on December 26, 1530. Although Babur was successful in laying the foundation of an empire in India and was aware of its enormous resources, the cultural and social conditions there did not impress him. He started laying gardens and founding cities in his newly won empire, but he chose for himself a resting-place in Kabul, where his body was ultimately taken and buried in a beautiful garden.

Babur possessed a very attractive personality. He was not only a born leader of men, a brave soldier and a skilful general, but a man of wide culture, deeply interested in architecture, painting and literature. He wrote both prose and poetry and his Tuzak or Babur Nama has been regarded as one of the great autobiographies of the world.

Humayun.

Humayun, who succeeded Babur at the age of twenty-three, was faced with many serious difficulties. Some of these were due to tenderness towards his three younger brothers Kamran, Hindal and Askari, all of whom were constantly plotting against him. The dangers from outside were even more formidable. Babur had conquered northern India, but the country was far from settled. The Lodis and other Afghan chiefs were not reconciled to the loss of power and soon found a new leader of genius who was more than a match for Humayun. Bahadur Shah, the powerful king of Gujarat, also entertained designs of becoming supreme in northern India. Humayun was of an amiable disposition, scholarly and intelligent. He had done quite well under the watchful eye of his father, but he lacked Babur's vigor and toughness, and was for the time being overwhelmed by the difficulties confronting him.

Humayun's first conflict was with Bahadur Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat who had extended his power to Malwa and parts of Rajasthan, and had given shelter to some of Humayun's hostile relatives and leaders of Afghan resistance. In 1534-35 Humayun invaded Malwa, defeated Bahadur Shah and drove him out of his eastern possessions. He showed unusual activity at this time, and hotly pursued Bahadur into Gujarat, and distinguished himself by reckless bravery in taking the strong fortress of Champanir by assault in August, 1535. But he failed to press home the advantages he had gained. This enabled Bahadur to collect another army. In the east Sher Khan Sur became a threat to the rising Mughul power, and therefore, Humayun had to abandon the conquered territories in the west and turn his attention to the east. Here, he was far less successful. Sher Khan Sur had defeated Mahmud Shah of Bengal in 1538, but he did not oppose Humayun on his arrival and even allowed him to pass through his territory and occupy Gaur, the capital of Bengal. Humayun was charmed by the lush scenery of Bengal, gave Gaur the name of Jannatabad (the abode of Paradise), and gave himself up to pleasure. In due course the monsoons brought torrential rain, and epidemics spread in the Mughul army. Humayun started withdrawing towards Agra, but now Sher Khan Sur blocked his communications and defeated him at Chausa (1539). The Imperial army was completely routed, all the imperial household and treasures falling into Sher Khan's hand. Humayun saved his life by

crossing the river on a waterskin lent by a water-carrier, whom he rewarded years later by sharing the throne with him for one day. In May, 1540, the armies of the Mughuls and the Afghans once more met at Kannauj, but as Mirza Haider, the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, an eye-witness of the battle recorded the Mughul army was so much demoralised that on Sher Khan's advance they broke into a panic, and Humayun's last chance of making a stand against the bold Afghans was gone. He fled towards Rajputana and Sind, and at one time turned towards Qandhar where his brother Kamran was in power, but he received no help and had to seek refuge with the Shah of Persia. Northern India came under the sway of the Suri Afghans, and it was only fifteen years later, less than a year before his death, that Humayun was able to return and re-establish himself at Delhi and Agra.

The Genesis of Mughul Culture

Babur and Humayun were not in the Indo-Pak subcontinent even for thirteen years, but their reigns have a great political and cultural significance. Apart from laying the foundations of the Mughul empire, soon to be consolidated under Akbar, they introduced a new, vigorous, and aesthetically beautiful culture in the subcontinent. Babur and his descendants are generally called Mughuls (a variation of 'Mongol') but they were directly descended from Timur, a Central Asian Turk, and were only remotely connected with Chinghiz Khan, the Mongol "Scourge of Asia." Babur disliked the Mongols and as Beveridge has stated, "it would make him turn in his grave to know that his dynasty was called Mongol, or Mughul, for he hated the name and the tribes who bore it" but it is too late to alter the universally accepted nomenclature. It is, however, worth remembering that the Mughul dynasty was Turkish in origin, and the cultural tradition which Babur imported into Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was the one which, under Timur and his descendants, had flourished on the banks of the Oxus.

Timur denuded India, Iran and Asia Minor to enrich his capital and "sought deliberately to make Samarqand the centre of Muslim civilisation." He attracted a large number of poets, musicians, and philosophers to his brilliant court, and built and embellished his capital in a truly magnificent style. After Timur's death in 1405, these cultural traditions were more than maintained by his descendants. One of them was Shah Rukh (1405-1447), Timur's favourite son, who had his capital at Herat, but whose kingdom included the whole of Persia. He was himself a scholar

and a poet, and took special interest in keeping himself informed of the achievements of other countries. He sent well-equipped missions to China and to India, with instructions to the members that they should keep a journal in which everything noteworthy seen by them should be recorded. He was the first Timurid prince to maitain painters at his court. He was succeeded by several princes of the house of Timur, who equalled, if no excelled him, as patrons of learning and under them Astarabad, Bukhara, Samarqand and Merv became great centres of art and learning. All these princes employed a large number of artists in copying or illustrating manuscripts. They included patrons of learning like Shah Rukh's two sons, Ulugh Beg, "the astronomer-king", (who ruled at Samarqand) and Baysanqar, "one of the greatest biblophiles of the world, who was governor of Astarabad, but the prince who achieved greatest fame was Sultan Husain Mirza, who rnled Khurasan with his capital at Herat for thirty-eight years (1468-1506). He was the great-grandson of Timur's son, Umar Shaikh, and at his court were gathered renowned poets such as Jami and Hatifi, and historians such as Mir Khwand and his grandson Khwandmir. His talented minister Mir Ali Shir Niwai was not only a great patron of learning, but was himself a writer of distinction. Towering above all this brilliant gathering was the famous painter Bihzad, usually called the "Raphael of the East." Not only was Bihzad a great artist himself, but he had a large number of pupils and followers, who carried on his tradition. His great speciality was in portraiture, and "it was in the subject of portraiture, one of the most striking developments of the Mughul era, that the Indian School shows its closest affinity with the productions of Husain's protege." In 1506, Sultan Husain died and Bihzad entered the service of Shah Ismail, the founder ef Safavid dynasty in Persia, and Timuri tradition merged into that of the Safavids.

This was the atmosphere in which Babur grew up. He was on friendly terms with Sultan Husain, (who summoned him for help against the Uzbegs), and was familiar with cultural activity under other Timurid princes in Central Asia. Himself a poet, he attempted to transplant this cultural tradition to the Indian subcontinent, and Lahore, Delhi, and Agra became successors of Samarqand and Herat.

His successor Humayun may not rank high as a general or a ruler, but he played an important role in the cultural history of

this country. Persian culture from his reign had a far greater influence in moulding Indian Muslim civilization then at any previous period of Indian history. He spent almost fifteen years in wandering beyond the frontier, and was for a whole year at the court of Shah Tahmasp, under whose patronage the Safavid school of painting had come into existence at Tabriz and Shiraz. At Tabriz, Humayun met Mir Sayyid Ali, whose father was a pupil of Bihzad, and who himself followed the same tradition, and Khwajah Abdus Samad, another rising artist. To both these young and promising artists Humayun seems to have held out prospects of employment, when he was in a position to maintain a court of his own, and in 1550 both of them joined him at Kabul, which he had occupied prior to his re-conquest of India. Humayun entrusted the two artists with various commissions including the preparation and illustration of the famous Persian classic, *Dastan-i-Amir-Hamzah*, of which portions have luckily survived. Both of them accompanied Humayun to Agra, and were later retained by Akbar as his court painters. They formed the nucleus around which the Mughul School of Painting grew, and by training local talent and attracting others from abroad a school of painting was established, which was to shed lustre on Mughul rule.

This was the genesis of the Mughul culture, as introduced by Babur and Humayun. To this Perso-Turkish basis Akbar added other elements like the Indo-Muslim music, Hindu philosophy and Hindi literature which had received very little official support during heyday of the Sultanate, but had flourished in the regional kingdoms. With this broadened basis Mughul culture assumed a pattern, which has left a permanent mark on the cultural life of the subcontinent.

Movements of Population on the Frontier

When Babur was laying the foundation of the Mughul Empire, developments were taking place in the North-west, which were later to alter the demography of the area and also to pose many a problem for Babur's successors. The final picture of the history of the Pathans has not yet emerged. Presumably they have occupied their present areas. Gendhara—since ancient times, but it is also certain that in the fifteenth century large-scale immigration of Pathans, particularly Yusufzais, took place to the areas occupied by them at present. According to the Yusufzais they were originally settled in the neighbourhood of Qandhar and slowly made their way to the

Peshawar valley, by way of Kabul. Their rivals, the Khalils and the Mohmands are also said to have come from the same neighbourhood, north of Qandhar. Many other tribes moved about the same time and after sanguinary conflicts and a process of gradual tribal displacements occupied their present position on the Frontier.

Babur, who had a Yusufizai wife (Mubarakah), and spent much time in the area to prepare a dependable base for his operations in Hindustan, refers to 'Bajaur', 'Swat', 'Peshawar' and 'Hashtnagar' in his Autobiography, and states that the area "had now been entirely occupied by Afghan tribes and was no longer the seat of the Government."

The other important development in the area was the land settlement "associated with the venerated Shaikh Malli." He was the Chief Mullah of Mandaur tribe, and after taking into account various factors and occupation of lands by various tribes made a settlement, which remains up to the present day, the basis of tribal land tenure all over the country north of the Kabul River. There was much activity in the Afghan areas at this time. An Afghan dynasty—the Lodi—was on the throne of Delhi and Buhlul, its founder had taken special steps for attracting Pathan immigrants from the land of Roh. This led to the migration of a large number of Pathan families to India. Other factors also helped this process. For example, Khweshgis have a tradition that they came from Peshawar with Babur's army and were granted lands in the Central Punjab as a reward for co-operation with the Mughul emperor.

Baluchs also moved to the east about this time. When Sher Shah expelled Humayun and came to Khushab towards the end of 1540. he was met not only by thousands of Pathan tribesmen of Roh, but also received a visit from Baluch chief, Ismail Khan, Fath Khan and Ghazi Khan, the three founders of Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Fath Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, collectively known as the Derajat.

CHAPTER XV

THE SUR DYNASTY.

CHRONOLOGY.

Birth of Sher Shah	1489
Sher Shah proclaims himself emperor.	1539
Sher Shah's death.	1545
Islam Shah Sur.	1545-1554
Humayun's re-conquest of Delhi	1555

Sher Shah 1539-1545

Sher Khan Suri, who proclaimed himself emperor, under the title of Sher Shah Adil, after his victory at Chausa (1539), was the son of a petty Afghan *jagirdar* in Bihar. He was ill-treated by his stepmother, and left at an early age for Jaunpur, where he applied himself to serious study. He soon acquired a good command of Arabic and Persian, and knew the Persian classics, *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, and *Sikandar Namah* by heart. He was especially interested in history, and was fond of reading the accounts of great rulers of the past. Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was one of his favourites. He displayed such ability at Jaunpur, that his father had to show greater interest in his neglected son, and entrusted him with the administration of his *jagir*. Sher Khan, who was originally known as Farid, managed the *jagir* very well, but the enmity of his stepmother once again drove him away. Now he took service with the governor of Bihar, and impressed his master by his talents. He later joined Babur and was rewarded for this by the grant of his father's jagir, but he was not impressed by the Mughul valour and military organization, and took advantage of the disturbed conditions to gain supremacy in Bihar. This, however, did not satisfy him and by the end of February, 1536, he appeared at the gates of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and returned after receiving a large payment. Next year he again marched eastwards and entered Gaur in triumph, but on the return of Humayun from Gujarat, withdrew towards Bihar, and fought against the Mughuls in the area he knew best. The manner in which he chased Humayun out of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has been outlined earlier.

Sher Shah was on the throne of Delhi for not more than five years, but his brief reign is a landmark in the history of the sub-continent. After driving Humayun into exile, Sher Shah quickly conquered Malwa, Sind, Marwar, and Mewar. He subjugated the country of the turbulent Gakkhars in the northwest Punjab and built a strong line of fortifications to guard against an attack by the Mughuls. Sher Shah was killed by an explosion of gun powder in 1545, while laying siege to the stone fort of Kalinjar.

Sher Shah's Administrative Reforms

Sher Shah's reign is like a bridge between the Sultanate and the Mughul Empire. His deep knowledge of earlier history and practical experience of the working of the system evolved by the Delhi Sultans enabled him to pick out what was good in the system, to improve upon it and by making many brilliant new additions, pave the way for the final phase of Muslim administration under Akbar and the later Mughuls. Professor Qanungo, in his study of Sher Shah, has referred to a number of administrative reforms which were originally introduced by Ala-ud-Din Khalji (like the creation of a powerful standing army officered by the nobles of the Sultan's choice, use of *jarib* for survey and assessment, and introduction of *Dak Chauki*). Sher Shah improved on these and left them to his successors in a more organised and efficient form. Even the basis for his revenue system was provided by earlier experience, and in the Tughluq regime we come across titles of many officials and administrative divisions, popularly associated with Sher Shah. He, however, introduced improvements, and was lucky to have a record of his re-organisation better preserved than was the case with the administrative arrangements of Balban, Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq.

Sher Shah preserved what was sound in the earlier system, but he made major additions and improvements to the earlier arrangements. For example, the Khokhars in the Northern Punjab had been a constant menace during the Sultanate, and had never, for any length of time, been under the control of Delhi. The proximity of the area to Kabul, how under Mughul sway increased its dangers for Sher Shah, but within his brief reign he found time to deal effectively with the problem. The keystone of the defences in this area was a magnificent fort which Sher Shah built to the west of the Jhelum river, and named *Rohtas-i-Nau* (the New Rohtas) after his favourite fort in Bihar. The construction

of the fort was entrusted to an officer, Todar Mal, and when the Khokhars made a vow amongst themselves not to provide labour for the construction of the fort, Sher Shah asked Todar Mal to push through the project, regardless of expense. Todar Mal, was, therefore, able to recruit labour by offering phenomenal wages, and when the original boycott broke down, reduced the scale of payment. Sher Shah's ablest general, Haibat Khan Niazi, was placed in charge of the area.

Sher Shah also applied his vigorous mind to administrative problems in Bengal, which had been in a state of chronic revolt under the Sultanate. Ala-ud-Din Khalji had shown the way by dividing the unwieldy province, which during his reign included Bihar and parts of Orissa and was extensive enough to be a kingdom into three provinces, but Sher Shah went much further. He reduced the unwieldy bulk of Bengal, and instead of placing the whole province under one military governor, created several smaller governorships. To preserve the administrative unity of the whole area, he appointed Qazi Fazilat as the head of the province, but he had very little executive authority and bore the title of Amin-i-Bengala (Trustee of Bengal) and not Hakim-i-Bengala (the viceroy of Bengal).

The principal reforms for which Sher Shah is remembered are those connected with land revenue administration. The agency which he built up, and which with further improvements under Akbar and the British continues to the present day fulfils many functions. It is entrusted with the recovery of government dues, collection of data regarding the villages, and the holdings of the cultivators, and their general economic position. In this Sher Shah drew on the past, and his own experience of the detailed administration of a *pargana* of his father's *jagir* was a great help, and he was able to evolve a system of which many features were adopted by Akbar. The main improvement which he effected in the system of land revenue was that instead of relying on the method of estimation, the method of measurement was introduced. The cultivated land was measured every year, and one-third or one-fourth of the average produce of good, middling and bad lands was taken as land revenue.

Closely linked up with the principle of revenue assessment was the question of agency for carrying out administrative work. The smallest administrative unit was a *parganah. i.e.* a group of

villages. To each *parganah* Sher Shah appointed an *amin* responsible for the general administration, a *shiqqdar*, who supervised the assessment and collection of the revenue, a treasurer and two clerks to keep accounts, one in Persian and the other in Hindi. The next unit was a *sarkar*, or a revenue district, which had a chief *shiqqdar* and a chief *munsif*, "whose duty it was to see that the revenue was collected in full, but that the cultivators were not oppressed."

An important feature of the system was Sher Shah's emphasis on fair dealing with the peasants, and recognition of the fact that interests of the ruler and the ruled were identical. He tried to secure this not only by issue of specific orders, but the designations of officers like *amin* and *munsif* in revenue administration were significant, and underlined the policy which these officers were to follow in discharge of their duties.

Sher Shah is also remembered for his roads. He devoted special attention to the expansion of trade, and to facilitate this (as well as for strategic reasons) linked up various parts of his empire by an efficient system of roads. Of his four great roads, one connected Sonargaon (near modern Dacca) in Bengal, through Agra, Delhi and Lahore, with the Indus ; others connected Agra and Mandu, Agra, Jodhpur and Chitor and Lahore and Multan. Fruit trees were planted on both sides of the roads and at short intervals caravansarais were set up with separate lodgings for Muslims and Hindus, and servants to supply food to the travellers of each religion. Safety of the highways was ensured by making the officials of the adjacent villages responsible for incidents on the roads passing through their areas. Internal trade was also facilitated by the abolition of vexatious tolls. Sher Shah made a clean sweep of all internal customs, and allowed the levy of duties only on the frontier or the place of sale within the empire.

Sher Shah was a pious and rigidly orthodox Muslim, but he treated all his subjects alike. The Hindus held high positions in his army and Todar Mal, who later gained renown under Akbar, was originally in his service. One of his best known generals was Brahmajit Gaur, whom he sent in pursuit of Humayun, and Raja Ram Singh of Gwalior is also said to have been in his service. His army included a contingent of Rajputs.

Islam Shah, who succeeded Sher Shah, was on the throne from 1545 to 1554, and made an effort to preserve the

Islam Shah Sur 1545-1554.

institutions of his father. He kept the fortifications in good repair, increased the number of caravansarais and ordered the compilation of a detailed Book of Government Regulations, extracts from which were read every Friday in meetings of government officials of each *sarkar*. He was, however, unable to keep rebellious nobles in check and his reign was not marked by any expansion of territory.

Mahadawiya Movement: Persecution of Shaikh Alai and Shaikh Niyazi.

Islam Shah's reign was also marked by religious unrest amongst Muslims which added to confusion and disorder. At this time the millennium of the migration of the Prophet of Islam from Mecca was approaching, and many people believed that the appearance of a Mahdi who was to convert the whole world to Islam and to fill the earth with equity and justice was about to take place. In 1504 Sayyid Muhammad, a leading scholar and saint of Jaunpur, encouraged this expectation and later claimed to be the Mahdi. Those who accepted his claims and followed his injunctions were known as Mahadwis. After an active career during which he visited Mecca for Hajj, and impressed many mundane rulers with his sincerity, Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri died in Farah (in Eastern Iran) in 1504, but his doctrines were kept alive. In Sher Shah's reign Shaikh Alai, son of a leading religious teacher of Bengal, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on his return established himself at Bayana, where he came under the influence of Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi, an Afghan follower of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri. The two leaders confined their preaching, marked by rigid puritanism and asceticism, to the poor, and in fact, the entire Mahadwiya movement had an economic basis. They kept no property or means of livelihood and encouraged others to do the same. They admonished anyone who committed unlawful or irreligious act. They and their followers kept themselves armed and permitted no interference with their actions by officials. This defiance of the authorities brought them into conflict with the established government. In particular, Maulana Abdullah of Sultanpur, entitled Makhdum-ul-Mulk, who held the office of Sadr-us-Sudur, took strong objection to the new cult and used his influence with Islam Shah to punish them who believed in its doctrines. Shaikh Alai was a pious and sincere person, and his preachings impressed many powerful and important personalities. Amongst those whom he converted at one time or another were the governors of Khwaspur (in Rajputana)

and Handiya (on the banks of the river Narbada), and Shaikh Mubarik of Nagaur, the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi. Makhdum-ul-Mulk, however, was tireless in opposing the new doctrines, and the rudeness of Shaikh Alai and Shaikh Abdullah in the royal court facilitated his task. Shaikh Abdullah refused to salute Islam Shah when he appeared at his court and Shaikh Alai who had appeared at the court earlier with a large band of ragged and shabbily clothed armed followers exhibited similar indifference and want of tact. On this Shaikh Abdullah was so severely beaten that he fell as if dead, but recovered from his injuries and after wandering for some time, settled at Sirhind, where he renounced the Mahadawi creed, became an orthodox teacher and in 1592 died at the advanced age of 90. The king who was not happy at the course advised by Makhdum-ul-Mulk referred the case of Shaikh Alai to a leading scholar in Bihar, who was unwilling to condemn the Shaikh but whose sons wrote a letter in his name recommending that the advice of Makhdum-ul-Mulk, "the most distinguished jurist of the day" should be followed. The Shaikh was given an opportunity to recant but he refused and was handed over to Makhdum-ul-Mulk who sentenced him to flogging. He was, however, so ill and weak that at the third cut he breathed his last (1548).

The Mahadawi movement gradually lost its importance in northern India, but it flourished longer in the south and their doctrines have been held by some important persons in Hyderabad Deccan, (including the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang). Even in Northern India, the struggle which it generated and the conflict which ensued between Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Mubarik had their effect on the religious history of Akbar's day.

Islam Shah's death took place in 1554, and after a disputed succession Muhammad Adil Shah assumed sovereignty. He was a worthless ruler and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of of his able Hindu minister, Himu. Revolts, however, broke out and two other princes of Sur family set up themselves as kings in Northern India. "The authority of Adil Shah extended over Agra and Malwa and as far east as Jaunpur; that of Sikandar Shah from Delhi to Rohtas in the Punjab and that of Ibrahim Shah from the foot of the Himalayas to Gujarat in the Punjab." This confusion gave Humayun, who had established himself at Kabul, an opportunity for which he was waiting. He invaded India and

after the defeat of Sikandar near Sirhind, entered Delhi on July, 23, 1555, thus bringing to an end the short-lived but memorable rule of the Sur Dynasty. Humayun, however, did not long enjoy his triumph, as six months later he fell down the stairs of his library at Delhi and died as a result of his injuries.

CHAPTER XVI.

AGE OF AKBAR

CHRONOLOGY

Akbar born at Umarkot (West Pakistan)	23rd Nov. 1542
Enthronement of Akbar	14th Feb. 1556
Second Battle of Panipat.	1556
Early Conquests.	1564-1575
	Gondwana (1564)
	Chitor (1568)
	Gujarat (1572-73)
	Bengal (1575-76)
Building of Fathpur Sikri	1569-76
Bengal Rebellion and the plot to replace Akbar by Hakim.	1580
Akbar reside it at Lahore.	1585-1598
Expansion in the northwest	1590-1595
	Kashmir (1590)
	Southern Sind (1590)
	Baluchistan (1594)
	Qandhar (1595)
Conquest of Ahmadnagar	1600
Death of Akbar.	January 7, 1606.

Task before Akbar

Akbar was born in November, 1542 and was a little more than thirteen when on the sudden death of his father, he ascended the throne on 14th February, 1556. The boy-king was faced with even bigger difficulties than those which had confronted his father or grandfather. After his wanderings beyond the border for fourteen long years Humayun was in the country for barely eight months when death overtook him, and the Mughul rule was very insecure. It was confined to the Punjab, Delhi and Agra. "The Kabul territory, administered in the name of Akbar's younger brother, was practically independent. Bengal, usually under the rule of Afghan chiefs, had been independent for more than two centuries; the Rajput clans of Rajasthan had recovered from the defeat inflicted by Babur and enjoyed unchallenged possession of their castles; Malwa and Gujarat had thrown off allegiance to Delhi long ago; the wild regions of Gondwana, the modern Central Provinces, obeyed only

their local chieftains who recognised no sovereign lord; and Orissa acknowledged no master. Farther south, the Deccan States of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur were governed by their own Sultans, to whom the name of Padshah of Delhi was a matter of absolute indifference. The far south, that is to say, the peninsula from the Krishna (Kistna) and Tungabhadra rivers to Cape Comorin, was held firmly in the grasp of the sovereigns of Vijaynagar, then at the zenith of their power, who ruled a realm so wide as to deserve fairly the name of an empire. Goa and several other ports on the western coast were strongly occupied by the Portuguese whose ships held command of the Arbian Sea.

In the north, the border states of Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan, with many others, enjoyed perfect freedom from all superior control."[1]

Soon the Surs recovered Delhi and Agra and the young Akbar was left only with the Punjab. But he had a great asset in the person of his regent, Bairam Khan, who was "one of the best and most faithful soldiers of the time", and had been Humayun's friend, philosopher and guide in the days of adversity. He guided Akbar's footsteps in the early days and was in fact the ruler of the realm during the first four years of the new reign. He was in command of the Mughul army which defeated Himu, the commander-in-chief of the Surs, at Panipat on the November, 5, 1556, and he led the vigorous pursuit of the enemy which ended in the capture of Delhi and Agra.

Early Problems.

The young king spent his time in hunting, elephant fights and other youthful pursuits, while the Regent administered the kingdom and considerably extended it. He reduced the stone fortress of Gwalior, annexed the rich province of Jaunpur and was planning operations for the conquest of Malwa when, in 1560, events brought about his downfall. Bairam Khan had become everbearing and his appointment of a Shia to the key ecclesiastic appointment of *sadr-us-sudur* offended the Sunni nobles and members of the royal family. The young emperor also on entering his eighteenth year, felt that the time had come when he could take the reins of government in his own hands. His foster mother, Maham Anaga, and other relations, fanned the flames of the royal ambition and the king decided to dispense with the services of the great minister. Akbar sent a suitably worded message to Bairam and fixed a *jagir* for him, but Bairam Khan,

after a half-hearted show of defiance, left for Mecca, and was murdered on the way by a man who bore him a personal grudge. The king married the Regent's widow and brought up his infant son, Abdul Rahim who rose to be Khan Khanan like his father, under his own protection.

The next few years have been called the period of "petticoat government", when Akbar's foster mother and other relations were supreme. This also came to an end in 1562 when Akbar was so enraged at the repeated excesses and cruelty of his foster brother, Adham Khan, that when he and his companions murdered Akbar's principal minister, Akbar had Adham Khan thrown from the palace terrace. Maham Anaga did not long survive her son's death, and henceforth the emperor was master of his own affairs.

Meanwhile some of the features for which Akbar's reign was to be famous, were becoming manifest. A period of vigorous conquest had started under Bairam Khan, and the process was kept up when in 1560 an expedition was sent to Malwa under the command of Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad. The royal generals were successful, but their victory was marred by such savage cruelty that Akbar had to remonstrate with Adham Khan. The first of Akbar's alliances with the Rajputs took place early in 1562 and was a landmark in the development of Akbar's religious policy. In 1564 he abolished the pilgrim-tax earning the gratitude of the Hindu pilgrims, who visited numerous *tiraths* (places of pilgrimage), in the Mughul Empire. Akbar himself frequently went on pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din at Ajmer and did not think it proper that any pilgrim, whether a Hindu or a Muslim should have to pay a tax for visiting a holy place. Next year he took a more important step, namely the abolition of the *jiziya*, which helped him in gaining the loyalty and support of his Hindu subjects. There is no evidence that *jiziya* was normally levied during the Sultanate and the amount involved was not large, but remission of tax is always welcome. Its abolition was warmly welcomed by the Hindus, and seems to have been accepted without demur by the Muslim jurists, who were so far influential at the court.

The next year was marked by another development, which further freed the emperor to pursue his policies. Khan Zaman Ali Quli Khan, the leader of the Uzbeg nobles, had rendered services to the Emperor second only to those of Bairam Khan,

but he and his party were unhappy about Akbar's administrative policy. The Uzbegs disliked the "Persianised ways" of the Mughul court and were equally opposed to the Emperor's policy of centralisation. They desired the royal authority to be confined to the vicinity of Delhi, leaving the feudatories a free hand in their territories. This was contrary to Akbar's policy. "A centralised rule as Akbar desired and the feudal aristocracy such as that of which Khan Zaman was the representative could not co-exist." The matter came to a head in 1565, but the Uzbeg nobles were not finally crushed until June, 1567, when Ali Quli Khan was killed on the battlefield.

Hindustan.

All initial hurdles to the young Emperor's freedom of action had now been passed, and he embarked on a remarkable career of conquest which, with a short break, continued almost until his death. Akbar had conquered Gondwana in 1564. In 1567, he reduced the fortress of Ranthambhor, and this was soon followed by the surrender of Kalinjar. Gujarat was annexed in 1573.

Bengal.

Akbar now turned his attention to Bengal, which since the days of Sher Shah had become "the happy hunting ground" of the Afghan adventurers driven away by the Mughuls from the north-west. In 1674 Tanda, the then capital of Bengal, was occupied by Munim Khan, but the Mughul conquest of Bengal was not completed for some years. After occupying Ghoraghat (in modern Rangpur district), Satgaon and Burdawan, the Mughul forces faced the Afghans in the fateful battle of Tukaroi, (5th March 1575), in which Daud Khan, the Afghan ruler of Bengal was defeated. He made his submission before the Mughul commander, sent hostages to Akbar's court, and was allowed to retain parts of Orissa. Munim Khan, shortly thereafter, moved his headquarters to Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, but the place was soon visited by such a devasting pestilence, that the greater part of the population, many Mughul officers and a large number of troops lost their lives. The ancient capital was now deserted for ever and Munim Khan returned to Tanda, but died shortly thereafter, (October, 1575). Daud Khan, profiting by this turn of events, reasserted himself, and the remnant of the Mughul army had to withdraw to Bihar. Khan Jahan Husain Quli Beg was now entrusted with the reconquest of Bengal, and by July, 1576, was able to occupy Tanda and send the head of Daud "the

treaty-breaker" to Fathpur Sikri. Bengal was now incorporated in the Mughul dominions, but in 1580 a large section of Mughul officers and soldiers in Bihar and Bengal revolted, partly on account of the new measures introduced by Akbar for resumption of unauthorised alienations of land and for controlling the false musters by the branding of horses, and partly on account of disaffection caused by reports regarding Akbar's religious views. Khan Azam quelled the rebellion in Bengal, but he soon left the province, (May 1583). The Afghans took advantage of this confusion, and in Orissa their power revived under Qutb Lohani. In 1590 Man Singh was sent as governor, and though he was able to defeat the Afghans in Orissa, Sulaiman and Usman, the surviving nephews of Qutb Lohani, moved over to East Bengal and joined hands with Isa Khan Masnad-i-Ala, the powerful zamindar, of the Dacca district. Isa Khan died in September, 1599, but Man Singh's energetic and prolonged efforts for consolidation of the Mughul rule were not wholly successful, and this task had to be accomplished by Islam Khan in the next reign.

North-West Frontier.

For thirteen years (1585-1598) Akbar had to remain in the north, with Lahore as his virtual capital, to deal with a threat from beyond the mountains. The Uzbegs, who had driven Babur out of his home in Central Asia, had reorganized under Abdullah Khan, a capable leader, and were a danger to the northwestern frontiers of Akbar's empire. The tribes on the border were also restless, partly on account of the hostility of Yusufzais of Bajaur and Swat, and partly owing to the activity of the Raushaniya leader who had preached that plundering the property of those who did not believe in his doctrines was lawful. Mughul forces sent against Yusufzais met with disaster in February, 1586, in which the inept commander, Raja Birbal, lost his life and peace did not return to the frontier till 1588. The death of Abdullah Khan in 1598 enabled Akbar to leave Lahore, and proceed to the Deccan, but his stay in the northwest was not unfruitful. Kashmir became a part of the Mughul empire in 1586. Sind followed suit in 1593, when Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of Thatta, after his defeat at the hands of Abdul Rahim, Khan Khanan, the vicerory of Multan, became a Mughul *mansabdar* and was appointed governor of his old territory. In 1594 Baluchistan, with the coastal region of Makran was added to the empire, and in the following year Qandhar was surrendered

by its Persian governor.

These conquests brought the whole of the northwest under Akbar's control and greatly reduced the danger from Central Asia. Akbar was, therefore, free to extend the empire in the south. In 1591 he had sent envoys to the Sultans of the Deccan asking them to recognize his suzerainty, but they refused and imperial troops were ordered to march upon Ahmadnagar. For some time the heroic defence of Chand Bibi saved the city, but in 1599 Akbar appeared in the Deccan in person and Ahmadnagar was captured. In January, 1601, the stone fortress of Asirgarh capitulated and the conquered territories of Ahmadnagar and Khandesh were organised as a province of the Mughul empire.

Deccan.

In May, 1601, Akbar returned to Agra, but his career of conquest was now over. His last years were troubled by unhappy relations with his son, Prince Salim, who had the royal favourite, Abul Fazl, assassinated by the robber chief, Bir Singh Bundhela. In August, 1605, Akbar fell ill and the physicians were not able to diagnose the disease properly which was even suspected to be due to a secret irritant poison, probably diamond dust. He died on Thursday, January 7, 1606.

Death

Akbar was not only a great conqueror, but was also a very capable organiser, and a law giver. He was the real builder of the Mughul Empire and laid down principles and policies which, but for occasional modifications and minor adjustments, remained the basis of Mughul administrative system, which after certain elaborations, modernization and improvements, became the basis for British administration. These will be dealt with in a separate chapter, but a few principles of policy, which are particularly associated with Akbar may be mentioned here.

Administrative Reorganization.

Akbar is often considered the first Muslim ruler to have employed Hindus in positions of responsibility. This is not correct. Even Mahmud about whose iconoclastic activities so much has been written, had a strong contingent of Indian troops under Indian officers and some of them were amongst the senior-most generals of the Ghaznavid army. Earlier, Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab governor of Sind, had entrusted the administration of the territory to local officers. It is true that the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, with a highly developed class—consciousness, were

not so enthusiastic about entrusting high offices to anybody except a Turk, and the bitterness resulting from the Muslim conquest of the heart of Hindustan created an atmosphere different from what prevailed under the Arabs in Sind and early Ghaznavids in the Punjab. Muslims were universally referred to as *Mlechhs* (unclean) by the Hindus and, to judge from a quotation in Firishta, for a long time Brahmins were reluctant to accept service under Muslim rulers. Writing about Gangu, the Prime Minister of the first Bahmani ruler of Deccan, he says; "It is generally held that before him the Brahmins would not accept jobs under Muslim rulers, and by engaging themselves in acquisition of knowledge, particularly astrology, lived simple lives in villages, in out of way places and on the banks of rivers. Considering the service of the wordly people, particularly Muslims, as degrading, they did not accept posts and jobs. and if by chance, anybody associated with the people of position, on account of knowledge of medicine, astrology, or preaching or story-telling, he would accept rewards or *farmans*, but would not put the yoke of service round his neck. The first person, from the sect of Brahmins to accept the service of Muslim kings was Pande Gangu."[2]

The Khaljis had broadened the basis of administration by breaking the Turkish monopoly, and under them the converted or half-converted Hindus obtained the highest offices of the state. Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed a Hindu as governor of Sind and gave important posts to others, but the main change came with Sher Shah and his descendants. Sher Shah had a number of Rajput soldiers, and at least one of his most trusted generals was a Hindu. The position changed still furthur under his grandson whose prime minister and commander-in-chief, Hemu, was a Hindu, In fact, referring "to the ascendency of Hemu and his lieutenants like Ramya and Bhagwan Das foreshadowing the future eminence of Raja Man Singh and Todar Mal" a modern Hindu historian says that "it would be no exaggeration to say that but for the reign of Sur Kings there would have been no age of Akbar."[3] Thus before Akbar came to the throne, the tradition of employing Hindus in the highest positions was already established.

One practical difficulty in large-scale employment of Hindus was the language. The court language of the Muslim government was Persian, which Hindu administrative classes were at first

reluctant to learn. The Brahmin opposition to the cultivation of regional languages (like Bengali) is well-known and their attitude towards the language of the Mlechhs can be easily imagined. But by the time Akbar came to the throne this difficulty had also been overcome. Under the Lodis, when the strength of Central government was re-established after the chaos which overtook it following the death of Firuz Shah and it became evident that Muslim rule had come to stay, Hindus and even Brahmins started learning Persian[4].

Thus by Akbar's time all the traditional and practical difficulties in large scale employment of the Hindus had been removed and it was easy for him to broaden the basis of administration by entrusting highest positions to Rajputs and Hindu revenue officers like Todarmal.

Akbar took full advantage of this, boldy enunciating the principle of "Sulahkul"—universal tolerance, or rather amity with all—and made it a pivot of his state policy. He broadened the basis of administration and absorbed into his government principal representatives of the Hindu military aristocracy.

The detailed measures which Akbar took to build up an efficient system of administration are no less indicative of a great constructive genius. He adopted what was vital in Sher Shah's administrative system and greatly increased its effectiveness. He insisted on maintaining a high level of administration and for this purpose drew on talent from all available sources—the Mughuls, the Uzbegs, the Rajputs and other Hindus like Raja Todarmal, and of course, the Turanis and the Persians. He organized superior services on *Mansabdari* basis and by a judicious selection of personnel, their training in different fields, and by providing suitable opportunities to them, was able to build up an efficient officer's cadre. Satisfactory arrangements for assessment and recovery of land revenue, and their integration in the general administrative system set the pattern for revenue administration which has been followed ever since. Akbar also preferred payment of cash salaries to the grant of *jagirs*. These measures, coupled with the general improvement in education, and a brilliant spurt of expansion and conquest, enablad Akbar to build up an efficient administrative machinery, centralise administration and unify the country to an extent which had not been hitherto possible for any length of time.

Muslim rule produced a large number of able administrators and some of them, like Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Sher Shah Suri introduced administrative measures which survived them, and became a part of the country's administrative heritage. The basic pattern of Government and the fundamental constitutional position, however, underwent very few changes. In earlier parts of this book we have outlined the basis of Indo-Muslim policy as laid down by Iltutmish, and its transformation at the hands of Balban, who introduced something similar to the ancient Iranian concept of monarchy and centralised system of government. The pattern adopted by Balban became the norm for the Muslim India, and was adopted by subsequent rulers, with only minor changes of policy.

Mughul Kingship

The Mughul theory of kingship, as it emerged under Akbar, is rooted in the basic pattern laid down by Balban, but has important features of its own. In Mughul system the king remained supreme and all powerful, but he was not an autocrat of the type symbolised by Balban. Akbar, who embodied the new concept and Abul Fazl who expounded it, introduced new spiritual elements in the basis provided by Balban. The best exposition of the Mughul theory of rulership is provided by Abul Fazl in his introduction to Ain-i-Akbari. The first two paragraphs dealing with the need for a king—to maintain order and suppress crime and injustice—echo Balban's views on the subject, as narrated by Barani Then Abul Fazl goes on to deal with the divine elements in kingship thus : "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, and the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls it *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyan-i-khwarah* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of anyone and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission."[5]

Further, Abul Fazl gives the requisite elements of Mughul kingship :—

(1) A paternal love towards the subjects. Thousands find rest in the love of the king and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the king will understand the spirit of the age and shape his plans accordingly.

(2) A large heart. The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requittal, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it......

(3) A daily increasing trust in God......

(4) Prayer and devotion"[6]......

There is much that is purely rhetorical in the analysis of the court historian, but the course of the Mughul history and pronouncements of various rulers show that during Mughul rule an attempt was made to approximate to this ideal The paternal concept of Government was constantly emphasised by Akbar and his successors. The foreign travellers and observers have also pointed out that the Mughul kings reigned rather than ruled, and were like a father to their subjects. Similarly, magnanimity of spirit, which was the second requisite of a king according to Abul Fazl, was valued highly by the Mughul rulers, and was expected from them by the public. The same applied to the other two requisites.

The important difference between Balban's concept of kingship, as recorded by Barani, and Akbar's view-point as outlined by Abul Fazl lies in latter's emphasis on spiritual qualities and spiritual elements. All the four elements of the ideal king as laid down by Abul Fazl have a spiritual basis, and as is well-known Akbar aimed at being the spiritual guide of the people.

Akbar's and Abul Fazl's views on government have been attributed to various sources. It has been stated that this view of government "was influenced by Shii teachings and by ideas mediated from classical Greece by Muslim philosophers."[a] Essentially these ideas were an expression of Akbar's own personal view-point, and a solution of the political problem posed by the composition of religious groups in the subcontinent. The old Islamic references to the ruler being the shadow of God (Zill-Allah) and the writings of Muslim philosophers (like Jalal-ud-Din Dawwani) and mystics strengthened it. Abul Fazl repeatedly refers to this, and says that just as God Almighty bestows his mercy on all his creatures, irrespective of their creed, colour or race, similarly the king, "who is God's shadow on earth" should confer his favours without any distinction. This, in fact, became a central

point of Akbar's policy and was kept up by his successors, in a greater or smaller degree.

To some extent, the paternal concept of kingship was also based on the old indigenous notion of the ruler being the "Mai Bap" (Mother and Father) of the people, and it is not impossible that Akbar and Abul Fazl may have been influenced by the Hindu political theory. According to Manu, "kings are vastly superior to other created beings, because they are made of the essence of gods." Elsewhere he says about the kings: "They are gods in human form, and, therefore, they who wish to be prosperous, must worship the gods as they would Indra."[8] Whatever may be the sources of their inspiration, Akbar and Abul Fazl by introducing spiritual elements, transformed the very nature of kingship. Akbar's religious experiments were productive of little good, but the spiritual point of view and the responsibilities accepted by the king in the spiritual field, had certain necessary practical concomittants in the administrative field. They softened the autocracy of the absolute monarch and in fact transformed its very nature. This resulted not only in a kindly and humane system of Government, but also made it possible for the ruler to include all his subjects as deserving of his personal solicitude. The Mughul Badshah was not an autocratic Sultan or an Amir-ul-Mominin, but a father to his people and a trustee for their welfare. This ideal was not always achieved, and Aurangzeb's reign was marked by far-reaching deviation, but by and large the *Mai Bap* concept was accepted by the rulers and the ruled, and became an essential part of the Mughul pattern of government. The result was that, as pointed out by a Hindu historian, "the new Mughul State, as the creation of Akbar, was above race, caste and creed. It functioned for the protection and well-being of the people, It was an active lever for their social, religious, and cultural uplift."[9]

Abul Fazl

Akbar's success was not only due to his exceptional gifts of leadership and his ability to bring out the best in men. It was also due to the very high quality of the men who surrounded him. To some extent this was a part of his good fortune and Aurangzeb frequently regretted that persons of the type which were available to Akbar were not to be found in his days, but mainly it was due to the efforts specially made by him to attract good people, and to train up others. Akbar had, at his court, administrators like Khan-i-Azam, Khan Khanan, Mir Fath

Ullah Shirazi, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Khwaja Mansur and scholars like Faizi, Nizamuddin Bakhshi and the historian Badauni, but the person who represents Akbar's age and policies most vividly was Abul Fazl. He did not have a high *mansab*, and was only incharge of the Correspondence Office—Daftar-ul-Insha, but owing to his loyalty, sagacity, scholarship and industry he secured a great hold over Akbar and became his "friend, philosopher and guide."

Abul Fazl who was born on 14th January, 1551, came from a distinguished family of scholars, who hailed originally from Sehwan in Sind. His father Shaikh Mubarik was a great scholar and a mystic, and after studying under a pupil of Jalal-ud-Din Dawwani, a prominent later day philosopher and writer of Iran, settled down as a teacher at Agra. He was attracted, at that time, by the Mahadawiya movement, and was persecuted by the court theologian, Makhdum-ul-Mulk for his non-conformist view. His two distinguished sons, Faizi the poet-laureate and Abul Fazl inherited his free thinking, and were held in great esteem by Akbar for their intellectual gifts, loyalty to the ruler, and for sharing his viewpoint. Abul Fazl was presented at the court in 1574, and soon won the Emperor's favour by his ability, knowledge and tact. He was placed in charge of the royal Dar-ul-Insha (Correspondence Office) and Akbar's celebrated letters to Abdullah Khan Uzbak and other rulers and to the Portuguese authorities at Goa were drafted by him.

For many years Abul Fazl basked in the sunshine of royal forms. He was the court chronicler, drafted the emperor's letters, acted as his deputy (Khalifa) for training the royal disciples and was un-official royal adviser and confidant The other courtiers naturally became envious and the fact that Abul Fazl often became the mouthpiece of Akbar's unorthobox views, gave a religious basis to this jealousy. They joined hands and found means to render him ineffective.

All the moves and counter moves in this game have not been recorded—Badauni was dead by this time—but they can be pretty clearly traced in the pages of Akbarnama and Abul Fazl's letters. The first recorded estrangement between Akbar and his favourite occurred in the middle of 1598, and Prince Salim was the instrument of the party opposed to Abul Fazl. He was so thoroughly absorbed in serving the Emperor that he neglected showing due

courtesy to others, including Prince Salim. To quote him : "He was unable to perform fully the outward service of attending upon the Prince Royal, awkward explanations were not successful[10]." Salim became angry, and complaints were taken to Akbar, who "gave some heed (to these speeches)". On 21st May, 1598, Abul Fazl was so vexed at the situation that he stopped attending the court and shut his "door in the face of both stranger and acquaintance." Akbar's summons to him to attend the court brought sulky replies, and the offer "to enter the furnace" along with his "accuser". Abul Fazl was so upset, that he says: "Sometimes I meditated my own destruction, and sometime I thought of becoming a vagabond[11]."

After a time Abul Fazl relented and started attending the court, but soon his opponents found a way of removing him from the royal presence. He records in the Akbarnama : "In as much as the writer of the noble volume always held to his own opinion without respect of persons and represented in an eloquent manner what was good for the State, those who sought an opportunity and were crooked in their ways represented their own interested views. In consequence of their intrigues I was sent off on 5th Jaunary, 1599 to bring Prince Salim & Murad."[12] After his departure from the royal court Abul Fazl had an audience with the king when he visited the Deccan (20th March, 1600) and received occasional royal gifts, but he was never allowed by his enemies to set foot in the capital.

In the spring of 1602 relations between Prince Salim and his father deteriorated, and Abul Fazl's enemies used this opportunity to further poison the prince's mind against him. "Evil minded persons represented that the aversion of his father was due to the efforts of the Shaikh, and that the later was endeavouring to have him disgraced and distrusted. This had such an effect on the prince......that he set himself to take the life of the unique one [b]." Akbar had at this time summoned Abul Fazl from the Deccan. This gave Prince Salim his opportunity and he asked Bir Singh Bundhela, whose territory was on the way to put an end to Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl had only an academic knowledge of warfare, but the manner in which he met his death shows that he was a bold and courageous soldier. In fact, it was his boldness and desire

(b) See Akbar Nama (Supplement) Vol: III p. 1217.

to play a heroic role which cost him his life. When Bir Singh's troops were sighted, and had captured Shaikh's banner from his vanguard, his Pathan attendant[c] held up the reins of his horse, and advised him to escape; but how could a man conscious of the majesty of his monarch he was representing, give way to fear? According to "the contemporary Hindi poem, "Bir Deo Chainta" recording the glory of the local hero Bir Singh, the Shaikh replied :—

How can I run away?
A warrior must die where he is molested.
Bir has taken away my horse-tail banner.
It will be a shame to run away.

The Pathan well-wisher replied, "It is also the duty of the warriors to kill their enemy before dying. You have lost the banner. If you escape unhurt, many such banners will be made for you." To this the Shaikh said ;

The Emperor has full confidence in me.
How can I run away home?
If I follow your advice after losing the banner,
What explanation shall I give to the Emperor?
If my battle-drums are taken away from me,
What shall I beat, when I reach home?

When the Pathan persisted in his remonstrances, the Shaikh gave his final reply :

You say, run away.
The emeny is thundering on all sides.
If I am killed running away,
What will people say of me?
Both in running and in fighting death is certain.
I shall run away, if I can,
But I have two fetters of honour on my feet,
and the burden of the Emperor's love on my head.[d]

Saying this, the Shaikh drew his sword, and fell upon his numerous and well-armed foes with the inevitable result.

Faizi

Abul Fazl covers up his spiritual conflicts in a verbose and ornate style. It is his brother Faizi, the poet-

(c) In the supplement to Akbar Nama his name is given as Gadai Khan Afghan.

(d) See "Bir Singh Deo and the Death of Abul Fazl" as described in Contemporary Hindi Literature "by Lala Sita Ram (Calcutta Review, May, 1924)

laureate, whose writings give us some indication of the intensity of the conflict which tore the hearts and minds of the intellectuals of the age. He was an elder brother of Abul Fazl and was introduced at the court of Akbar in September 1567, when he was a young man of 20. In the first Qasida which he wrote in praise of Akbar (and which Smith calls "a tiresome Ode") he gave expression to his feelings :—

> How shall I write of the time when the barge of heart
> Was tossing on the billows of the tempest?
> A quickening spring visited my words-garden,
> A youthful morning came to my spirit's tulip,
> While I was disturbed, thinking by what argument.
> I could remove doubts from absolute verities.
> Why is this diversity practised in Islam ?
> Wherefore ambiguities in the words of the Quran?
> Why did false witness shoot out the tongue in the tribunal
> Of pride and hypocrisy, and claim belief ?
> If such be the religion of Islam in this world
> Scoffers can have a thousand smiles at the Musulman faith;

Faizi's inner conflict forms a recurrent theme in his poetry. In a later quatrain he says :—

> O : God ! what can I do, except lament on your path.
> One particle did not receive illumination, what can I do?
> But You Yourself have given me a feeble might, what can I do !

And again,

> O God, through Your grace, grant me hope untainted by fear.
> Teach me that knowledge, in which lies your pleasure.
> The darkness of intellect keeps me in conflict ;
> Give me the light of resignation from the lamp of *raza.*

In his love poems Faizi covers the common ground of Oriental poetry, with great vigour and freshness, but his favourite themes were two. One is his spiritual conflict, and the other his exaltation and joy and the desire to create a brave new world—mirroring the hopes and ambitions of Akbar's day. In one of his *ghazals* he writes :—

> Glad tidings for the world, that a new day has dawned !
> And one who rises earlier than the sun has been born.

The luckless ones of the night of separation woke up,
As an auspicious dawn beautified that world,
You who want a glimpse of the sun of good fortune.
Open your eyes and see, a new sun has arisen.
The wanderers of the path of *taqlid* were perplexed
Thank God, that a guide has appeared for this caravan !
Faizi ! how long can there be the dismal gloom of the night of separation?
Wake up, as glimpses of the auspicious dawn are visible.

In these verses the purport of the poet is unmistkable but his language is vague. Elsewhere he is more direct. In a *qita* he rejects the popular literal acceptance of the Quranic verses relating to Heaven and Hell and endorses the Mutazilla viewpoint treating them as mataphorical. The idea that there is need for a new spiritual approach finds expression in several verses.

Come, so that we may turn our faces towards the arch of light,
We lay the foundation of a new Ka'ba with the stones from Sinai.

Some of Faizi's contemporaries accused him of heresy. It is, however, common to grant considerable license to poets, and not to take their imaginative poetry literally. Faizi was a restless intellectual. In his verses he expressed dissatisfaction with the orthodox Islam, but in his voluminous prose commentary on the Quran, written without a single dotted word he has completely adhered to the orthodox point of view, and his Nal Daman contains an exquisite poem in praise of the founder of Islam.

The New Education.

With their literary gifts Abul Fazl of Muslim India, but neither of them could claim to be the greatest scholar or intellectual of the age. He was Amir Fathullah Shirazi about whose pre-eminence, contemporaries as far apart as Abul Fazl and Badauni, were unanimous. Badauni calls him "the most learned of the learned men of his times", while Abul Fazl wrote: "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amir will restore them". Akbar was very fond of him. "Next to Abul Fazl, Faizi, Bir Bal, the Amir was perhaps most loved by Akbar."

Shah Fathullah was in Shiraz which was witnessing a new revival of learning after the effect of the Mughul holocaust and Timur's invasion had blown over. His teachers included Amir

Ghiyas-ud-Din Mansoor Shirazi, the well-known philosopher, and Jamal-ud-Din Mahmud, a pupil of the celebrated Jalal-ud-Din Dawwani[e]. Hearing of Fathullah's reputation as a sage and an intellectual, the ruler of Bijapur sent money to Iran and invited him to come and stay at his capital, from where in due course Akbar got him at Fathpur Sikri. Amongst other assignments, he collaborated with Todar Mal in the evolution of Akbar's revenue administration. After some time the became the Chief Sadr of the realm. He was also responsible for some extraordinary mechanical inventions.

According to Badauni he was "thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmatic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the Emperor demanded one from him. He was equally learned in Arabic studies, interpretation of the Quran and rehtoric and was the

(e) Dawwani's book Akhlaq-i-Jalali continues as a standard text book on ethics in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and his pupils and other beneficiaries played an important role in the intellectual history of the area. He was born in 1427 in the village Dawwan and became a Professor of the Orphans' College at the nearby Shiraz where he passed most of his life. He died in 1501. During his lifetime his fame spread beyond Iran and amongst those who patronised him were Sultan Mahmud Begara of Gujarat, to whom he dedicated two books and Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din of Malwa to whom he dedicated another pamphlet. His pupils included Abul Fazl Gazruni, under whom Shaikh Mubarik, the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, studied at Ahmedabad, and a teacher of Fathullah Shirazi.

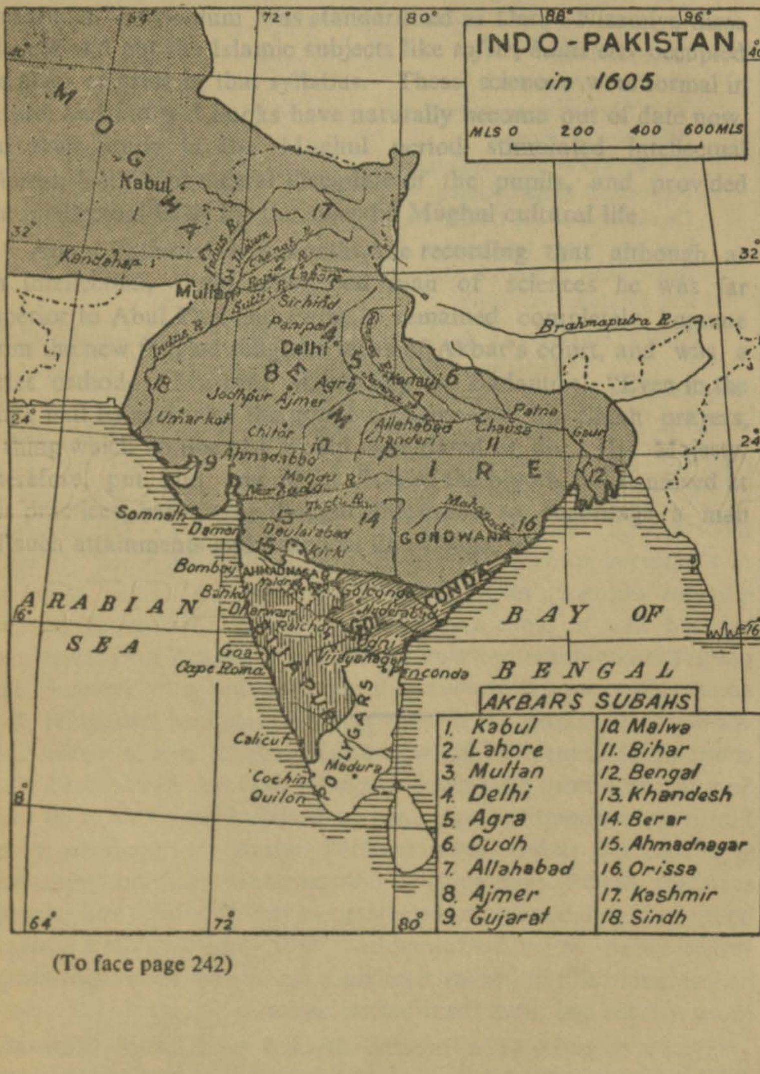
Many of his religious works, like Sharah Aqaid became text books and subject of commentaries during the Mughul period, but his most famous work is Akhlaq-i-Jalali which is even at present prescribed as a text-book for Munshi Fazil examination at Lahore and has been translated into English by W.F. Thomson under the title the Practical Philosophy of the Mohammadan People". The book is divided into three main parts, dealing with the ethics of the individuals, the domestic state and the political state. It contains considerable elements of Greek thought and ethics, being based on Tusi's Akhlaq-i-Nasiri, which was practically a translation of *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq of Ibn Maskawah*, (which followed very closely Tabzib-ul-Akelaq written by a Syrian Christian, and an epitome of Greek ethical thought) and included two appendices giving the testaments of Plato and Aristotle. Dawwani though a theorist and a philosopher, was highly practical in his outlook. In one of his verses, he says: At last I came to know, in the light of experience: A man is respected for knowledge, and knowledge is respected for wealth !

author of some excellent works[14]......Teaching was his favourite hobby. "He became devoted to teaching the childern of the Amirs, and every day he would go to the houses of the courtiers, and would act the elementary teacher, first of all to the servant of Hakim Abul Fath, and at another time to the son of Shaikh Abul Fazl, and to other childern of Amirs of seven or eight years age, and taught them to point and draw straight lines and curves and even taught them the alphabet.[15]" Badauni who hated the Mir for his Shia views criticises him for his harshness as a teacher which discouraged prospective pupils. They, however, including Mulla Abdus Salam of Lahore who devoted nearly sixty years to teaching and had a number of distinguished pupils, included Mulla Abdus Salam of Dewa who spread the system of education he had learned from Fathullah Shirazi in the more congenial soil of *Purab* (eastern U.P. and Bihar).

Fathullah Shirazi completed Dawwani's commentaray on the important work of logic, Tahzib-ul-Mantaq and also wrote a Tafsir of the Holy Quran. His lasting contribution however, was as an educationist. According to Mir Ghulam Ali Azad "he brought the works of the later scholars of Iran, like the philosopher Dawwani, Mir Sadr-ud-Din, Mir Ghias-ud-Din Mansur and Mirza Jan and introduced them in the syllabi. Large numbers benefitted from association with him, and from that period the mental sciences (Maqulat) achieved a new popularity.[15]"

This was the great change in the curricula which is noticeable from the days of Akbar. Some works of the later Iranian philosophers and scholars had been introduced earlier in the days of Sikandar Lodi but apparently they did not gain general currency. Now the fruits of the new philosophical era of Iran were introduced by someone who had studied them undert he Iranian masters, and was himself the foremost intellectual of the realm and the Chief Sadr. There were other factors which facilitated the new trends in education. In Akbar's reign there was a general emphasis on reason, intellect and philosophy, and works connected with these subjects were generally encouraged. Besides, Fathullah Shirazi was not alone in these efforts to broaden intellectual horizons.

Hakim Abul Fatah Gilani who migrated to India with three distinguished brothers also wrote a commentary on Akhlaq-i-Nasiri and a summary of Avicenna's *Qanuncha*. Certain scholars who came from Samarqand and Bukhara also encouraged the taste for



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logic and other mental sciences. The efforts of these scholars, Akbar's own preferences for mental sciences and the general impetus to the spread of education given in his reign placed the new learning on a firm footing. Maqulat (*Mental* Sciences) became such a rage in the Mughul empire that when a century later educational curriculum was standardised as Dars-i-Nizamiya these sciences and not the Islamic subjects like *tafsir*, *hadis* etc. occupied the place of pride in that syllabus. These sciences were formal in nature, and old text books have naturally become out of date now, but their study in the Mughul period stimulated intellectual interest, facilitated mental discipline of the pupils, and provided the intellectual basis for the splendid Mughul cultural life.

About Fathullah it is worthwhile recording that although as an intellectual, philosopher and man of sciences he was far superior to Abul Fazl and Faizi, he remained completely immune from the new fangled religious ideas of Akbar's court, and was a strict orthodox Muslim. According to Badauni: "Even in the State hall he said with the greatest composure his Shiah prayers, a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge."[16]

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION AT THE COURT OF AKBAR

CHRONOLOGY

Death of Faizi	1595
Murder of Abul Fazl	1602
First pilgrimage to Ajmer	1562
Abolition of Jiziya	1564
Shaikh Abdul Nabi appointed Sadr	1565
Erection of Ibadat Khana	1575
Declaration of the Ulama	September, 1579
Last pilgrimage to Ajmer	1579
Banishment of Shaikh Abdul Nabi and Makhdum-ul-Mulk	1580

Early Religious History of Akbar

Akbar started as a devout, orthodox Muslim and a God-fearing, religious-minded individual. In his early childhood he had experienced great sufferings and vicissitudes. He was born when his father was a fugitive. Later he was left with an uncle who was not too kind to him, and early experienced the weakness and the helplessness of mere mortals against mightier, invisible powers. The influence of a religious mother and a pious grandmother deepened Akbar's religious outlook, and during the early years of his reign he behaved like a pious and orthodox Muslim. He said all the five prayers in congregation, would often recite the call for prayers and occasionally swept the palace mosque with his own hands.[1] He showed great respect for the two principal religious leaders at the court. Makhdum-ul-Mulk, who was already a power under the Surs, became more powerful in the early days of Akbar, and the Emperor conferred an authority on Shaikh Abdul Nabi, who was appointed the *sadr-us-sadur* in 1565, which no predecessor or successor of his ever enjoyed. Occasionally he would go to his house to hear him explain the sayings of the Prophet, and placed Prince Salim under his tutorship. "For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet[2]."

In his twenties Akbar became devoted to Khwaja Muin-ud-Din, the great Chishti saint of Ajmer. In January 1565 he made

his first pilgrimage to the tomb of the saint. It became an almost annual affair, and if there was a perplexing problem or a particularly difficult expedition to undertake, Akbar would specially go to Ajmer and pray at the *dargah*. He would get down on foot some distance before reaching Ajmer, and in furtherance of somevows—e.g. in 1568 and 1570—travelled all the distance from Agra to Ajmer on foot.

Discussions at the Ibadat Khana

Devotion to the great Chishti saint was probably responsible for Akbar's interest in Shaikh Salim Chishti, a contemporary saint who lived at Fathpur Sikri. In early days all Akbar's children died in infancy, and he approached Shaikh Salim to pray for a male child with a long life. Early in 1561 he sent his expectant wife to the hospice of Shaikh Salim and it was here that his successor to the throne was born, and was originally named Salim after the saint. Akbar was so happy at the birth of a son, and so grateful to the saint that in 1571 he started building a new capital at Fathpur Sikri, where, in 1575, he built a grand edifice called Ibadat Khana, near the tomb of Shaikh Salim who had died in the meanwhile. Akbar set apart this building for religious discussions, and every Friday, after the congregational prayers, scholars, *dervishes*, theologians and courtiers specially interested in religious affairs would assemble in the Ibadat Khana, and discussions on religious subjects took place in the royal presence.

Akbar had arranged for the assemblies of the Ibadat Khana out of sincere religious zeal, but they ultimately drove him away from orthodox Islam. This was partly the fault of those who attended these gatherings. At the very first session there were disputes on the question of precedence, and when they were resolved, a battle of wits started amongst the participants to display their importance and scholarship, and expose the ignorance of the others. All sorts of silly questions were asked to belittle rivals, and soon the gatherings degenerated into ecclliastical and intellectual battlefields. The two great theologians of the court were arrayed on opposite sides, and so mercilessly attacked each other, that Akbar lost faith in both of them, and, in the end, became disgusted with the institutions they represented. Of the two, Makhdum-ul-Mulk was a great jurist and had received the title of Shaikh-ul-Islam from Sher Shah Suri. His influence had increased under Sher Shah's successors and Akbar, and he used

this influence for two main purposes—to persecute the unorthodox and to accumulate unlimited wealth. Badauni says that when he died, thirty million rupees were found in cash in his house and there were several boxes containing gold nuggets buried in a spurious tomb. The other ecclesiastical dignitary, Shaikh Abdul Nabi, who was the *sadr-ul-sudur*, was not personally accused of graft, but his subordinates were stated to be corrupt. He was a strict puritan, and on the question of lawfulness of music had sharp differences with his father, who had disinherited him. In the discussions at the Ibadat Khana, Makhdum-ul-Mulk spared no opportunity of attacking the *Sadr* on these and other grounds.

Conflict between the Church and the State.

The differences and mutual recriminations of the Ulama disgusted the Emperor, but the real cause for the break lay deeper, and was quite comparable to the conflict between the church and the state, with which students of European history are familiar. The interpretation and application of Islamic law, which was the basic law of the state, was the responsibility of the Ulama. This conflicted with Akbar's plan of concentration of all ultimate authority in the state in himself. Besides, with Akbar's organization of the empire on new lines, problems were arising for which the old theologians were not a help to the Emperor. The issue came to a head in 1577. Akbar had introduced a new policy of religious toleration, but he was far ahead of his times and there was an insufficient understanding of this policy even amongst those for whose benefit it had been initiated. As we shall see later, Akbar's attitude of friendliness towards the Hindus did not lead to the growth of general tolerance amongst different religious in his dominions. While his religious innovations offended the orthodox Muslims, his general policy also encouraged certain sections amongst the Hindus to take up an aggressive attitude. In 1577 a complaint was lodged before the Emperor by the Qazi of Mathura that a rich Brahmin of his locality had forcibly taken possession of building material collected by him for the construction of a mosque, and utilized it for building an idol-temple. "When the Qazi attempted to prevent him, he had, in presence of witnesses opened his foul mouth to curse the Prophet, and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways."[3] The question of suitable punishment for the Brahmin was discussed before the Emperor,

who tortured by an inner struggle gave no decision and the Brahmin languished in prison for a long time. Ultimately Akbar left the matter to the Sadr who had the offender executed. This led to an outcry. Many courtiers like Abul Fazl expressed the view that although an offence had been committed, the extreme penalty of execution was not necessary or appropriate, and based their opinion on a decree of Imam Abu Hanifa, the founder of the Hanafi school of Islamic law. Sadr's action was severely criticised by the Hindu courtiers and Akbar's Rajput wives.[4] Akbar was unhappy not only at this incident, but about the general legal position which gave so much power to the Ulama, and placed him at their mercy in such a vital sphere. He explained his difficulties to Shaikh Mubarik, the father of Faizi and Abul Fazl, who had come to the court on some business. The Shaikh who had suffered at the hands of Makhdum-ul-Mulk, and was liberal minded and independent in his views, stated that according to Islamic law, if there was a difference of opinion between the jurists, the Muslim ruler had the authority and the right to choose any one view, and his choice would be decisive.

The Declaration of 1579.

The Shaikh drew up a brief but important document, supported by quotations from the Holy Quran and traditions of the Prophet. It read as follows:-

"Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of Justice and benificence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal *Ulama*, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first of the verse of the Quran : 'Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you', and secondly, of the genuine tradition : 'Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment; is the Imam-i-Adil ; whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee ; and whoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee, and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of a Sultan-i-Adil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujaddid. Further, we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in

the world, Abul Fath Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi (whose kingdom God perpetuate), is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions, which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think it fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this life.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propogation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal *Ulama* and lawyers; in the month of Rajab of the year nine hundred and eight-seven."[5]

"This declaration which has been erroneousiy designated by Vincent A. Smith as "The Infallibility Decree" did not confer unlimited powers on the king, but confined his authority to the steps "which were in accordance with some verse of the Quran" and were of "real benefit for the nation." About the central thesis enunciated in this important document Abul Kalam Azad writes:

"Basically the view was correct, and in reality, the *khalifa* of the day and those in charge of affairs, and their advisers have the right of *ijtihad* at all times and in all ages, and its denial has been responsibie for all the misfortunes of Islam."[6]

But the limitations laid down in the Declaration of 1579 were not observed by Akbar, and in practice it became an excuse for the exercise of unreptrained autocracy. Soon the gatherings of the Ibadat Khana were exposed to new and more hostile influences. Before long, in addition to the Muslim scholars, Hindu *pandits*, Parsi *mobeds* and Jain *sadhus* began to attend the gatherings. They

expressed their own points of view and the king, ever ready to adopt new things, was attracted by some of their practices. A serious complication arose with the association of the Jesuit Fathers, whom the king invited from Goa. They did not confine themselves to the exposition of their own beliefs, but attacked Islam and the Prophet in unrestrained language.

Opposition

When the news of these discussions and the new decrees promulgated by the king became known there was serious disaffection amongst the Muslims. The first to criticise the new developments was Mullah Muhammad Yazdi, the *Shia qazi* of Jaunpur, who declared in 1580 that the king had ceased to be a Muslim and the people should rise against him. Even some courtiers, like Qutb-ud-Din Khan Koka and Shahbaz Khan Kamboh criticised the king in the court, but Akbar was able to deal with the dissident elements. He sent for Mullah Muhammad Yadzi and Muiz-ul-Mulk the chief *qazi* of Bengal, and had them put to death by drowning. He took penal action against a few others, but something like an open rebellion started against him, in 1581 which is considered "the most criticl year in the reign of Akbar".[7] Akbar's enemies did not confine themselves to sporadic outbursts and regional risings, but made an attempt to dethrone Akbar and place his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who was the ruler of Kabul on the throne. Akbar's brilitant *diwan*, Khawaja Shah Mansur, was executed for alleged complicity with Mirza Hakim, and Masum Khan, the fief holder of Jaunpur, who was also in correspondence with the ruler of Kabul. Mirza Hakim came up to Lahore but he was no match for Akbar and had to retreat to Kabul, pursued by his victorious brother.

Religious situation at the end of Akbar's reign.

In the spring of 1597, when Akbar was still at Lahore, and preparations were being made for Nauroz celebrations, "fire came down from Heaven", and a conflagration started in the royal palace, which could not be controlled for three days. It did great damage, and was attributed to the anger of Heaven at the king's irreligious presumptions[8]. It has been suggested by Smith that after the fire of Lahore Akbar ceased to apostatize and returned to Islam[9]. Smith's views about Akbar's original apostacy have been contested by Sri Ram Sharma and Roy Chaudhary, and no authoritative indication about Akbar's religion after 1595 is available. In any case Akbar's religious innovations which

have been dealt with separately, made little headway, and towards the end of Akbar's reign, those noble who gained ascendnecy were staunch Muslims. Most prominent amongst these was the Deputy of the Realm and Akbar's foster brother, Khan-i-Azam, who had once criticised Akbar's religious innovations in a long letter addressed to the king, and as a mark of protest abandoned his viceroyalty of Gujarat and left the country for Hijaz. In Mecca, he became so disgusted with the conduct of the guardians of the Holly places that he returned to India, and even joined the group of royal 'disciples'. The real reason for this step (a change of tactics?) cannot be ascertained but it is known that after joining the royal disciples he remained a staunch, even a militant Muslim. The Jesuit Fathers have described the obstacles he raised to their getting a favourable royal *firman* [10] and the true nature of his beliefs can be inferred from the joy he expressed over the assassination of Abul Fazl. He wrote :

"The sword of the miracle of the Prophet of God smote the head of the rebel "

Another pillar of Muslim orthodoxy was Qulich Khan, the father-in-law of the Emperor, and viceroy of Lahore. During his viceroyalty he regularly visited the mosque for giving lessons in Holy Quran, and many people are reported to have shown greater interest in religious education under his influence[11]. The Jesuit Fathers are particularly bitter about the difficulties which he placed in their way at Lahore. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, the commander-in-chief in the Deccan also belonged to this group. Even Sadr-i-Jahan, whom Akbar had stationed at Jahangir's camp at Allahabad belonged to the party of the religious-minded nobles, and was sent, during Akbar's lifetime, by Khwaja Baqi Billah to Shaikh Ahmed of Sirhind, the greatest critic of Akbar's hetrodoxy for learning Naqshbandi mystic practices. It would not be surprising if some of these nobles were amongst those unnamed "grandees at the court" to whose machinations Abul Fazl attributes Akbar's estrangement with him, and his removal from the court[12].

The man who besides Khan-i-Azam gained greatest influence at the court in Akbar's later years, and in some respects filled Abul Fazl's place as the royal favourite, was the Paymaster-General, Shaikh Farid.[a] He was the most religious of the Muslim nobles,

(a) For a sketch of Shaikh Farid's life see S.M. Ikram, Rud-i-Kausar (III Edn) p. 116.

and was the main link between the Muslim nobility on the one hand and the religious leaders, like Khawaja Baqi Billah, on the other. He had undertaken to bear the entire expenditure of Khwaja's hospice, and was the principal patron of the Naqshbandi order, newly introduced into the subcontinent. Owing to the death of the principal historians of Akbar's reign, his last days have not been adquately described, but there can be no doubt about Shaikh Farid's importance at this crucial juncture. It was he, who according to the Supplement of Akbar Name, brought the unwelcome news of Abul Fazl's assassination to the king, when everybody at the court was afraid to do so[13]. Later, after Akbar's death, the court physician, Hakim Ali gave him protection[14]. There is no doubt that inspite of the courtly courtesies between them, and the magnanimity habitually displayed by Faizi and Abul Fazl to their personal enemies Shaikh Farid and Abul Fazl were in diametrically opposite camps. Apart from their obvious ideological differences, in his Ruqq'at, Abul Fazl expressly complains against Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik (Shaikh Farid) and says that he leads the Emperor to follow a completely different path, from what Abul Fazl, with great difficulty and thousands of arguments, persuades him to adopt.[15]

The most important role of Shaikh Farid was at the time of Akbar's death. Akbar was angry with Jahangir, his only surviving son, on account of his part in Abul Fazl's assassination and other rebellious deeds, and afforts were being made to have him passed over in favour of his son Khusrau. At this critical juncture, when the future king and his religious policy could have great significance for the country, Shaikh Farid asserted himself. He struck out for Jahangir, secured for him the support of the powerful Sayyids of Barah, (and even the army, which he controlled as its Payment-General) and offered him the allegiance of the Muslim nobility on his taking "two oaths, the first that he would protect Islam, and the second that he would refrain from punishing his son and others who had sought to deprive him of his throne by birthright."[(b)] According to the Jesuit accounts "the leading noble, having been set by others as their representative, came to the Prince and promised, in all their names, to place the kingdom in his hands, provided that he would swear to defend the law of Mahomet, and to do no ill or offence, either to his son...or to

(b) See Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 150.

those who had sought to secure his son's succession."[16] Payne, who has summarised into English the contemporary Jesuit accounts, explains in a note that "the leading noble" referred to, in the text "was Shaikh Farid, more generally known as Mir Murtaza Khan."[17] Jahangir, whose succession was uncertain, and who was in danger of his life from Khusrau's supporters, gladly gave these assurances and in the company of Shaikh Farid visited Akbar at his deathbed when a reconciliation between the son and the father took place and the question of succession was decided by Akbar's making a sign to Jahangir to wear the sword of the Timurids. Akbar shortly thereafter died on 27th October, 1605.

According to some accounts Akbar repeated the profession of Islamic faith and even recited *surahs* from the Quran on his deathbed. This is doubtful, as Akbar had lost the power of speech by this time, but there are good reasons to believe that long before his death, Akbar's religious views had ceased to be a source of anxiety to those devout Muslims who were in the best position to judge. Khwaja Baqi Billah, easily the most important religious personality of Akbar's later days, has a most significant remark in a letter adressed to Akbar's great critic Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani. He wrote, "Have no fear in your mind about the king."[18] This letter is undated, but as the Khwaja died in 1603, it must have been written at least two years before Akbar's death and is probably one of the early letters written by the Khwaja after the initiation of the Mujaddid in 1599. Evidence about Akbar's behaviour at the time of his death is somewhat conflicting, but a careful analysis of the material available confirms Sir Thomas Roe's (a near-contemporary) finding that Akbar "died in formal profession of his sect."

Akbar's Religious Innovations

Vincent. A. Smith in his study of Akbar says that after he had successfully quelled the opposition to his religious views, and had returned victorious from Kabul, he convened a general Council, and persuaded it to agree to the promulgation of *Din-i Ilahi*, his new religion. Sri Ram Sharma has objected to this and has pointed out that the Portuguese Fathers, who were in India about this time and even a little later, (e.g. Monserrate in 1583 and Pinterio in 1593) had not heard about the proclamation of any new religion. This difference of opinion regarding the alleged proclamation of a new religion by Akbar is general, and extends to other aspects of the subject. Not only Smith, but Blochman,

and indeed most English writers are of the opinion that Akbar abandoned Islam and attempted to establish a new religion. Sri Ram Sharma in his *Religious Policy of the Mughuls*, Makhan Lal Roychoudhary in his *Din-i-Ilahi*, and almost all other Hindu scholars have held that he lived and died a Muslim, though he followed a liberal and tolerant policy. Muslim historians are almost evenly divided.

These differences of the historians do not represent only a case of differing judgment inevitable in case of a personality making fundamental departures from established practices, but extend even to the assesment of relevant facts. This is basically due to the conflicting contemporary accounts of Akbar's religious ideas (i.e. by Abul Fazl, Badauni, and the Jesuite Fathers) but erroneous translations of Persian texts, and unscientific handling of the subject by Blochman and Smith have greatly increased the confusion.

The foundation for the misrepresentation of Akbar's religious views was laid by Blochman (an imperfect Persian scholar) who, in the introduction to his translation of Ain-i-Akbari, set the pattern for relying on Badauni, and not on Akbar's own spokesman Abul Fazl, for the study of Akbar's religious ideas. He grossly mistranslated important terms, phrases, and so interwove the later "hearsay" of Dabistan-i-Mazahib with contemporary accounts that the picture became confused and distorted. The crucial question about Akbar's religious activity is whether he established a new religion or only as new spiritual order. The expression which both Abul Fazl and Badauni normally use in this connection is *iradat* or *muridi* (discipleship) but Blochman habitually mistranslates these expressions as "Divine Faith", and converts a religious order (or even a bond of loyalty) into a "Faith". Occasionally his mistranslation borders on fabrication. While translating Abul Fazl's chapter (Ain 77) he translated the expression *Ain-i-iradat gazinan* which correctly means "Rules for the (royal) disciples" as the "Principles of Divine Faith", and gives the sub-section (p. 175) a heading "The Ordinances of the Divine faith" although there is no such heading in the original text. Similarly he omitted important qualifying phrases (*taqlidi wa majazi*) while translating Mirza Jani Beg's fulsome "Confessions" of faith (p. 203). It is not surprising that those who do not know Persian

and have relied on Blochman's translation have been misled.[c]

The sharp difference between the viewpoints of Abul Fazl and Badauni is obvious, but our study of the subject has revealed a surprisingly large area of common ground between them, and if the present divergence of opinion about Akbar's religion is to be resolved, more attention will have to be given to what is common ground between these two principal sources of information. It appears that the modern historians, fascinated by wit and sarcasm of Badauni, have paid scant attention to Abul Fazl's informative sections on Akbar's religion contained in his *Akbar-Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari.* Akbar's regulations which were not of an ephemeral or tentative character, have been preserved in the voluminous *Ain-i-Akbari*, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that important royal regulations, which were to be given general currency in the empire have been omitted from this Book of Regulations." A study of the *Ain* confirms this view. It cantains much that would shock an orthodox Muslim, and to judge by its contents and the nature of the information which is sought, the *Ain* appears to be the most dependable source of information regarding Akbar's religious regulations and spiritual practices.

According to *Ain-i-Akbari* the Emperor discouraged people from becoming his disciples but the person whom he accepted for an initiation approached him with his turban in his hand and put his head on the feet of the king.[d] This procedure was intended to express, according to Abul Fazl, that the novice hand "cast aside conceit, selfishness—the root of so many evils." The king then stretched out his hand, raised up the disciple and replaced the turban on his head .... The novice was given a *shast* (token) containing *Ism-i-Azam* and the king's symbolic motto *Allah-o-Akbar.* When the desciples met each other, one would say "*Allah-o-Akbar*" and the other responded "*Jalli-Jalalhu.*" The motives of His Majesty in allowing this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence and to keep the Deity in their fresh, lively and grateful remembrance."[19] The disciples were to endeavour to abstain from flesh and not to make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishermen and bird catchers. Each disciple was to give a party on the anniversary

(c) The references are to the first edition of the translation of Ain-i-Akbari in Biblotheca Indica Series (Calcutta).

(d) Badauni says that Akbar discouraged Muslims from becoming disciples, but encouraged others. Badauni M. T. Vol. 2, p. 339.

of his birthday and to bestow alms. Dinners customarily given after a man's death were to be given by a disciple during his lifetime. The royal disciples were to endeavour to completely abstain from meat, but Akbar tried to regulate its consumption evenby others.

For students of history, general orders intended for compliance by all, are more important than the regulations framed for the royal disciples. According to Abul Fazl, the *kotwals* were asked to ensure that no ox or buffalo or horse or camel was slaughtered and slaughtering of animals in general was prohibited on many days of the year—including the whole Persian month of Aban—except as a necessity for feeding the animals used in hunting and for the sick. Akbar greatly interested himself in the reform of marriage customs. He abhorred marriages between near relations as "highly improper." He disapproved of high dowries, but admitted that they could be a preventive against rash divorces. " Nor does His Majesty approve of everyone marrying more than one wife; for this ruins the man's health, and disturbs the peace of home." Akbar ordered his officer to practice religious tolerance. Circumcision before the age of twelve was forbidden. The *kotwals* were to " forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves" and not to suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination. The government officers were not to consider homage paid to the sun and the solar lamp as the worship of fire. A governor was expected to accustom himself to night vigils ond partake of sleep and food in moderation. He was to pass the dawn and evening in meditation and pray at noon and midnight when the sun advances from one side. Nauruz was to be celebrated officially and the *kotwal* was expected to have night vigils on the night of Nauruz and on the nineteenth of Farwardin.

Akbar's Relgion.

It may be fairly asked in the light of his religious innovations outlined above, whether in the course of his religious development, Akbar remained a Muslim. Different answers are given to this question depending on the strictness with which the matter is judged. It is true that Akbar adopted and prescribed for his disciples, and even others, many practices which were borrowed from other creeds, but precedents for this may be found in the lives of many Sufi saints, who continue to be considered Muslims in spite of wide departures from traditional Islam. For all of Akbar's innovations, some Islamic texts or precedents, genuine or spurious, were cited by his courtiers.

Akbar did not claim to be a prophet or established a new religion. Islam, however, lost its position of privilege, and many of Akbar's practices and regulations differed widely from the normal Muslim practices. It should, therefore, cause no surprise if due to these innovations and particularly on account of the coloured and exaggerated versions which gained currency, he was, and is, widely regarded as having gone outside the pale of Islam. Dealing with the Proclamation of 1579, Abul Fazl has very ably summed up the popular misconceptions against Akbar and the reasons on which they were based. According to him, Akbar was accused by the " ill-informed and the unfair ", of claiming Divinity, or at least Prophethood, and of being anti-Muslim, a Shia and partial to Hinduism. Abul Fazl has dealt with the reasons which facilitated these calumnies and has succinctly answered them. He has, however, been fair, enough to admit that, apart from the malevolence or ignorance of certain individuals, Akbar's policy and some of his regulations facilitated tne task of his enemies.[20] Possibly Akbar sincerely believed that the powers conferred on him by *Ulama* in 1579 authorised him to initiate those regulations and the court flatterers pandered to this belief by citing precedents in Islamic history, but that they caused serious misgivings and resentment amongst orthodox Sunni Muslims should cause no surprise.

Akbar's Religious Policy and causes of its failure.

It only remains to adjudge Akbar's policy in general. For his policy of religious tolerance and giving adequate share in administration to all classes of people there can be nothing but praise, and it was this part of his policy which stood the test of time, and became a part of Mughul political code. These measures, however, could have been easily accomplished without offending Muslim opinion. They involved nothing more than what the Arab conqueror of Sind, Muhammad bin Qasim had adopted, with full concurrence of the *Ulama* of Damuscus. Zain-ul-Abidin introduced them in Kashmir without a murmur on the part of Muslims, and Akbar himself had abolished *jiziya*, contracted marriages with the Hindus and employed them in high positions without offending Muslim community. His attempt, however, to set himself up as a Jagat Guru, the spiritual leader of the people, was nothing but a mistake and a misfortune. Akbar's Hindu well-wishers like Raja Bhagwan Dass[21] and Raja Man Singh[22] left him in no doubt

about their dislike of his religious innovations. The only prominent Hindu who became his disciple was Birbal, regarded by succeeding generations, as Akbar's court jester. Muslims were, however, greatly offended and a reaction started against Akbar's policy which was to have results quite different from what he wished to achieve. A modern Hindu historian has rightly said ; "If Akbar had stopped with the remission of *jiziya*, the prohibition of cow-slaughter, the partial Hinduisation of administration and patronage to Sanskrit literature without coquetting with Hindu philosophy and religion, history would have exalted him to the rank of the greatest statesman and nation-builder of the world. His fancy to be the prophet of a new religion, and become the religious as well as the temperal head of his subjects proved the ruin of his noble scheme. He created no united nation, but a few Muhammadan hypocrites and a class of slavish Hindu enthusiasts—who could write Allah-Upanishad (Upanishad of Allah) to please their royal *guru* and whose descendents would not drink water without having the *darshan* of the occupant of the throne of Delhi, even if he were Aurangzeb. He did injustice to Islam and unnecessarily humiliated her, for which history cannot forgive him, because this was done not in the interest of the state, but in pursuit of a personal hobby, however pious it might be. The imperial throne could no longer be the symbol of unity and centre of equal attraction to both peoples. While it attracted the Hindus, it repelled the Muslims."[23]

Akbar's failure was also due to bigger forces operating outside the court. At this time a great Hindu religious revival was sweeping the country. It commenced in Bengal, but under Chaitanya's successors, Muthra in northern India became the great centre of resurgent Hinduism. We have narrated that the great crisis of the juridical history of Muslim India arose over the action of a wealthy Brahmin of Muthra, who forcibly took away the building material collected by the *qazi* of the place for the construction of a mosque, used it for building a Hindu temple, and when the *qazi* remonstrated, reviled the Holy Prophet. Muslim historians do not record the name of the Brahmin, but it would not be surprising if this particular incident occured in connection with the large-scale Vaishnava temple-building operations which were going on at Muthra at this time, with the full support of Raja Man Singh, who himself put up a large costly temple. The defiant

and intolerant spirit, which had been inculcated by the new movement can be seen in the attitude of the Brahmin, who forcibly took over the material collected by a government official for a mosque. Other incidents of this nature can be found in Mujaddid's letters.

Another indication of the new spirit was that now, for the first time, the Sanyasis were organised on a political and military basis. The order of Sanyasis was organised by Shankra in the Ninth Century, and till Akbar's time seems to have taken no interest in politics. "During the early years of Akbar's reign, armed Muslim Faqirs attacked and killed a number of Hindu Sanyasis and though the matter was represented to the Emperor by Madhu Sudhun Saraswati, the authorities afforded them no redress. Madhu Sudhun Saraswati then initiated a large number of Kshattriyas in seven out of the ten orders (the three excluded ones being Tirtha, Asrama and Saraswati) and placed on them the duty of defending religion (dharma). In Mughul times we have numerous instances of conflicts in which these Hindu Templars fought the Muslim Faqirs."[24]

With such developments proceeding in the country, possibly with the support of Akbar's Hindu officers, his efforts at religious harmony were doomed to failure. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, the new aggressive attitude of the Hindu revivalists and the offence which the Emperor's religious innovations gave to the Muslims, led to a reaction which was to destroy even the existing basis of harmony.

Failure of Indo-Muslim progressive trade in the Sixteenth Century.

Akbar stood for progress in the subcontinent. When tobacco was first brought to Akbar's court by the Portugeuse the royal physician objected to its use, saying: "We do not want to follow the Europeans, and adopt a custom which is not sanctioned by our own wise men without trial." Akbar retorted we must not reject a thing that has been adopted by the wisemen of other nations merely because we cannot find it in our books; or how shall we progress?" In many spheres Akbar was considerably ahead of his time. In his days many questions of a fundamental nature were examined afresh and several new practices and customs were adopted. In this he was assisted by many able and progressive thinkers. Akbar was not only able to provide a vast field for transplanting the artistic traditions of Herat, but he also benefitted greatly by the contemporary intellectual activity in Iran. Muslim intellectuals in

Iran and Central Asia were not to produce another Avicenna or Alberuni but, on a smaller scale great intellectuals like Dawwani, Hakim *Sadra* and Mir Ghiyas-ud-Din Mansur rose in the previous Century and led to a new era of intellectual activity in Shiraz and other centres of Iran. Akbar reaped the fruits of this minor intellectual renaissance. He attracted to his Court Mir Fathulla Shirazi, and several other intellectuals of Iran, who transplanted the new traditions to Indo-Pak subcontinent. Even Abul Fazl and Faizi, whose father had studied under a favourite pupil of Dawwani, had benefited from the developments in Iran, and displayed an intellectual vigour and keenness which separated them from the old orthodox ulama like Makhdum-ul-Mulk.

Aided by these intellectuals and others (like Todar Mal) whom Akbar attracted to his service be introduced many solid and constructive improvements. The revenue system, which in reality meant the entire rural administration, was reorganised. In politics the principle of *Sulh-i-kul* (Amity with All) was adopted, which satisfied the local requirements, and a new basis was given to kingship. In education far reaching changes were introduced and the study of medicine was placed on a new basis. In the legal field, the Declaration of 1579 is a land-mark in the evolution of Indo-Muslim law. Even before Akbar rulers like Balban and Ala-ud-Din Khalji had claimed a freedom of action, irrespective of the Shariat. That however, was rooted in sheer autocracy. In drafting the Declaration, however, the question was faced squarely with the help of lawyers and intellectuals. Later misuse by Akbar of powers conferred on him have cast a dark shadow on this document, but studied carefully and dispassionately, it appears to be a major constructive effort, fully in conformity with the Islamic law and providing a basis for the adjustment of the demands of temporal Government and the Shariat.

The achievements of the intellectuals at Akbar's court are impressive, and have left their mark in many fields. They, however, suffered from serious shortcomings and failed miserably in a major field-religion. While appreciating the stimulus which Akbar gave to the literary and intellectual activity—his Translation Department was itself something of an Academy—it should not be forgotten that he turned his back on the printing press, which alone could provide for wide diffusion of knowledge. It is also to

be regretted that although Akbar and Abul Fazl approached the newcomers from the West with an open minded curiority—they were perhaps the first to use the expression Danayan-i-Farang, (the wisemen of the West)—the real source of European strength remained hidden from them. Akbar failed even to build up a powerful navy, and accepted the position under which his ships sailed on the sufferance of the Portuguese.

The intellectuals and the progressive thinkers at Akbar's court have many solid achievements to their credit but in their basic aim—the intellectual emancipation of the people—they failed, and their failure reminds one of the similar failure of the Muslim intellectuals at the Abbasid court. The causes were also similar. At Baghdad the great contorversy between the Mu'tazilli intellectuals and the orthodox was regarding the Quran being revealed. The Mu'tazilli enthusiasts like the Caliphs Mamun (813-833) and his son al-Wathiq (842-847), the Caliph's deputy Ibn-i-Ishaq and the Mu'tazilli lawyer Ibn-i-Abi Daud utilised mercilessly and unscrupulously all the resources of a despotic Government to propagate their doctrine. People were forced, by the so-called intellectuals and admirers of Greek philosophy to accept this doctrine or suffer full wrath of a mediaeval Government. A scholar and savant like Imam Ahmed Ibn-i-Hanbal (A.D. 855) was imprisoned, manacled and whipped mercilessly until his skin gave way and he fell down unconscious. The cruelties and stupidities of the so-called liberals and intellectuals and the strength of character shown by men like Ibn-i-Hanbal naturally led to a revulsion of feeling against the Mu'tazillis, until a man of Imam Ashari's dialectic ability arose and destroyed the Mu'tazilli case by their own methods.

At Akbar's court similar reprehensible acts were taken, to deal with the opponents of the emperor's religious policy. Shaikh Abdul Nabi, the chief jurist was hit in the face by the emperor himself, and thrown into prison, where he was strangled to death. According to the author of *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary witness, this was arranged by Abul Fazl, with the encouragement of Akbar.[25] (p. 358 of Nawal Kishor Edition). The Shia leader, Mulla Yazdi, Muiz-ul-Mulk, and other leading *ulama* from Bihar and Bengal were brought towards Fathpur Sikri, and found watery graves on the way. There was a punitive dispersal, even persecution of the ulama from the Punjab. The authority of the

state was used to bolster up Akbar's religious innovations, and the relevant regulations in *Ain-i-Akbari*, as already cited, show a clear absence of impartiality in religious matters. The success of these measures was, however, only temporary. The religious doctrines of Akbar, made no headway, and towards the end of his reign Muslim nobles found a method of effectively dealing with the problem. Soon Mujaddid Alif Sani, who had watched the trend of affairs with growing bitterness and anger, came to the fore and swung the course of events completely opposite to the direction in which Akbar, Abul Fazl and Faizi wanted to move.

In the history of Islam it has been the tragedy of the Muslim progressives that impatient of delay and unwilling to pay the price of pioneering, they have sought short-cuts and used authoritarian methods to force the pace. Real and permanent progress, however, demands sacrifice, patience and ability to convince the people. Muslim intellectuals did not produce a Galileo or even a Voltaire, and naturally their cause suffered.

Bayazid Ansari (1526-81) and Raushniya Movement.

A contemporary religious movement, with which Akbar had only a brief, incidental contact, but which was as heterodox as Akbar's own religious views, may perhaps be suitably dealt with here. It was the Raushniya movement of the north-west frontier, which created serious political problems for Akbar and his successors. The founder of the Raushniya sect, Mian Bayazid Ansari, (called Pir-i-Raushin or Pir Rawkhan by his admirers and Pir-i-Tarik by the others) was born at Jullundur in 1525, just a year prior to the replacement of the Afghan rule by the Mughuls. Soon, the family moved to Kaniguram in Waziristan, where, Bayazid had a very unhappy childhood, marked by hostility towards his father, who had divorced his mother. The boy's religious bent, however, showed early, and during his trips to the Indian subcontinent he freely mixed with the Hindu Yogis and Sufis of all types. He is said to have been specially influenced by an (Ismaili) Sulaiman of Kalinjar, whose doctrine of *Imamat* is said to have formed the basis of his conception of *Pir-i-Kamil.* Bayazid was a man of mystical bent of mind, and ultimately expounded doctrines which have raised serious controversy. His principal work, Khair-ul-Bayan, has not been published, and his autobiography, Hal-Nama, is also in manuscript.

An authoritative and really reliable appraisal of his teachings

is, therefore, not possible at present. According to *Zakhiraat-al-Khwanin*, written in the reign of Shan Jahan, by Shaikh Farid of Bhakkar, Mian Bayazid was a person of great psychical powers. "Whoever saw him became his follower." About Khair-ul-Bayan, Shaikh Farid says, that it contains arguments proving the truth of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud*, "from the *nass*, the *hadis* and statements of the greatmen of the earlier times. In reality it is a wonderful book and if one examines it in impartial spirit, one is bound to be benefitted by it"[e] The account of his teachings, however, as given in the Dabistan-i-Mazahib shows that his views were exceedingly heterodox. According to this account Bayazid argued that anyone who did not possess knowledge of his own self and of God was not a man. "If he is harmful, he deserves the same treatment as the wolf, the tiger, the serpent or the scorpian ; and such animals according to the teachings of the Arabian Prophet should be destroyed before they inflict injury. If such a man is virtuous and prays regularly, he is only like a cow or a sheep, for does not the Quran say that 'they are like beasts, even more misguided than the beasts'? The killing of cow and sheep is lawful."[26] Bayazid also said that "the people who had not acquired the abiding and eternal life of spiritual existence were in reality dead ; their heirs who were ignorant of a higher life like their fathers were similarly dead ; the property of the dead, whose heirs are dead should pass to the living ; hence he ordered that the ignorant should be killed, and their property seized."[27]

Maulvi Muhammad Shafi is of the opinion that "What Dabistan, gives as his doctrine are probably his war regulations relating to the period in which he was at war with the Mughuls and other Afghan tribes hostile to him."[28] The account of Bayazid's first encounter with the Mughuls, as recorded in his autobiographical Hal Nama, however, shows, that his followers were acting on these principles even before he was at war with the Mughuls. "The immediate cause of his warlike exploits is thus narrated in Hal Nama, (ff 471). A caravan returning from India, halted at a village peopled by ultra fanatical group of his followers. Infuriated by the gross neglect as they thought, by the caravan people of the affairs of the next world, the villagers looted and destroyed the property of the caravan, which brought upon them the wrath of the authorities in Kabul..."[29]

(*e*) See Dr. Moin-ul-Haq's introduction to *Dhakhiratt-al-Khwanian* vol. I, p. 25.

The implementation of Bayazid's doctrines and looting of the caravan led to drastic action by the authorities in Kabul, and conflict between him and the Mughuls started which did not cease during the remaining years of his life. Bayazid's other tenets brought him in conflict with the orthodox *ulama.* According to Dabistan, Bayazid did not think it necessary for a person to perform ablutions before prayers or face *qibla* at the time of the prayer. These doctrines led to orthodox opposition by Pir Baba and Akhwand Darweza with which we shall deal later.

Mian Bayazid Ansari died in 1581, and the mantle of leadership fell on his son Jalal-ud-Din, usually referred to as Jalala by the Mughul historians. In 1581 when Akbar was returning from Kabul after dealing with his brother Hakim, the orthodox *ulama* of the area brought Jalal-ud-Din to him and wanted him to be punished for his unorthodox tenets Possibly taking into consideration the age of the young men, or according to Akhwand Darweza "as Akbar himself was a heretic", he was not distrubed by Jalal-ud-Din's views, and let him go scot free. This proved a costly gesture, as Jalal-ud-Din soon led active rebellion against the Mughuls. In 1586 the *Raushniyas* closed both the roads between Kabul and Indus, and even besieged Peshawar. Only two years later was the hostile confederacy broken up, but Jalal-ud-Din escaped, tried to enlist the help of Abdullah Khan Uzbek, and in 1599 even sacked Ghazni. Shortly, thereafter, he was wounded in the course of inter-tribal conflict and died as a result of injuries at the age of 32. Trouble with his successors, however, continued and only in the reign of Shah Jahan did the descendents of Pir Raushin accept posts under the Mughuls.

Apart from its religious and political aspects, the Raushniya movement had an important literary side, and led to the composition of a number of prose and poetical works in Pushtu.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ORTHODOX REACTION

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Khwaja Baqi Billah.	1563
Birth of Mujaddid Alif Sani	June, 26, 1564.
Mujaddid became a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah.	1599
Death of Baqi Billah.	1603
Mujaddid imprisoned by Jahangir	1619
Death of Mujaddid.	1624
Death of Pir Baba.	
Death of Akhund Darweza.	

Khwaja Baqi Billah (1563-1603)

The old spiritual orders of Islam in India adopted the practice of normally keeping away from the affairs of the state. Towards the end of Akbar's reign a new religious order entered the subcontinent which followed different traditions. Khwaja Ubaid Ullah Ahrar, a distinguished Naqshbandi saint had indicated the policy of his order in the following forceful words : "If I were after spiritual prominence, no disciple would be left with the other saints. But I have another mission, *viz*, to bring comfort to the Muslims. To achieve this, I have to associate with the worldly rulers, gain influence over them and thereby fulfil the objects of the Muslims."[1]

Khwaja Baqi Billah, who introduced the Naqshbandi order into the Indo-Pak subcontinent was born in 1563 at Kabul. After completing his scholastic education at his birthplace and Samarqand, he visited several saints for spiritual training. Ultimately he was initiated in the Naqshbandi order by a leading saint of Bukhara, who asked him to make Indo-Pak subcontinent the centre of his work. Khwaja Baqi Billah came first to Lahore, where he spent more than a year during the viceroyalty of Qulich Khan, and later moved to Delhi. Partly owing to his great spiritual powers, and partly as he represented the order belonging to the native land of the ruling family, he acquired a prominent position in the spiritual life of the times, and provided a link between

different nobles who were unhappy at Akbar's innovations in the religious field. Before Jahangir's accession to the throne was assured, Shaikh Farid obtained from him a promise to uphold Islam in his kingdom. This Shaikh Farid was a fervent admirer of Khwaja Baqi Billah and had undertaken to bear the entire expenditure of Khwaja's *Khanqah*. Other Muslim nobles of the day who had a great regard for the Khwaja included Qulich Khan, the devout viceroy of Lahore, Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, the commander-in-chief of the Deccan and Khan-i-Azam, the Deputy of the Realm. Similarly in some of his letters there is reference to Sadr Jahan, (the head of religious endowments under Akbar) coming to him for spiritual training ahd his directing him to a disciple. Khwaja's most devoted follower was Mirza Hisam-ud-Din, who defied his brother-in-law, Abul Fazl, gave up a military command. and became a *dervish* in Khwaja's monastery. One of Khwaja's early and enthusiastlc disciples, Shaikh Taj Sanbhali, migrated to Hejaz, where he translated many Naqshbandi classics into Arabic, and introduced the order, which was to gain so much importance in the last days of the Ottoman Empire. Khwaja Baqi Billah died in 1603, at an early age bnt before his death Naqshbandi order had been firmly established in Indo-Pak sub-continent.

Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani (1564-1624

Khwaja Baqi Billah's most prominent disciple was Shaikh Ahmad, popularly known as Mujaddid Alif Sani (Reviver of Islam during the second Millenium). He was born at Sirhind, the capital of East Punjab during Mughul rule, on June, 26 1564. After receiving a thorough education at Sirhind and Sialkot, the young Ahmad set up as a teacher at his native place, but was soon attracted to Akbar's capital, Fathpur Sikri. Here he moved in the most distinguished intellectual circles, and seems to have favourably impressed Abul Fazl, and his versatile brother, Faizi. Shaikh Ahmad's views[(a)] and temperament had little in common with those of the two brothers (though he himself passed through period of youthful free-thinking and at one time wrote verses with the poetic surname of Kufri, the "heretic"), but they had enough respect for each other's learning to be able to carry on this intellectual comradeship inspite of the difference in views. The Shaikh is even stated to have helped Faizi in the completion of his Commentary on the Holy Quran.

(a) For details of an acriminous discussion between Shaikh Ahmad and Abul Fazl, see Rudi-i-Kausir, 1958 p. 210—212.

When Abdullah Khan, the king of Transoxiana besieged Mashad, the local Shia *ulama* addressed an "Open Latter" of protest to the *ulama* of Transoxiana. The arguments contained in this letter were being repeated by Shias in India in support of their creed, and Shaikh Ahmad undertook to reply to them. He accordingly wrote his "Refutation of the Rafazis". It is a brief polemical pamphlet reiterating usual arguments, but give some indication of the style which was to characterise Mujaddid's maturer work After a time, the Shaikh returned to Sirhind and began to devote himself entirely to religious and intellectual pursuits.

In 1599 he visited Delhi and went to see Khwaja Baqi Billah, who asked him to spend a few days in his hospice. Shaikh Ahmad agreed, and within two days requested the Khwaja to admit him to his discipleship. This request was readily accepted and Khwaja Sahib initiated Shaikh Ahmad into various stages of spiritual development under the Naqshbandi order. The new disciple greatly impressed his spiritual guide, who wrote in a letter about him :

'Shaikh Ahmad is an individual from Sirhind, rich in knowledge and vigorous in action. I associated with him for a few days, and noticed truly marvellous things in his spiritual life. He will turn into a light, which will illuminate the world."

After a stay of six weeks Shaikh Ahmad returned to Sirhind with his spiritual powers greatly heightened, and convinced that he had a major role to play in the religious life of the times. He twice visited Delhi during the lifetime of his *murshid*, who deputed him to work at Lahore, and frequently referred those who came for mystic initiation to him to his gifted disciple. After Khwaja Baqi Billah's death, Shaikh Ahmad rushed to Delhi, but after some time retired to Sirhind, which remained the main seat of his activities. He carried on his work partly through personal guidance and oral instructions, but he had by now, discovered his great literary gifts, and knew that he could also fulfil his mission by addressing well-written and effective epistles, on religious and public subjects to important personages of the day. Khwaja Baqi Billah had, by his warm praise and encouragement made Shaikh Ahmad aware of his potentialities He had also facilitated the achievement of his task by providing him with

useful contacts with persons in key positions in the state, and by stimulating their interest in Islam. Shaikh Ahmad was just the person to make full use of these opportunities. He felt deeply on religious matters, was a profound scholar, a master of polemics, and possessed a polished and forceful literary style. He began addressing letters written in a language which would move mountains to different "pillars of the state", bemoaning the sad state in which Islam had fallen in India, and reminding them of their duty. Among the persons he addressed were, besides Shaikh Farid whom he addressed repeatedly, Khan-i-Azam, Sadr-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Jahan, and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and others

It is not true, as many have held, since Maulana Abul Kalam Azad eloquently put forward this view in his *Tazkirah*, that but for these letters Muslim nobles would not have stood by Islam, or but for the efforts of Shaikh Ahmad, Akbar's heterodoxy would have superseded Islam in India. Generally speaking Muslim nobility had not been unmindful of its responisbilities, and Akbar's heterodoxy had died with him even before Shaikh Ahmad took an active hand in the matter. But it would be wrong to underrate the importance of his letters on contemporary and subsequent history. Akbar's religious policy had failed even without these letters, but that was merely a negative situation. An attempt at introducing certain religious innovations was made and it failed, and the *status quo* should have been restored. The fact that the *status quo* was not restored was due partly to the general atmosphere in the country and partly to Shaikh Ahmad's efforts. He contributed largely to the swing of the pendulum from Akbar's heterodoxy to Aurangzeb's vigorous ultra-orthodoxy, rather than a return to Babur's and Humayun's policy of *laissez faire*. The rehetoric and appeal of Shaikh Ahmad's letters kindled religious fervour, and resulted in a religious revival which took some time to bear fruit, which completely altered the history of this subcontinent.

Shaikh Ahmad's letters also dealt with subjects other than religious revival, and brought him into serious difficulties. In some of his letters he had dealt with his own spiritual elevation, and had stated that in his trances he observed that at one time ha had gone ahead of all the Companions of the Prophet. The theologians criticised these claims, and asked Emperor Jahangir to take action.

It is also stated that the Shia *Wazir*, Asaf Khan, who could not have been fond of the anti-Shia views of Shaikh Ahmad, also dwelt on the political dangers inherent in the growing influence and organisation of Shaikh Ahmad. Accordingly in 1619 he was summoned, through the governor of Sirhind, to the Emperor's court and asked to explain his statements. The Shaikh behaved at the court with great dignity and courage. He made it clear that there could be no question of his considering himself superior to the Companions of the Prophet, and gave an explanation of the relevant entry in his letters. The Emperor seemed to be satisfied with this, when somebody pointed out that the Shaikh had not observed the court etiquette and had not performed the *sijdah* (deep obeisance), which Akbar had prescribed for everybody coming into the royal presence. The Shaikh replied that he was not prepared to perform the *sijdah* before any human being. Jahangir did not like this and ordered the Shaikh to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior

Jahangir has been criticised for his conduct towards the Mujaddid, but the Mughul Government found it advisable to keep a watch on the activities of the religious leaders, with large fanatical following. Even Shah Jahan, an orthodox Muslim had to expel from his dominion Shaikh Adam Banori, a celebrated disciple of the Mujaddid after getting him interviewed by his *Wazir*, Sa'ad-Ullah Khan, and the celebrated scholar Mulla Abdul Hakim. Jahangir took similar action against some other saints with large followings. One of them was the Afghan saint Ahmad Soon (the patron of Khan Jahan Lodi who later rebelled against Shah Jahan) who was imprisoned during the first year of Jahangir's reign. The biographers of the saint throw a revealing light on the action taken against him, "One of the royal courtiers cited the case of the Safavids, who were originally *pirs* and dervishes, but with the help of their followers ascended the throne of Iran. Another said that even now there were persons living in the garb of *dervishes*, whose fanatical followers exceeded the army of a *wilayat*, and named Ahmad Soon."[2] There is no evidence to connect Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind with worldly ambition, but Jahangir's action against him may well have been on political considerations.

After about a year the Shaikh was released from the fort, presented with "a dress of honour and Rs. 1000/- for expenses,"[3]

and given the option of accompanying the royal camp or returning to Sirhind. The Shaikh preferred to remain in the royal camp. According to Jahangir, "He justly presented that his punishment had really been a valuable lesson to him, and that his desire was to wait on me."[4] This enabled the Shaikh to visit the whole of the empire, and even establish friendly contacts with the Emperor. It appears that Jahangir came to hold the Shaikh in great esteem. In his autobiography he twice refers to having made large offerings to the saint. Amongst the Shaikh's letters, is one addressed to the Emperor, and in two others, he has expressed his satisfaction with the liberty enjoyed by him and the conditions prevailing in the royal camp. In one of these he has given a detailed account of a lengthy conversation with the king on religious subjects, which the king heard with great interest and apparent satisfaction.

Shaikh Ahmad was in the royal camp for nearly three years. His letters written during this period contain very few biographical details, but seeing the contemporary entries in Jahangir's Tuzak one is struck by the fact that during this period easy-going Jahangir was unusually religious, and it would not be surprising if the Emperor's ultra-orthodox mood may have something to do with the Shaikh's presence in the camp. Dealing with the conquest of Kangra and his visit to that place early in 1622, Jahangir says, "......I went to see the fort of Kangra, and gave an order that the *Qazi*, the Chief Justice (Mir Adl) and other learned men of Islam should accompany me and carry out in the fort whatever was customary according to the religion of Muhammad. Briefly......by the grace of God, the call to prayer and the reading of the *Khutba* and the slaughter of a bullock, which had not taken place from the commencement of the building of the fort till now, were carried out in my presence. I......ordered a lofty mosque to be built inside the fort."[5] It is quite possible that Shaikh Ahmad was one of "the learned men of Islam" accompanying Jahangir at Kangra. Soon after, the saint's health began to fail, and with the Emperor's permission he returned to Sirhind. Here he lived in seclusion, devoting himself to charity and prayers till his death on December, 10, 1624.

Mujaddid's influence on the History of Muslim India.

Shaikh Ahmad, the most forceful and original thinker produced by Muslim India before the days of Shah Waliullah and Iqbal, occupies a high place not only amongst important religious personalities of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but of the entire Muslim

world. His exposition of *tawhid-i-shahudi* was a distinct contribution to Islamic thought. Perhaps even more important was the attitude of vigorous self-confidence and self-assertion which he contributed to Muslim thinking, and the like of which had been rarely seen since the days of Ibn-i-Taimiya. He joined the Naqshbandi order, but the white heat of revivalist fervour which one finds in his writings is not visible even amongst early Naqshbandis, and the fact that in spite of Shah Waliullah's emphasis on moderation, the Mujaddidiya revivalist branch ultimately superseded other branches of Naqshbandiya order, not only in Indo-Pak subcontinent, but in the Ottoman Empire, was a factor in creating those forces which ultimately led to the rise and acceptance of Wahabism. Mujaddid Alif Sani has enjoyed considerable reputation amongst Sufi circles outside his land of birth. The Naqshbandiya order is Central Asian and Turkish in origin, but remarkably enough, the branch of the order which was prevalent in the later days of the Ottoman Empire was not the original Central Asian Naqshbandiya, but the revivalist Mujaddidiya branch[6].

We are here concerned primarily with Mujaddid's influence over the course of affairs in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. While discussing Akbar's religious policy, we have referred to the circumstances which made its failure inevitable. The inability of the Hindus and the Muslims to evolve a common spiritual brotherhood was the result of the basic concept of the orthodox Hindus that the Muslims were (and are) untouchables. This attitude became aggressive as a result of the revivalistic fervour of the Vaishanaviya Gosains of Muthra. It became more marked during Akbar's era of toleration, but the writings of the Mujaddid which reveal the anguish which he felt at the low position of Islam under Akbar and even later, also militated against the success of Akbar's policy. In fact, it would not be far wrong to say that the swing of religious policy from Akbar to Aurangzeb was, in a considerable measure, due to the influence and teachings of Mujaddid Alif Sani.

Mujaddid's forceful and eloquent letters, which he addressed to the leading nobles at Jahangir's court, calling upon them to rise in defence of Islam and uphold the dignity of their religion, have not been translated into English. It is not easy for anyone who has not read them in the original Persian to form an adequate

idea of their power and effectiveness. These letters were not meant only for the individuals to whom they were addressed. They were really "open letters" and copies of these letters—not less forceful than the poems with which Byron tried to engender enthusiasm for the cause of Greek independence, or Hali tried to reawaken Indian Muslims—were soon made out, supplied to Mujaddid's disciples and admirers, and otherwise given wide circulation.

It has been stated that Aurangzeb became a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Masum, son and successor of the Mujaddid. Even Aurangzeb's contemporary satirist, Ni'mat Khan Aali, refers to this in his *Wiqaya*, but the statement is not entirely free from doubt. Two collections of Khwaja Muhammad Masum's letters have been published. In the Cawnpur edition, which has received wider circulation, there is a long letter dealing with spiritual subjects addressed by the Khwaja to Aurangzeb before he came to the throne. In the Amritsar edition there are many letters addressed to Aurangzeb dealing with political matters, and thus supporting the theory of relationship between the saint and the Emperor, but the authenticity of these has yet to be established. Khwaja Muhammad Masum did not live very long after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, but the official history of the period refers to his and his brother's visits to the Emperor's court, receiving high honours and rich rewards. After his death, his son, Shaikh Saif-ud-Din, came to stay at the royal capital, and was apparently in close contact with the Emperor. The court history speaks of the Shaikh being a formal witness at the wedding of Prince Azam Shah. Next year, on 3 June, 1669, the Emperor visited the saint at his residence, late at night, and returned to the palace after spending an hour there.[7]

There are definite historical links between Mujaddid's family and Aurangzeb. Even more remarkable is the fact that almost all the steps which are associated with Aurangzeb's religious policy were advocated forcefully by Mujaddid in his letters. Mujaddid had seen those days when, according to him, "non-Muslims carried out aggressively (*ba-tariq-i-istila*) the ordinances of their own religion in a Muslim State and the Muslims were powerless to carry out the ordinances of Islam and if they carried them out they were executed."[8] He recalled with great anguish that in those tragic days, those who believed in the Holy Prophet were "humiliated and were powerless, while those who denied his Prophethood enjoyed

high position, and used to sprinkle salt on the wounds of the Muslims with redicule and taunts."[9]

These developments so hurt the sensitive mind and soul of the Mujaddid that not only was he filled with anger and hatred against Akbar, but against the non-Muslims too. What troubled him even more was that with Akbar's withdrawal of patronage from Islam, and an aggressive religious revival amongst the Hindus, non-Muslims had started persecution of Islam. The Mujaddid writes in a letter: "The non-Muslims in India, are without any hesitation, demolishing mosques, and setting up temples in their place. For example in Karkhet Tank there was a mosque and the tomb of a saint. They have been demolished and in their place a very big temple has been erected."[10] Hindus were even interfering with Muslim observances, but Muslims were powerless to carry out openly many of Islamic injunctions. During Ekadashi, the Hindus fast and strive hard to see that in Muslim towns no Muslim cooks or sells food on these days. On the other hand, during the sacred month of Ramazan, they openly prepare and sell food, but owing to the weakness of Islam, nobody can interfere. Alas! the ruler of the country is one of us, but we are so badly off."[11]

These developments distressed the Mujaddid. Iron entered his soul, and he felt that consideration shown to the Hindus in the previous rule had emboldened them. He, therefore, urged a reversal of that policy, and a resotration of the regime when *jiziya* was imposed on the Hindus, and Islam was the dominant religion. In a number of letters, he expressed his regret at the abolition of *jiziya* and urged its revival. In certain letters he urged the abolition of the ban on cow slaughter. He repeatedly called upon the Muslim nobles not to associate with non-Muslims and even unorthodox Muslims, or join them in their assemblies.

His attitude towards Shias was similar to his attitude towards non-Muslims. Once the preacher at the principal mosque of Samana din not mention all the four *Caliphs* in his Id sermon. Mujaddid immediately wrote an open letter to the religious personages of that city, rebuking them and other inhabitants of the place, on the neglect of their duties, and for their failure to deal "aggressively and offensively" with that "unjust preacher." [2] In a letter to Shaikh Farid, he criticised association with the Shias and even stated that the company of Muslim non-conformists was worst than that of non-Muslims.

Shaikh Farid did not accept the Mujaddid's extremist point of view—and in some of his letters the Mujaddid has expressed his disappointment on his failures and omissions[13]—but is it a mere coincidence that the attitude which Aurangzeb had towards Shias at least during his early days was identical with that of the Mujaddid?

Pir Baba and Akhund Darweza

When Khwaja Baqi Billah and Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani were upholding orthodox Islam In Northern India, another group of prominent religious leaders was fighting heterodoxy on the Frontier. Reference has already been made to Mian Bayazid Ansari, the founder of the Raushaniya sect and the political and military consequences of his movement. The religious side of the problem was, however, not less important. The doctrines of Bayazid have not been authoritatively studied as yet, but if their account in the Dabistan-e-Mazahib normally an impartial authority relying on the original sources of the sects described is to be accepted, it is obvious that the prevalence of these doctrines would have resulted in the adoption of a religion quite different from orthodox Islam. According to Major Raverty and the Encylopaedia of Islam, Bayazid's doctrines were founded on a version of Ismaili heresy, while Caroe considers them "a revival of the Kharijite schism". Whatever may have been their basis their popularity was essentially due to their response to local needs and conditions. They had very little in common with the form of Islam in Hind-Pakistan or Afghanistan, and their adoption would have introduced a new and heterogeneous element in the Muslim society.

This danger was fought by Sayyid Ali Shah Tirmizi, commonly known as the Pir Baba, whose tomb in the recesses of Buner "remains to this day the most hallowed shrine in all the frontier country."[14] He came to the Indian subcontinent as a child in the days of Babur and Humayun, but abandoned the world at an early stage and became a searcher after truth and started studying under various scholars and mystics. When his parents returned home in 1540, he stayed behind, and was later induced by two Pathan (Gigiani) notables to move to the Doaba, close to Peshawar to combat the spread of heresy in these parts. After some time he wished to return home, but the local Pathans successfully dissuaded him from leaving them. Ultimately he retired to a secluded place in Buner, but whenever he heard of any heterodox

preacher, he would visit him and try to counter his influence. He died at an advanced age in 1631 and was buried in Buner.

"Many of the direct desendants of Pir Baba have wielded great influence amongst the Yusufzais and other tribes in the north of the Pathan belt. Three centuries later, in the person of Sayyid Akbar Shah, we shall see them taking a great part in supplying the rallying point for the oposition to the Sikhs and later to the British. And there are still among these Sayyids men who are esteemed."[15]

Pir Baba was essentially a saint and a mystic. His most important disciple, who was a scholar and a writer, was Akhund Darwezah, whom Raverty calls "the greatest and most venerated of all the saints of Afghanistan."[16]

He was Pir Baba's principal lieutenant in controversies with the sects they considered heterodox—Raushaniya or Shias or even less orthodox Sufis. It was he who coined the word Pir-e-Tarik as the title of Pir-i-Raushan, which his followers gave to Bayazid and "the orthodox still refer to his followers as Tarikis". He wrote a large number of books to spread orthodox Islam and refute the views of the un-orthodox. Many of these—like *Irshadul Talibin* and *Makhzan-i-Islam*—have been repeatedly printed. His *Tazkara-tul-Akhyar-wal-Ashrar* though written in the language of a controversialist who was deeply hurt by un-Islamic practices he saw around him, is very interesting contemporary account of religious personalities in the Pathan area during the 17th century—both the orthodox whom he calls Akhyar and the un-orthodox whom he calls Ashrar. After his death in 1638 his work was carried on by his son Akhwand Karima and their many disciples. Khushal Khan Khattak refers to his *Makhzan* as a book current amongst scholars in his time.

The result of the efforts of Pir Baba, Akhund Darwezah and others holding their point of view was that Mian Bayazid's more un-orthodox doctrines were abandoned. His pantheistic Sufism, which is the main theme of his written works, found expression in the poetry of his descendant Mirza Khan Ansari, and gained currency, but his heterodox views and practices did not strike root. Even Mirza Khan Ansari, who was probably his grandson and had at one time adopted his doctrine, abjured them before his death, and in course of time became a leading orthodox ecclesiast of Peshawar.

Production of Islamic Literature in Bengali.

We have dealt with orthodox religious activity at Delhi, Sirhind and on the Frontier. Signs of religious activity of a somewhat different nature, but conducive to the strengthening of the forces of orthodox Islam are visible about the same time in the distant Bengal. We have referred in an earlier chapter to the role of Sufis in the spread of Islam in Bengal, and even the part played by religious leaders like Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam in political sphere. Religious history of Muslim Bengal is as yet unwritien, but indications are that after the vigour and energy displayed by Chaitanya and his prominent disciples, and particularly the vigorous expression which their devotions and religious yearnings found in the new Bengali literature, Islamic influences in the area gradually weakened, especially outside the principal cities. Partly this happened as the waves of the immigrant Sufis and preachers subsided and partly as inadequate knowledge of Persian and Arabic outside the principal towns did not give an opportunity to the general population to properly assimilate Islam. A vigorous new Bengali literature was now coming into existence, often under the patronage of the Muslim rulers, and was concerned largely with the stories of Ramayana and Mahabharta and other Hindu themes. Muslim masses, not well-versed in any language other than Bengali, heard the Bengali poems and stories connected with these themes or saw them acted at Hindu festivals or under the patronage of the Hindu landlords, and their mental background became more Hindu than Islamic.

About the time, however, we notice marked literary activity amongst Bengali Muslims, which had increased their knowledge of Islamic lore. There was a regular movement to write in Bengali, lives of the Holy Prophet and other religious personages and Islamic doctrines. Sayyid Sultan who led this movement lucidly gives the reasons for the new literary activity in his *Wafat-i-Rasul* written in the second half of the Sixteenth Century :

> All the Bengalis do not understand Arabic,
> None understands the words of your religion.
> Everyone remains satisfied with (Hindu) tales.
> I, the despised and sinful, am in the midst of these people.
> I do not know what Ilahi (God) will ask me in the after-life.

If He asks, "having been in their midst, why did you not tell the mabout the religion?," and blames me for this fault, I will have no power to give proper reply. Considering this, I have composed Nabi-vamsa (History of the Prophet's family) for the benefit of the ignorant people.

For this reason so many people blame me that I have polluted this religious book.

When the learned read from the books, which are in Arabic, and do not translate them in the Hindustani (i.e. Bengali) language, how can our people follow ?

In whatever language God has given one birth, that alone is his highest treasure.

Sayyid Sultan who belonged to Chittagong District flourished from the middle of the Sixteenth to the second quarter of the Seventeenth Century. He wrote a number of books—e.g. Shab-i-Miraj (1585), Nabi Bangsha, Rasul Vijay, Iblis Nama—in addition to Wafat-i-Rasul. He was a practising Sufi, and his disciples carried on his work. Most important of them was Muhammad Khan (Circa 1580—1650) who wrote a number of books on Islamic themes. Amongst these Maqtul Husain, on the tragedy of Karbala is a classic of Muslim Bengali literature and is read even now.

These activities were not connected with any movement in northern India, but Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani had at least one Bengali disciple and paid him very special attention. Maulana Hamid Danishmand became Mujaddid's disciple in Sirhind and after his spiritual training returned to Bengal where he established a big Khanqah and *madrasa* at Mangalkot near Burdawan. Shah Jahan gave large lands as waqf to this *madrasa*, which remained an important centre of Muslim orthodox influences till recently.

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CHAPTER XIX

JAHANGIR

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Jahangir	...	...	...	Nov. 3, 1605
Jahangir marries Nur Jahan		...	...	May 1611
First English Factory at Surat		...	...	1612
Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy		...	...	1615-18
Death of Jahangir	...	...	...	Oct. 28, 1627

Early Problems

On ascending the throne, on 3 November, 1605 Jahangir issued a number of edicts for the welfare of the people. He abolished tolls, ordered building of rest-houses, hospitals, schools and wells, and made arrangements for being accessible to his subjects and to redress their grievances. To secure the last object, he caused a golden "Chain of Justice" to be fixed between the principal tower (Shah Burj) in the Fort of Agra which contained the royal palace and a stone pillar on the bank of the Jamuna. Any aggrieved person could move the chain which had sixty bells and the king made arrangements to listen to his grievance. The Emperor distributed gifts amongst Hindus and Muslims and granted a general amnesty to all his former opponents. Abdur Rahman, the son of Abul Fazl, was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and the nobles who had championed the cause of Khusrau during the last days of Akbar were allowed to retain their rank and jagirs.

Soon, however, he was faced with the task of suppressing the revolt of his son Khusrau, who fled to the Punjab, and raised the standard of revolt. Shaikh Farid who had been instrumental in securing Jahangir's accession again took a leading part in dealing with this challenge and was able to arrest Khusrau. Jahangir was pleased so much with the Shaikh's performance, that he visited him in his tent, embraced him, conferred on him the title of Nawab Murtaza Khan and appointed him Governor of Gujarat.

Khusrau's rebellion was suppressed with little difficulty, but it incidentally led to an important development. Khusrau's cause had been blessed by the Sikh Guru, Arjan Dev, who had aided him with monetary help. After the defeat of Khusrau, the Guru

was summoned to the court to answer for his conduct. The Sikh historians say that the enmity of the Hindu *diwan* of Lahore, Chandu Mal, who had a family quarrel with the Guru, was mainly responsible for his troubles. The Guru was unable to give any satisfactory explanation and was ordered to be put to death. As Dr. Beni Pershad says, the Guru would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel, but this punitive action against him marked the beginning of conflict between the Sikhs and the Mughul government, which later assumed very ugly proportions.

Nur Jahan and increase of Persian influences

Another important event of Jahangir's reign was his marriage to Nur Jahan in 1611. She was the widow of a Persian nobleman, Sher Afgan, he had been *faujdar* of Burdwan and met his death while resisting arrest at the hands of Qutb-ud-Din Khan Koka, the viceroy of Bengal. The popular accounts which became current soon after Jahangir's death made the whole affair reminiscent of the biblical story of David and Absalom, but they are not accepted in responsible circles. Nur Jahan was nearly forty when three years after the death of Sher Afgan, she became the royal consort, but she was a capable woman, and soon acquired a great ascendancy over her husband. In fact, she became the joint ruler of the kingdom.

Coins were struck in her name, and Jahangir used to say that he had handed her the country in return for a cup of wine and a few pieces of mutton. Nur Jahan's relatives were entrusted with the most important posts in the realm. Her father got a high office and her brother, Asaf Khan, in course of time became the Prime Minister and his daughter, Mumtaz Mahal, "the Lady of the Taj," married Prince Khurram, who succeeded Jahangir as Shah Jahan.

The influence of the gifted, but masterly queen and her relatives was, as we shall see later not entirely beneficial, but they were all capable people and until towards the later part of Jahangir's reign, administration of the empire was efficient. Their influence attracted a large number of brilliant soldiers, scholars, poets and civil servants from Iran, who played an important role in the administration and the cultural life of Mughul India.

Political Developments.

One of the most fruitful achievements of Jahangir's reign was the consolidation of Mughul rule in Bengal. This province had been incorporated in the empire under Akbar, but "the governors of Akbar's time, notably

Raja Man Singh, contented themselves with securing the nominal submission of the old independent Afghan and Hindu zamindars, the Bara Bhuiyan being the most important of them, and did not make any serious attempt to bring them under the direct control of the government."[1] In Jahangir's reign concerted attempts were made "to crush all independent zamindars and impose a uniform administrative system over the entire territory." This was largely the work of Jahangir's foster-brother, Shaikh Ala-ud-Din, entitled Islam Khan, who was viceroy of Bengal from 1608 to 1613, and can well contest with Shaista Khan the claim of being "the greatest viceroy of the Bengal Subah." He employed all possible methods—force, rewards, diplomacy—to terminate the independence of the powerful zamindars, aud was fully successful in his efforts. He also enlarged the territorial limits of the empire by subjugating Kuch Bihar (1609) and conquering and annexing Kamrup (1612). In 1612 he shifted his capital from Rajmahal to Dacca, which was a singularly appropriate choice, particularly in view of the menace of the Magh raids on the eastern rivers. Islam Khan died on 21 August, 1613, and after an interval of four years, during which his incompetent brother was in charge of the area, his good work was carried by another capable viceroy, Ibrahim Khan Fath-i-Jung. He devoted the six years of his viceroyalty (1617-1623) to political conciliation and consolidation. Islam Khan had kept under close surveilance the near relatives of the old zamindars and chiefs who had been displaced—like Musa Khan, the son of the famous Isa Khan, and brothers and sons of Usman Afghan, the last great Afghan chief, who himself died fighting in 1612. In course of time Ibrahim Khan felt secure enough to release the political prisoners and even to employ Musa Khan and his companions in Mughul service. The experiment proved successful, and Musa Khan rendered excellent service in the conquest of Tipperah, (1618). Ibrahim Khan died loyally fighting against Shah Jahan, when he revolted aganist his father, and tried to seize the government of Bengal.

Outside Bengal, the main military events of Jahangir's reign were the victory over the Rajputs of Mewar in 1615, the re-assertion of the Mughul authority in the Deccan and capture of Ahmad Nagar in 1616, and the capture of Kangra in 1620. Two years later the Mughuls lost the great fort of Kandhar to the Persians and inspite of efforts made during Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's reigns, they were never able to recover it. This was also the time

of internal difficulties. Hitherto, Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, and Prince Khurram had co-operated in controlling the affairs of the country and Khurram had been the leader of victorious expeditions in Rajputana and the Deccan. Nur Jahan, had, however, by now attained a complete ascendency over the Emperor, and tried to promote the interest of Prince Shahryar, to whom her daughter by Sher Afgan was married in 1622. This brought her into conflict with Prince Khurram, who revolted in 1623. The prince spent much time wandering in the south and the east, and at one time temporarily became master of Bengal and Bihar, but was ultimately defeated and obliged to retire to the Deccan. In the end he asked pardon of his father, to whom he was reconciled in 1626.

Another important person to rebel against Nur Jahan's dominance was Mahabat Khan, who had been deprived of his office. In despair Mahabat Khan resorted to drastic steps, and succeeded at one time in seizing the Emperor while he was encamped on the banks of the Jhelum. Nur Jahan, however proved too clever for this simple soldier and was able to secure the release of her royal husband. Mahabat Khan was forced to flee to Deccan, where he joined Prince Khurram. Next year, Jahangir, while returning from Kashmir, died at Bhimbar and was buried at Shahdara, a suburb of Lahore. Through a relay of messengers, Asaf Khan sent word to his son-in-law in the Deccan, and was able to secure his succession without much difficulty. Nur Jahan[(a)] who had a magnificent tomb erected over the grave of her husband, retired from the world and lived a quiet and lonely life for sixteen years after the death of Jahangir.

By now the fame of the Mughul empire had spread to distant lands, and in Jahangir's days embassies came to his court from European countries. England sent Captain Hawkins in 1608, and Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I came to conclude a commercial treaty in 1615. By September, 1618, he was able to obtain a *farman* signed by Prince Khurram as viceroy of Gujarat, which "gave reasonable facilities for trade", but owing to the Prince's opposition did not allow "a building to be bought or built as permanent residence."[2]

Unhealthy features of Jahangir's reign

Jahangir was a large-hearted, level-headed, and well-meaning, but an ease-loving ruler. He abandoned Akbar's experiments in religion, but otherwise maintained

(a) According to some writers the tomb was built by Shah Jahan. For details see, M. Baqar, Lahore, Past and Present Lahore. 1952, p. p. 405-411.

his policy of *Sulah-i-kul* and preserved his institutions. Painting, as we shall see later, received special encouragement under Jahangir and some of the most beautiful Mughul gardens also belong to his day.

Owing to his likeable personality, brilliance of his court and his friendliness towards foreigners, Jahangir has been favourably treated, especially by the English writers. There are, however, certain unfavourable aspects of his administration, which not only cast a shadow on his regime, but darkened the course of the later Mughul history. For one thing, the extension of the Mughul dominion came practically to a halt in his day, and the empire had even to suffer a serious blow in the loss of Qandhar. Dealing with the halt of Mughul expansion, inspite of vast imperial resources and large unconquered areas in the Deccan, a contemporary Dutch writer points out: "The probable explanation is to be found in the sloth, cowardice and weakness of the last emperor, Salim, and in the domestic discords of his family."[3] This is rather a harsh and unfair criticism but it represents the contemporary view of Jahangir as a ruler.

Even more objectionable was the huge growth of bureaucracy and the resultant increase in Government expenditure. No large territory was added to the empire, but the number of *mansabdars*, which under Akbar stood at 800, increased to 2,941 in Jahangir's reign.

The author of 'Maasirul Umara', himself a financial expert, dealing with the fiscal history of the Mughul period says: "In the time of Jahangir, who was a careless prince and paid no attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudlent officials in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men, or to their performance. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to 50 lacs of rupees while expenditure rose to one kror and fifty lacs, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury (Khazana-i-Amira)."[4]

Jahangir must bear the ultimate responsibility for this state of affairs, but the immediate cause was the dominance and policy of Nur Jahan. She was a woman of noble impulses and good taste, who spent large sums in charity, particularly for the relief of indigent women and worked hard to relieve the darkness of the

Indian life. Many innovations which enhanced the grace and charm of Mughul culture can be directly traced to her, and her influence led to the maintenance of a magnificent court. All these things, however, cost money, and strained the royal resources.

What was even worse was that the high style of living, which was introduced at the royal court was copied by the nobility, and an era of extravagance with its concomittants of corruption and demoralisation amongst officers of the state was inaugerated, which corroded the structure of the Mughul government and weakened the tone of the administration. A contemporary Dutch account sharply criticises Nur Jahan and her "crowd of Khurasanis" for what it was costing the state to maintain "their excsssive pomp" and complains that the foreign bureacrats were particularly indifferent to the condition of the masses."[5] To Nur Jahan, herself belongs the doubtful honour of introducing the system of *Nazars*—corruption at the royal level—and Asaf Khan emerges in the pages of Sir Thomas Roe's account of his negotiations at the Mughul court in a very poor light, as exceedingly greedy for gifts.

The era of extravagance, which was ushered during Jahangir's reign was fed from two other sources. One was the change in the prevalent philosophy of life. The old Indian emphasis on plain living and the excellence of limitation of wants is not altogether consistent with the way of life introduced by Muslim rulers in the subcontinent, but (coupled with the Sufi philosophy) it has not been without a measure of potency. In Akbar's days in particular with his emphasis on the spiritual side of things, it is easy to trace a certain idealism, an other-worldliness, and the ability to rise above purely materialistic values, in spite of the elaborate grandeur of a great empire. The Irani newcomers were alien to this somewhat indigenous, approach and under their influence the "gracious living" became the *summum bonum*, the goal of human existence.

Another factor responsible for increased extravagance lay in the vast opprotunities for spending provided by the new commercial contacts with Europe, which brought out some pathetic propensities of the Mughul nobility, and even royalty. Edwards says: "The new trade with Europe did afford the wealthy upper classes in India wider opportunities of indulging their taste for costly knick-knacks, which were entered in English export lists under the general category of "Toys", intended for presentation or sale to the Indian

nobility.[6] In this Jahangir led the way. He "was described as an amateur of all varieties and antiquities, and displayed an almost childish love of toys. Coryat describes how he presented the Emperor with a small whistle of gold, weighing almost an ounce, set with sparks of rubies, which he took and whistled therewith almost an hour."[7]

In Jahangir's reign, the composition of the higher services was also disturbed. Akbar had made good use of the indigenous element —e.g. Abul Fazl, Faizi, Todar Mal, Shaikh Farid (Murtaza Khan,) Man Singh, and Bhagwan Singh—and had maintained a due balance between the Irani and Turani elements. Under Jahangir this balance was upset, and Iranis became all powerful. Partly this was facilitated by the early death of Murtaza Khan, and the stigma attached to Man Singh, the Rajput leader, and Khan-i-Azam, the premier Turani noble, on account of their association with Khusrau. While in check, the Irani element was source of strength but this ceased to be the position in the Eighteenth Century, and its political role during the decline of the empire was often negative.

CHAPTER XX

SHAH JAHAN

CHRONOLOGY

Accession	February	1628
Death of Mumtaz Mahal	17, June,	1631
Capital shifited from Agra to Delhi		1646
Loss of Qandhar		1649
Death of Wazir Sadullah Khan		1656
Illness of Shah Jahan : War of Succession,	September	1657
Informal Enthronement of Anrangzeb	July, 21,	1658
Death of Shah Jahan		1666

The reign of Shah Jahan, who formally ascended the throne on February 6, 1628, is rightly considered the period of the greatest splendour of the Grand Mughuls. The empire enjoyed a great measure of internal peace, and the Emperor had ample leisure to satisfy his taste for cultural pursuits, and the Mughul armies could attend to expansion of the empire. The earliest internal incident was a minor rebellion in Bundelkhand where on the death of Bir Singḥ Bundela, the favourite of Jahangir and murderer of Abul Fazl, his son revolted (1627). The rebellion was put down without much difficulty, and in any case did not affect the even tenor of administration in the country at large. Another serious rebellion was that of Khan Jahan Lodi a former viceroy of the Deccan. A large army was sent against him and after three years of desultory warfare he was defeated and killed in 1631. The next event of importance was the war with the Portuguese in 1631-32, They had been permitted by the last independent King of Bengal to settle at Hugli and had received commercial privileges, but they began to abuse their position. They had commercial and other relations with the Portuguese at Chittagong, who indulged in piracy in the Bay of Bengal and on Bengal rivers. Another cause for dispute was that the Portuguese had fortified their settlement at Hugli and owing to their command of ths sea and superiority in the use of fire-arms, the Mughul authorities "could not but conceive great fears" to quote a contemporary Portuguese account, "lest His Majesty of Spain should possess himself of the kingdom of Bengal," Shah Jahan who had become particularly

alive to the problem in the course of his wanderings in Bengal during his revolt against his father, gave orders to Qasim Khan Juwaini, the talented viceroy of Bengal, to drive them out. As the Portuguese were well-organised, elaborate measures had to be taken against them and they offered stiff resistance, but Hugli was captured in 1632, and the miscreants were severely punished.[a]

Another important event was the reconquest of Kamprup (1637-38) which had been lost to the Ahom ruler in the previous reign. In the eastern zone, however, the most memorable feature of Shah Jahan's reign was the long and peaceful administration of Prince Muhammad Shuja, which with short breaks extended over twenty-one years. (April 1639—April 1660). Shuja was not a painstaking and careful administrator and some of his measures—e.g. the liberal concessions granted to the foreign traders—created problems in later days, but he was big-hearted and generous and maintained a magnificent court. He adorned his capital, Rajmahal, with beautiful marble palaces and other magnificent buildings, but they have now been swallowed up by the change in the course of the Ganges. He gathered a number of poets, musicians, and artists round him and it is not without significance that Alawal, the first important Muslim Bengali poet was, at one time, in his retinue. He persuaded his father to permit him to take away two celebrated musicians of the royal court, and took other steps to deepen and broaden the foundations of Mughul culture in the eastern provinces. He is believed to have been a Shia, and his court was thronged by Shia and Irani nobles, who encouraged his taste for art and poetry.

The Deccan Wars 1622-1638

Akbar had succeeded in annexing Khandesh, Berar and a part of Ahmadnagar, but the ruler of Ahmadnagar took advantage of Jahangir's preoccupation with the rebellions of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan to reassert his independence. Shah Jahan who knew the Deccan well and had acted as governor for the area, adopted a vigorous expansionist policy. In 1633 the last king of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was captured and the famous fort of

(a) The pious royal Chroniclers do not mention it, but we learn from local revenue records that after the political problem had been dealt with, Shah Jahan allowed the surviving prisoners of Hugli to return, gave them permission to rebuild of the Church, and even gave it an endowment of 770 *bighas* of rent-free lands. For details see A Brief History of the Hughli District, D.G. Crawford, page 8.

Daulatabad fell into the hands of the Mughuls. Three years later, Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan himself, and compelled the rulers of Golconda and Bijapur to acknowledge the Mughul suzerainty and to pay tribute.[b]

Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1638 and had under him four provinces of Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad, into which the Mughul dominion in the Deccan was divided. In 1638 he conquered and added Baglana to the empire.

The Northwest.

Having attained his goal in the Deccan, Shah Jahan turned his attention to the northwest. The Mughuls had not reconciled themselves to the loss of Qandhar, and in 1638 Shah Jahan's officers were able to persuade Ali Mardan Khan, the local Persian governor to hand over the fort to the Mughuls and enter their service. Ali Mardan Khan was a capable officer, and proved a great acquisition to the empire. He served as successful governor of Kabul and Kashmir and his momory is kept green by many magnificent buildings which he erected. The gain of Qandhar was, however, temporary, as in 1648 the Persians reconquered the fort. and the repeated efforts made by the Mughuls (in 1649, 1652 and 1635) were unsuccessful.

Shah Jahan's efforts to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia were equally fruitless. The Mughuls had made themselves thoroughly at home in India, but off and on their interest in ancestral territory was revived. In 1645 conditions at Bukhara were disturbed and Shah Jahan took this opportunity to send an army under Murad who entered Balkh in 1646. Aurangzeb was appointed governor and fought bravely to hold his own against the Uzbegs, who had closed their ranks by now, but found it impossible to hold the country and evacuated Balkh in 1647.

Shah Jahan's attempts to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia failed but his government was singularly successful in dealing with the north-west frontier. This area had given trouble in the days of Akbar, mainly owing to the oppoistion of the Yusufzais and of the followers of the Raushiniya sect. Shah Jahan had also to face serious trouble at the hands of Abdul Qadir, the Raushni leader, but Said Khan, The Faujdar of Bangash, who was later appointed governor of Kabul, dealt with the trouble very efficiently. Not

(b) It is interesting to note that "when Shah Jahan invaded the Deccan in 1635, the King of Spain ordered his officers at Goa to help both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar." (*History of Shah Jahan* by Beni Prasada, p. 302)

only was he able to disperse the hostile *lashkar* and inflict heavy casualties, but with a combination of tact and firmness was able to persuade Abdul Qadir and his mother to surrender on promise of safe-conduct. Abdul Qadir died shortly thereafter, but his mother with other relatives and Raushni leaders appeared before the Emperor at Delhi. "They were kindly treated, and sent with rank and dignity to the Deccan province, where they were allowed to gather round them their adherents in the empire's service.[2]

Mughul Relations with Iran and Turkey.

It might be convenient to review here the Mughul relations with the Muslim kingdoms of Iran and Turkey, as a major shift in these relations was attempted during Shah Jahan's reign. When Babur, the founder of the Mughul empire was yet struggling with the Uzbegs for the mastery of Samarqand and Bukhara, a revolution had taken place in Iran. where Shah Ismail (1502-1524) had established the rule of the Safavi dynasty, with Shiaism as the state religion. The new dynasty had achieved power as champions of Shiaism, and for political as well as religious reasons had to adopt a policy which involved them in conflicts with the Sunni kingdoms of Tnrkey and Central Asia, and which ushered a new era of Sunni-Shia bitterness. As Barthold points out, from the Sixteenth Century the struggle between the Shias and the Sunnis took a cruel turn such as had not existed during the Middle ages.[3] This conflict, however, affected Babur only indirectly, and not very adversely, as his principal Uzbeg enemy, Shaibani Khan was also the enemy of Shah Ismail, and he himself repeatedly received assistance from the Persian king. This help was, however, not effective and ultimately he had to move to Afghanistan and later to India to establish a kingdom. Babur had two Shia wives, and at one time he had taken steps "implying tacit acknowledgement of Persian overlordship" but he remained "a staunch, though liberal Sunni Muslim" and the first coins which he struck at Lahore were in the regular Sunni style, with the names of the first four caliphs. Perhaps one factor which gave Babur liberty of action was that Shah Ismail had, in the meanwhile, suffered a serious defeat in 1514 at the hands of the Turkish Sultan Salim the Grim. Humayun had a Shia mother and a Shia wife, but he also remained Sunni and in general followed Babur's policy.

Akbar seems to have been seriously concerned at the extension of the Ottoman power and their spiritual claims. Salim had ex-

tended his dominions over Syria and Egypt, and after the surrender of the insignia of Khilafat by the last of the Egyptian Abbasids in 1517 had issued a proclamation claiming hegemony over all orthodox Muslims. In 1534 the Turks occupied Baghdad. The Mughal ruler, at one time even thought of combining with the Christians in Europe against the Sultan of Turkey, as his ancestor Timur had done[c]. A feeling of rivalry, if not active hostility, existed between the Mughuls and their "Osmani" cousins and many malcontents from the Mughul dominions (for exemple, a son of Sikandar Lodi) sought and found asylum at the Sublime Porte of Istanbul.

With Iran Akbar tried to maintain friendly relations, and at one time thought of sending a prince or even going personally, in aid of the ruler of Iran "especially in view of the claims of their ancestors on us." When however, Abbas the Great (1587-1629) asked for his help against Abdulla, the Uzbeg ruler, Akbar refused to do anything in view of his friendly relations with the latter, and even communicated to him the request from Iran and its rejection by him.

During Jahangir's reign no record of any direct communication between the Mughuls and "the Osmanlis" is available, but in spite of the King's Persian consort, there was a sharp deterioration in relations with Iran, owing to the dispute over Qandhar. As stated in Ain-i-Akbari, Kabul and Qandhar were regarded by the Mughuls as the two main gates of Hindustan, one leading to Turkistan, and the other to Persia, and their possession was considered vital to the security of the subcontinent. Persia also laid claim to Qandhar and both countries resorted to all sorts of subterfuges to obtain its possession. In 1622 Abbas the Great was on the throne of Iran, and took Qandhar. This was the beginning of a period of tension between India and Iran, but letters, drafted by well-known *munshis* of the two courts, and containing as much subtle scorn as polite verbosities allowed, continued to be exchanged between the rulers.

In Shah Jahan's reign the relations with Iran worsened, as in addition to the tension over Qandhar, a new source of conflict arose with Shah Jahan's attempt to subdue the Shia states in the

(c) Too much significance cannot be attached to the fanciful schemes which did not find expression in action. In *Insha-i-Abul Fazl* there are letters indicative of Akbar's desire to carry on warfare against the Portuguese.

Deccan," which looked upon the Safavids of Persia as their natural protectors and even used their names in their khutba".[4] Earlier in Jahangir's reign, Abbas the Great had pleaded on their behalf with his "brother", and even offered "to let the land-hunger of the Mughul nobles be satisfied at his expense to save the Shiites' states from absorption."[5] In Shah Jahan's days Shah Safi pleaded with him, and also constantly wrote to the rulers of Golconda and Bijapur, to guide and encourage them, but all these efforts proved of no avail.

Embittered by strained relations with Iran, Shah Jahan turned towards Istanbul. In 1636 Sultan Murad was at war with Shah Safi to reconquer Baghdad, which though occupied by Suleman I in 1534 had been later lost to Abbas the Great. At this juncture Shah Jahan wrote to the Turkish Sultan indicating his desire to form an alliance with the Turks against the Persians—more or less on the lines contemplated by Sher Shah in opposition to the Safavids. Oriental epistolary diplomacy, in which each writer's main concern appeared to be the beating of his master's drum was rarely effective, and Shah Jahan's letter did not evoke enthusiastic reply, possibly as by the time it was received Murad had already achieved his military objectives and felt no need for forming alliances. Minor presents and formal letters were, however, occasionally exchanged, and a sort of contact between Istanbul and Delhi was established. Some time between 1639 and 1643 Dara Shukoh sent Mulla Shaki, with a letter and valuable presents to the Grand Wazir Mustafa. "Dara's envoy being a learned theologian was much honoured by the *ulama* of Constantinople and was entertained with discussions on theology and religion."[6]

Political relations between the Mughuls and Iran and Turkey, complicated by conflicting aims and objectives were often strained, but as shown by the welcome received by Dara Shukoh's envoy, under suitable conditions there was great scope for cultural amity and cooperation. We shall deal elsewhere with these subjects.

The Deccan 1653—1658.

Aurangzeb, who was the viceroy of the Deccan from 1636 to 1644 took efficient measures to place the affairs of the newly conquered territory on a satisfactory basis, but the viceroys who succeeded him and ruled for brief periods were unable to administer the area properly. The affairs of the country were unsettled as a large number of

soldiers and officials belonging to the Deccani kingdoms had lost their jobs and were fomenting unrest. Cultivation was neglected and the revenues were diminishing. Aurangzeb was sent back to Deccan in 1653 and worked hard to restore order and good administration. He introduced in the Deccan the land revenue system which Akbar had adopted in the north. With the adoption of a regular system in fixation of land revenue and establishment of an efficient system of government, cultivation was extended and revenue was enhanced. Unluckily, Aurangzeb's relation with his eldest brother, Dara Shukoh, who had gained great power at the capital and his father, were not happy. His requests for additional funds received little attention and many other difficulties were placed in his way. He was even hampered in his dealings with the rulers of the Deccan. They were not paying annual tribute regularly and after obtaining the approval of the court, Aurangzeb demanded from the ruler of Golconda a part of his territory to cover his tribute. The affairs of this kingdom were in a disorder, and some members of the family of Mir Jumla, an able and powerful official of Golconda, appealed to Aurangzeb for protection. Aurangzeb, who, even otherwise was dissatified with the delay in the payment of tribute marched on Golconda, and laid siege to the fort. The Sultan of Golconda, however, made representations at the capital and Aurangzeb was ordered to pardon the Sultan.[6] He was even then able to annex some territory, realise the arrears of tribute and gain the services of Mir Jumla, but he seems to have become convinced that these kingdoms with Irani officers (occasionally including an Irani Prime Minister) and close relations with Iran, were out of place within the Empire, and was not satisfied with the results achieved.

Lack of harmony between the Viceroy of the Deccan and the authorities at Delhi became even more manifest in the case of Bijapur. In 1657 disorder broke out in that kingdom, and after obtaining the permission of the Emperor, Aurangzeb set out to conquer and annex Bijapur. Bidar and Kaliani were captured, and Bijapur army decisively defeated, but again Dara Shukoh and Shah Jahan interfered,[7] and Aurangzeb was ordered to withdraw at a time, when it appeared easy to incorporate within the Mughul Empire a territory, where Maratha nobles were dominant, and which was unable to hold its own against the Portuguese. Aurangzeb imposed a large indemnity and gained many fortresses,

but the postponement of the final settlement of affairs in the Deccan had evil consequences for the Empire.

War of Succession.

In 1658 Shah Jahan fell seriously ill and was unable to attend to affairs of the state so long that at one time it was rumoured that he had passed away. This was incorrect but all the princes feeling that the emperor's end was near, began to take measures to assert their claims. Shah Jahan had four children, out of whom Dara Shukoh, the eldest was the Viceroy of the Punjab and Allahabad, and had been treated practically as heir-apparent by the king, who towards the end of his reign left the administration of the state largely to him and conferred on him the title of Shah-i-Baland Iqbal. Other brothers, who also were in charge of vast territories, contested Dara's claims. Amongst them, Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan, and Shah Shuja and Murad were in charge of Bengal and Gujarat respectively. On hearing of their father's illness and Dara Shukoh's assumption of the administration of the imperial affairs, Shuja and Murad crowned themselves, but the ever-cautions Aurangzeb bided his time. He corresponded with Shuja and Murad, and all the three brothers started moving towards the capital from their respective territories. The forces of Shuja were the first to come in conflict with an army sent by Dara under Raja Jai Singh. Shuja was defeated near Benares and forced to withdraw to Bihar. The forces of Murad and Aurangzeb joined near Ujjain in Central India and started moving towards Agra. Dara sent Jaswant Singh to oppose them but he was defeated and the victorious armies of the allies arrived at Samugarh, in the neighbourhood of Agra. Here, Dara with the bulk of imperial army gave them battle but he was no match for Aurangzeb in generalship, and the battle ended in a complete defeat for him.

Aurangzeb entered Agra, and was invited by Shah Jahan to meet him, but his well-wishers, like Khalil Ullah Khan (who had originally been sent by Shah Jahan as an intermediary and later changed over to his son) and Shayista Khan informed him that there was a plot to have him arrested and assassinated.[(d)] In any

(d) Shah Jahan's conduct confirmed what Aurangzeb's friends had advised. "Shortly afterwards Nahir Dil Chela arrived with *firman* from Shah Jahan to Dara, in which the latter was advised to stay in Delhi, while he (Shah Jahan) would give short shrift to his enemies. This finally exposed the duplicity of Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb decided not to go to see him." History of Shah Jahan by Beni Prashad pp. 333-33 Bernier doubts the authenticity of this letter, but leaves no doubt about Shah Jahan's attitude towards Aurangzeb, and says "that the father fell into the snare which he had spread for his son" Bernier, Travels, p. 61.

case Shah Jahan had allied himself so thoroughly with Dara that Aurangzeb refused to trust him, placed him under polite restraint, (June, 8, 1658) and assumed the imperial authority (July 21, 1658).

In the meanwhile, Murad, who was showing resentment at the growing power of his brother and had even begun "to act openly in opposition to Aurangzeb" was arrested through a strategem. (June 25). He was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior but some three years later, he made an almost successful attempt at escape. Aurangzeb, therefore, decided to get rid of him. A complaint was lodged against him by the son of a former Diwan of Gujarat whom he had put to death, and getting a legal *fatwa*, Aurangzeb had him executed (December, 4, 1661).

Dara fled from Samugarh towards Delhi, but after wandering in the Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, and Rajputana he was captured and put to death (August 13,1659). Shuja, after the initial setback, reorganised his forces and moved towards Allahabad. Aurangzeb met him at Khajwah and decisively defeated him. He was purused by Mir Jumla and took refuge in the Arakans, where the Magh chief had him assassinated.

Thus ended the grim struggle for the throne, and Aurangzeb who was already exercising royal powers after his entry in Agra, held a grand coronation ceremony in 1659. Shah Jahan recovered from his illness and though there was, at the beginning, an exchange of bitter letters between him and his son, he ultimately became reconciled to Aurangzeb's kingship, and when he died in 1666, his daughter Jahan Ara Begum, who was with the father throughout his internment, presented Aurangzeb with a letter of pardon written by Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan's reign

Shah Jahan, whose reign ended on such a sad note, was perhaps the most magnificent of the Muslim rulers of Indo-Pak subcontinent. His empire extended over an area bigger than that of any of his Mughul predecessors, and his reign was marked by peace and tranquility. His revenue was larger than that of his predecessors and largely owing to the financial ability of his wise *wazir* Saadullah Khan (according to Vincert Smith, "the most able and upright minister, that ever appeared in India") the royal treasury was full. This enabled him to devote his attention to peaceful

arts and his reign was characterised by extensive activity in architecture of a very high order, and encouragement of music and painting.

Shah Jahan was very keen to earn the title of Shahanshah-i-Adil —the Just Emperor. He took personal interest in administration of justice and even otherwise tried to behave like a considerate, affectionate father to his subjects.[8] During the first few years, he seems to have been under the influece of religious revivalists, and was at pains to rule according to orthodox Islamic law, but gradually he came under Sufi influences and mellowed a great deal. The court chronicles, written by learned and orthodox scholars, for Muslim readers, tried to show him as a very orthodox ruler. In fact, the author of Padshah Nama calls him a Mujaddid[9], the Renovator of Islam. But obviously this represents the bias of the orthodox historian himself.

There is no doubt that under Shah Jahan apathy and indifference of Jahangir disappeared, and the regime was marked by attempts to approximate the administration to orthodox Islamic Law—including the creation of a department to look after new converts to Islam. But if the developments of the period are closely studied, simultaneously a major Hindu revival is noticeable in the reign of Shah Jahan. In Jahangir's time the rebellion of his son Khusrau who had a Rajput mother, drove the Rajput nobility in the background, and after his marriage with Nur Jahan, Persians became supreme in the state. Shah Jahan's reign was marked not only by the predominance of the indigenous elements —the Mughul Emperor had now a Prime Minister of native origin, after many a long year—but the Rajputs in the army and the Hindu officials in the imperial secretariat also attained a dominating position. As Sri Ram Sharma writing in 1940, pointed out: "Under Shah Jahan Hindus occupied a higher status in the government than that occupied by Indians today" i.e. on the eve of the British withdrawal from India[10]. They were dominant in the army and almost monopolised the revenue department. Rai Raghunath officiated for some time as the Imperial Finance Minister, while Rai Chander Bhan Brahmin was Officer-in-charge of the Dar-ul-Insha, the Secretariat. The explanation seems to be that Hindus by now were in a position to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Mughul polity, and with the increasing influence of Dara, their patron, they made rapid headway.

Akbar had based his policy of equal treatment of all his subjects, on laws of natural justice. In Shah Jahan's time, the Muslim scholars were advocating it on the basis of Islamic laws and principles. For example, Shah Muhibullah of Allahbad wrote in a letter to Dara Shukoh that the Holy Prophet has been referred to as Rahmat-ul-lil-Alimin—a blessing to all the worlds and not only to Muslims.[11] Similar sentiments were being expressed by some other Muslims. Mulla Abul Hakim, the greatest scholar of the day, gave a ruling that according to Islamic law, a mosque could not be set up on the property of another and the conversion of a Jain temple into a mosque by Prince Aurangzeb was unauthorised[12]. The controversies of the period remained one of the controversies in Akbar's days, but as they were without Akbar's excesses and innovations, the Hindu case gained even greater support. It also awakened anxieties, and the support which Aurangzeb was able to get against Dara Shukoh was probably due not only to Dara's arrogance and tactlessness, but also to a feeling amongst the Muslim nobility—especially among the Persian *umara*, who had lost their position of privilege—that their interests were not safe. Under Shah Jahan, orthodox Islamic Law became more effective, but the Hindus had a full share, not only of the official life, but also in the great artistic activity of the period. In this period we not only see signs of increasing Hindu influence, but can also trace a certain "Indian-Iranic" controversy. In his rebellion against his father, Shah Jahan's main collaborator was Mahabat Khan, whose opposition to Nur Jahan and Irani *umara* was well-known. This rebellion failed and after his accession, Shah Jahan maintained his father-in-law Asif Khan as the Prime Minister, His two successors—Fazil Khan and Saadullah Khan—were, however, of indigenous origin, and Irani influence seems to have decreased in the Secretariat. The Irani Indian competition in the administrative sphere found an echo in the literary controversies of the day. Munir, a well-known poet of Lahore, for example, complained of the airs assumed by Irani writers, and Shaida, another prominent poet of the day challenged his contemporary Irani poets, who were rated very high by the Irani nobles on many points of Persian language and style.

These developments only indicate that by now the indigeneous elements benefitting by the spread of learning and orderly government in the country, had grown in stature, and were able to assert their rights in administrative and literary spheres. Shah

Jahan's own vision was not narrow or parochial. He was conscious of the grandeur and the greatness of the Mughul Emperor in comparison with the rulers of the world and was mainly interested in building up a grand edifice, with a large-hearted approach to the problems. The way in which the Taj was built is indicative of the policy pursued. At one time, it was thought that it was designed by a Venetian architect. This view has been abandoned now, and obviously the Taj represents the culminating point of the development of Indo-Muslim architecture in the subcontinent Particulars of those who took part in the production of this incomparable master-piece indicate that no effort was spared to obtain the services of specialists in every phase of the work. Several of these were indigenous craftsmen from Delhi, Lahore, Multan and other centres of art in the Mughul Empire, while some were drawn from more distant sources, such as a calligraphist from Baghdad and an other from Shiraz, to ensure that all the inscriptions were correctly carved or inlaid; a "flower carver" from Bukhara; an expert in dome construction, Ismail Khan Rumi, who by his name may have come from Constantinople; a pinnacle-maker from Samarqand; a master-mason from Qandhar, and lastly, an experienced garden-planner. The chief supervisor who co-ordinated the entire work was one Ustad Isa, "the best designer of his time", and, according to one account, originally an inhabitant of Shiraz, whose family had settled in Lahore. "It may be noted that while the structural portions of the Taj seem to have been principally in the hands of the Muslims, the decoration was mainly the work of the Hindu craftsmen, the difficult task of preparing the pietra dura specially being entrusted to a group of the latter from Kanauj."[13]

Shah Jahan's reign represents the golden age of the Mughul Empire, but as some students of the history of civilization have pointed out, the artistic productions of the period give an impression of over-ripeness and a certain loss of vigour. Mughul civilization had reached its climax and was moving towards the normal declining phase of the other great civilizations. But the resolute vigour of a man of iron will held together the structure for another half a century, gave it new supports and the end came very gradually.

Dara Shukoh (1615—1659)

All the four sons of Shah Jahan had distinguished themselves in various ways, but apart from Aurangzeb, the most celebrated was Dara Shukoh. He was not

such a paragon of virtue, as some critics of Aurangzeb have tried to show. In fact, Bernier, an admirer and practically a partisan of Dara, states that he had Shah Jahan's able Prime Minister, Sadullah Khan poisoned.[14] Considering that Sadullah Khan did not rate Dara Shukoh's ability very high, and might have influenced Shah Jahan against him, the allegation is not wholly improbable. The way Dara Shukoh interfered, on account of personal rivalry, with Aurangzeb's efforts to extend the Mughul empire in the Deccan shows a small mind, and failure to rise above personal considerations.

It is, perhaps, unfair to judge a Mughul prince harshly for the measures taken in a remorseless struggle for the throne, but Dara Shukoh's administrative weaknesses are also pretty obvious. The affectionate father kept him at the capital, and thus deprived him of the practical and hardening experiences of administration, which Aurangzeb gained through years of solid work in the Deccan. He proved a poor general at Samugarh and in spite of his self-praise and self-confidence, did not show any remarkable feat of personal bravery. The way he tried to reconquer the fort of Qandhar through magic and the help of wonder-working yogis also betrays a very uncritical and immature, if not an irrational, mind.

Dara Shukoh had serious handicaps as a prince and a potential candidate for the throne, but he has built a niche for himself in the cultural and religious history of the subcontinent. He was a likeable person, an open and trusting friend, and a devoted and tender husband, (as the dedication of his famous album to his wife Nadira Begum shows). He had something of an artist's disposition, wrote quite touching poetry and encouraged artistic activity of all kinds. In literary circles, he is known principally as an author on Sufi subjects, following a line which gives him distinction and importance.

Dara was born at the great Sufi centre of Ajmer on March 20, 1615. In his nineteenth year he fell seriously ill and as the physicians were unable to cure him, Shah Jahan took him to Hazrat Mian Mir, the celebrated Sindhi saint, who had settled down at Lahore. The saint prayed for him and as Dara Shukoh soon recovered, thereafter his faith in the spiritual powers of the saints grew. Hazrat Mian Mir died a couple of years later, and during his viceroyalty of Lahore, Dara built a mausoleum over the

saint's tomb, near which the remains of his wife were buried later. In 164 , Dara Shukoh became a disciple of Mullah Shah, one of Hazrat Mian Mir's successors. In the meanwhile he had already completed, at the age of twenty-five, *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, containing biographies of Sufi saints. A biography of Hazrat Mian Mir and his principal disciples followed two years later. He also wrote brief Sufi pamphlets, one of which, *Shathiyat* or *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*, written in 1662, was in reply to those who were criticizing Dara for his heterodox statements. In order to justify himself, he collected, in this booklet, a number of utterances and statements by celebrated Sufis, similar to those attributed to him.

In *Majma-ul-Bahrain* (the Mingling of Two Oceans) which was completed in 1655, Dara Shukoh tried to trace parallels between Islamic Sufism and Hindu Vedantism. He also wrote poems under the poetic surname Qadiri and a manuscript of his *Diwan* is preserved in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore. None of Dara's books is without interest, but his translation of *Upanishads* which he made with the help of Sanskrit scholars, had a particularly interesting history. It was completed in 1657, just before his disastrous struggle for the throne. A French traveller, Anquetil Duperron, translated Dara Shukoh's Persian version of the *Upanishads* into French and Latin. The Latin version which was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802, fell into the hands of the famous German philosopher Schopenhauer, and profoundly influenced the course of the Transcendental Movement which was just starting in Germany. As Rawlinson points out, "This revelation of an entirely new realm of thought reacted upon Germany in much the same manner as the rediscovery of the Greek classics upon Europe at the time of the Renaissance."[(e)] Later this influence was extended to Emerson and influenced the Transcendantalist movement in the United States.

Dara Shukoh's first three books followed the traditional Sufi line and created no stir, but his later compositions show the line of work which was to distinguish him from other Sufi thinkers. This was his elaborate effort to discover what was common in Islamic Sufism and Hindu thought. In the introduction to *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, he says that after a deep and prolonged study of Islamic Sufism and Hindu Vedantism, he had come to the conclusion that "there were not many differences, except verbal, in

(e) For details see Rawlinson's article in O'Malley's, Modern Indian and the West, pp. 544-545.

which Hindu monotheists and Muslim Sufis sought and comprehended truth."

Dara Shukoh's personality gains additional interest by the fact that he did not plough a lonely furrow, but was able to attract many worthy souls around him. The spiritual efforts which Dara Shukoh was making had their Hindu counterpart. *Majma-ul-Bahrain* was soon translated into Sanskrit (as *Saaudar Sangam*) by a Hindu scholar, and many Hindu proteges of Dara Shukoh, like Brahmin, his Mir Munshi and Be-gham Bairagi, were giving expression to ideas of Islamic Sufism in moving Persian verse. Amongst other distinguhised people[f] whom Dara attracted were the celebrated poet and Sufi Sarmad ; the unknown author of that remarkable history of religions, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib,* and Muhandis, the son of Ustad Isa, the architect of Taj. Indeed, Dara Shukoh seems to have been a centre of an entire literary, spiritual and intellectual movement, but with his loss of power the liberal group also lost its cohesion and potency.

(f) There are some indications that Mulla Abdul Hakim, the greatest scholar and intellectual of the times belonged to Dara Shukoh's liberal group. Aurangzeb, when governor of Gujarat had ordered the conversion of an unauthorised Jain temple, built by Seth Shantidas at Ahmedabad, into a mosque (1645). Three years later Dara Shukoh became governor of Gujarat and under Shah Jahan's instructions ordered its restoration, saying that although "Shahzada Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur had built in that place (temple) some *Mihrabs* and given it the name of a mosque" but Mulla Abdul Hakim had represented to His Majesty that this building, by reason of its being the property of another person, could not be considered a mosque according to the inviolable Islamic law,, vide; *Studies in the History of Gujarat, by Commissiorat p. 58.*

CHAPTER XXI

AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Aurangzeb	... ..	...	24 Oct., 1618
First coronation of Aurangzeb	...	...	21 July, 1658
Second coronation of Aurangzeb	...	...	5 June, 1659
Shayista Khan captures Chittagong	...	...	1666
New Religious Ordinances	...	...	1668
Revolt of the Afridis	...	...	1672
Aurangzeb at Hasan Abdal	...	...	1674
Reimposition of Jiziya	...	...	1679
Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan	...	...	1681
Annexation of Bijapur/Golcunda	...	...	1686/1687
Calcutta Founded and Fortified	...	...	1690
Birth of Shah Waliullah	...	...	1703
Marathas raid Gujarat and sack Baroda		...	1706
Death of the Urdu poet Wali	...	...	1707
Death of Aurangzeb ...	...	...	21 Feb., 1707

Aurangzeb Aurangzeb, the third son of Shah Jahan was born on 24th October, 1618, at Dohad, on the frontier of Gujarat and Rajputana. He was junior in age to Dara Shukoh and Shuja, but in competence and character he easily excelled them. He was industrious, far-seeing and thorough. He had distinguished himself as an able administrator during the long years that he spent in the Deccan and other provinces of the empire. He was a fearless soldier and a skilful general and in his dealings with men he was cool and cautious. Owing to Dara's influential opposition life had not been a bed of roses for him and soon he had to learn all the tactics of oriental diplomacy. He kept his feeling under control and could readily think of methods essential to success.

Even as a prince, Aurangzeb was known for his devotion to Muslims religion and observance of Islamic injunctions. Dara used to contemptuously refer to him as *namazi* (prayer-monger), while Aurangzeb referred to his elder brother as a "heretic", and in some of his letters written (e.g. to Shah Jahan) during the War of Succession he claimed that he was acting "for the sake of the true faith and the peace of the realm." As soon as he was secure on the throne, he started the introduction of reforms which could make

his dominion a proper Muslim state. After his second (and formal) coronation on 5th June, 1659 he issued orders which were calculated to satisfy orthodoxy.[(a)] He appointed censors of public morals (muhtasibs) in all important cities to enforce Islamic law and put down practices forbidden by 'Shariat' such as drinking, gambling and prostitution. He also forbade the cultivation of *bhang* throughout the empire. In 1664 he issued his first edict forbidding *sati*, and repeatedly denounced the castration of children for sale as eunuchs. In the economic sphere he showed a dertermind opposition to all illegal exactions (*abwab*) and all taxes which were not authorised by Islamic law. Immediately after his second coronation he abolished inland transport duty (rahdari) which amounted to ten per cent of the value of goods, and the octroi (*pandari*) on all articles of food and drink brought for sale in to the cities.

These measures gave relief to the people and were popular, though they probably were partially responsible for Aurangzeb's later financial difficulties. Gradually the emperor's puritanism began to manifest itself and steps were taken which were not so universally liked. In 1668 he forbade music at his court and, with the exception of the royal band, pensioned off the large number of state musicians and singers. The ceremony of weighing the Emperor on his birthday against gold and silver was discontinued and in 1679 the ceremony of *darshan* was abandoned. In the course of time the festivities held on the emperor's birthday were curtailed or abolished, and the mansabdars were forbidden to make the customary presents to the emperor.

Aurangzeb also took early steps to revitalise the administration which had greatly slackened during the prolonged War of Succession. As soon as Aurangzeb had dealt with his rivals, he turned towards the reorganisation of the civil government. "A period of strong government began. Everywhere the provincial viceroys began to assert imperial prestige. Energetic *subedars* extended the

(a) As a candidate for the throne Aurangzeb tried to gain support from all quarters. His collaborater Murad borrowed heavily from Jain bankers of Gujarat, and these commitments were honoured by Aurangzeb. He now attempted to come to terms with the Shia rulers of the Deccan, and even tried to get the support of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar by offering him the restoration of some parganas which Shah Jahan had detached from his state, and by expressing general sentiments of good will. There is, however, plenty of evidence to show that Aurangzeb felt strongly about the position of Islam in the subcontinent and had already come to consider himself as the "instrument of the Divine will in a mission of much needed religious reform."

bounds of the empire to Assam, Chatgaon, Palamau, and other tracts. Local notables found out that disobedience of orders or independent attitude would be tolerated no longer. The border tribes were taught that no violation of the imperial frontier would go unpunished."[1]

Conquest of Assam and Chittagong.

Some of the earliest conquests of Aurangzeb's reign concerned the eastern end of Indo-Pak subcontinent. During the War of succession (1656-58) the Hindu rulers of Kooch-Bihar and Assam, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the empire, had invaded the imperial dominions and seized Mughul territory. For three years they were not disturbed, but in June 1660 the Civil War was finally over, and Aurangzeb felt that the time had come for retribution. He accordingly asked Mir Jumla, the viceroy of Bengal, to take up the matter and recover the lost territories.

In November, 1661, Mir Jumla started from Dacca, and occupied the capital of Kooch-Bihar in a few weeks. The kingdom of Kooch-Bihar was annexed, and the Muslim army left for Assam. The capital of Ahom kingdom was reached on the March, 17, 1662, and more important Ahom fortresses were occupied and garrisoned by Mughul soldiers. Rich spoils were taken by the conquerors, but soon the victory was almost turned into a disaster. On the approach of the rainy season, the Mughul army had to go into cantonments and suffered heavily from unhealthy climate and want of food. The Ahoms rallied their forces and took the offensive but the position was saved by the brilliant Afghan general, Dilir Khan, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy and compelled the Ahom Raja to sign a humiliating treaty. The Mughuls recovered a heavy tribute, and annexed some forts and towns in the cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal, but their army had suffered great hardships and the aged Mir Jumla died on March, 30, 1663, on his way back to Dacca.

He was succeeded as viceroy of Bengal by Shayista Khan, who had been transferred from the Deccan, owing to his failure against Shivaji. He tried to retrieve his reputation in Bengal, and proved one of the most capable viceroys of the province. He administered Bengal wisely, maintained a magnificent court, and achieved signal success in bringing down the prices of the articles of daily use. He took action against the Arakan pirates, who, with the

help of the Portuguese adventurers and their half-cast offspring, had made the area unsafe, and were bold enough to carry on their depradations right up to Dacca. "As these raids continued for a long time, Bengal became day by day more desolated. Not a house was left inhabited on either side of the rivers lying on the pirates track from Chittagong to Dacca."[2] Bernier writes about the Portuguese, "These people were Christian only in name ; the lives led by them were most detestable, massacring or poisoning one another without compunction or remorse, and sometimes assassinating even their priests who were too often no better than their murderers".[3] Shayista Khan made thorough preparations, built a powerful flotilla, won over some of the European collaborators of the pirates by inviting them to Dacca, and in January, 1666, attacked the king of Arakan. He captured the island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal, and by decisively defeating the Arakanese fleet, compelled the king of Arakan to cede Chittagong, the pirates' stronghold. Chittagong, which was renamed Islamabad, proved a valuable addition to the empire.

"The viceroyalty of Shayista Khan, who governed Bengal from 1664 to 1677, and again from 1680 to 1688, is a land mark in the history of the province. He ensured the safety of the Bengal rivers and seaboard by destroying the pirates' nest at Chittagong. His internal administration by its mildness and elaborate arrangements for dispensing impartial justice promoted the wealth and happiness of the people. He adorned his capital, Dacca, with many fine buildings, and constructed *sarais* all over the country. According to popular tradition during his viceroyalty rice was sold at the rate of eight maunds to a rupee"[4], and naturally people remembered his days with gratitude.

Bengal under the Mughuls.

The Mughul interest in Bengal had steadily increased. Since Shah Jahan's days, the viceroy was usually the leading noble of the realm, like Mir Jumla, or a member of the royal family, like Shah Shuja. On the other hand, through the organisation of the countrywide higher services under the *Mansabdari* system, and with the elaborate Mughul system of supervision, close contact with the imperial capital was maintained. Bengal which was known as Balghakpur during the early Muslim rule, became the most peaceful and contended area of the empire, and in the later days its revenues were the mainstay of Aurangzeb's army. The cultural consequenc-

es of Mughul rule were even greater. "What the Vaishnav religion did for the Hindus of Bengal was done for their Muslim neighbours by the Mughul conquest; this province was ultimately joined to the general religious and cultural movements of the rest of India; its narrow isolation was broken."[5]

Even more important was the Mughul impact on East Bengal.

The Great Change in East Bengal

The conquest and settlement of a great part of what is now East Pakistan was essentially a Mughul achievement—in a great measure of Aurgnzeb's reign. The area east of Brahamputra, commonly called *Bang*, was one of the three well-marked regions of the former province of Bengal (Varind, Radh and Bang), and had distinguishing characteristics of its own. Owing to its geographical situation, climate, terrain and the ethnic origin of the population, it had remained isolated from the rest of the subcontinent. The force of Aryan colonisation and Aryan culture "was all but exhausted when they reached the country east of the Brahmaputra and old Tista rivers.In these regions the people up to the foothold of the hills were Mongoloid by race, spirit-worshippers by religion and speakers of many local dialects which had no written literature and were foreign to the literary Bengali of Gaur, Varendri and Radh."[6] Even during the Hindu rule the influence of the Hindu scholars and priests of Western Bengal was confined to the large towns and rich monasteries. After the Muslim conquest "even this little interchange of culture ceased. For some time after the mass of the people east of the Tista and the Brahmaputra remained Hindus, but their religion was not akin to that of the Hindus of Gaur or Radh. They had no learned Brahman priesthood, no Sanskrit scriptures, no Vedic ritual."[7]

Not only was East Bengal separated from West Bengal by a great religous gulf, but the Hindu population of western parts looked down upon the inhabitants of East Bengal. Writing in 1876, Beveridge says, "We find also that to this day the Hindus of Western and Central Bengal look down on the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal, and call them *Banglas*. This word, though etymologically it only means an inhabitant of Bang—i.e. Eastern Bengal has acquired an opprobrious signification, and is used to mean a rough or bungling person."[8] The ridicule of East Bengalis is a recurrent theme in Bengali literature. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen writes, "Many of the old poets have tried to show their wit at

the cost of East Bengal men. "We came across many passages in which East Bengal people and their dialects are ridiculed. Most celiebrated of those is Mukandnrana's satire of East Bengal boatmen."[9] Even Chaitanya, before spiritual life absorbed him "used often to scoff at Eastern Bengal by imitating some of the queer words of their dialects."[10] Not only was the language of East Bengal, "containing quaint archaic words with a sprinkling of Urdu"[11] a subject-matter of ridicule, but even the die, especially the dry fish popular in Chittagong, was a constanttarget of sneers.

The Hindu attitude towards East Bengal facilitated the task of Muslim missionaries, but the isolation of the area was not broken with the establishment of Muslim rule at Gaur. The hold of Gaur over areas east of Brahmuputra was uncertain and confined to limited areas. Besides, whatever progress was achieved under the Ilyas Shahi and Husain Shahi rulers was later undone by the confusion created by the Arakanese and the Portuguese raiders.

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar writes in the History of Bengal "The civilising of East Bengal (if I may be permitted to use the expression) began with Islam Khan's conquests from Dacca as his base, and this process was completed when later viceroys made that city the seat of their government."[12] Muslim contribution during the Mughul period, was, however, not only in the realm of culture and civilisation; but they were also responsible for the more basic tasks of security and colonization. Before the area could be 'civilised' or properly colonised, the menace of the pirates had to be dealt with and the vigour and power of organization displayed by the Mughuls in performance of this task has earned them enthusiastic praise. Beveridge says, "We see the difference between them (i.e. the Hindus and the Muslims) in the way in which they treatted the Arakanese invasion. The Hindus were unequal to the contest, and fled under the pretext of avoiding contamination; the Muhammadans, on the other hand, took the more manly course of grasping their nettle, established themselves at Dacca, where the danger was greatest, raised and maintained a fleet, and swept the rivers and their estuaries clear of the Arakanese and the Portuguese pirates. Bengalis, indeed, and especially those of Eastern Bengal, have much reason to be thankful to the Muhammadans,

for it is to them that they owe in great measure their preservation from the Burmese. But for the conquest by the Muhammadans of Sandwip and Chittagong, it is probable that much of what is now known as Eastern Bengal would have been a portion, and a deserted and despised portion, of the kingdom of Arakan or Burma."[13]

"Once the problem of the ruinous raids had been dealt with, efforts at colonization and civilization could produce enduring results. The Muslims consolidated their position "by civilization, namely, by driving out the wild beasts and by clearing of the jungle."[14] There were many factors which facilitated Muslim colonization. To quote Beveridge again, "Muhammadans are not nearly such 'stay-at-homes' as Hindus. They have fewer local superstitions, and no local gods, while the principle of the family is less strong among them. The joint-family system is unknown to them, and the practice of polygamy is unfavourable to fixity of residence. There is also no doubt that Muhammadans are more enterprising than Hindus ; and that their more generous diet fits them better to endure an unhealthy climate, and especially the salt air of the eastern districts. Hence we find that the *chars* and islands are almost exclusively peopled by Muhammadans."[15]

Muslim colonization and fight against the jungle and the elements has been a continuous process in the history of Bengal, but its most fruitful period began when in Aurangzeb's reign Arakanese were beaten back in the south, and Cooch Bihar and Assam were annexed in the north.

North-West Frontier

Operations in the east were barely over, when trouble started on the north-western frontier of the empire. In 1667 a Yusafzai leader, named Bhaku (who had favoured Dara Shukoh against Aurangzeb in the struggle for the throne), rose in rebellion. The *faujdar* of Attock defeated Bhaku, and with the help of reinforcements from Lahore and Kabul gradually subdued the area. The area remained quiet for some time, but in 1672 Mughul forces met with a great disaster. A subordinate of the governor of Kabul was accused of misconduct and many tribes combined in opposition to the authorities. They had a stroke of good fortune when Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Kabul, returning to his headquarters after spending the winter in Peshawar, decided to risk an engagement with the rebels, with a small and poorly equipped contingent. His forces were annihilated, and he was able to barely escape to Peshawar

with a few of his senior officers. (May 1, 1672). On hearing of the disaster the Emperor degraded and transferred Muhammad Amin Khan, but the officers who were sent to replace, him quarrelled amongst themselves, and failed to make much progress. In July 1674, Aurangzeb himself went to Hasan Abdal, a convenient half-way station between Rawalpindi and Peshawar, and stayed there for over a year directing the operations. He took with him officers who knew the area, and by the use of force and diplomacy was able to restore peace.

Amongst the tribal leaders who opposed Aurangzeb was the famous Pushtu poet Khushal Khan Khattak. He was the chief of the Khattak tribe, which since the days of his great grandfather, Malik Akoray, the founder of Akora, had guarded the road from Attock to Peshawar against the hostile Yusufzais, and had the right to levy tolls on this highway. Khushal had fought with distinction in Mughul armies at Kangra, Balkh and Badakhshan, and had sided with Aurangzeb against Dara Shukoh in the War of Succession. He was also a lifelong admirer of the "qadrdan" (discerning) Shah Jahan, but soon differences arose between him and the new emperor. Partly they were the outcome of the rapproachment between the Mughuls and the Yusufzais. From Akbar's days the Pathan opposition to the Mughul predominance had been led by the Yusufzais, "while the pro-Mughul party looked to Malik Akorary and his successors as its leaders." In Shah Jahan's reign, however, the Mughuls came to terms with the Yusufzais, who were numerically much more impotant than the Khattaks. The Yusufzai chief made his submission, and was restored to those Yusufzai villages which had been added to Khushal's fief. This rapproachment had taken place through Dara Shukoh, and in the War of Succession Bhaku Khan, the Yusufzai chief supported Dara, while Khushal, who had been approached by Dara, but had rebuffed him, prevented the Yusufzais from offering him asylum in the Samab by driving off a Yusufzai lashkar which was awaiting the fugitive on the river bank," Khushal, possibly hoped that Aurangzeb would restore the Yusufzai villages. In this, he was disappointed, though Aurangzeb confirmed him in his chieftainship. Worse followed, when the new emperor on his accession, abolished all tolls in his dominion. For some time this order was not applied to the Frontier, where special conditions prevailed, but in 1661, a Khan, the founder of the famous mosque in Peshawar, was transferred,

and the deputy of the governor who replaced him obtained a mandate for the abolition of the tolls for crossing the Indus. "Since Akbar's time the collection of the Attock tolls was a right which had vested in Malik Akorai and his successors, and it follows, that Khushal was hard hit by the new orders and greatly resented what had been done."[16] He had not taken any "overt action," but possibly his disaffection became known to the governor who summoned him to Peshawar (1664) and despatched him in chains and under escort to Delhi, from where he was sent to spend over two years as a prisoner in the Gwalior fortress. Even after that he was kept under house arrest and was not permitted to return to his country. This treatment, added to his earlier grievances, made him a lifelong enemy of Aurangzeb and the Mughuls, and he gave expression to his feelings in vivid, forceful poetry, in verses, which even now breathe fire.

At last Khushal was released on a promise of loyalty and good behaviour. He was present on the side of the Mughul governor at the disaster of 1672—in fact Amin Khan had undertaken this hazardous journey after being assured by Khushal[17], but by now iron had entered his soul, and it is doubtful whether he gave any help to the Mughul Governor. Soon he broke out in open rebellion and spent the remainder of his life in rousing the Pathan tribes against the Mughuls. In this he had only a small measure of success. Some Afridi chiefs joined him, but the more numerous Yusufzais refused to side with him. They were his hereditary enemies—his father, grandfather and great grandfather had all died fighting against the Yusufzais—but the trends of the times were also against him. An era of Mughul-Afghan cooperation was opening —bowing to the success of Mughul diplomacy and the failure of the Raushniya movement—and even some of his sons, notably Bahram, opposed him. Khushal, the warrior died, broken hearted, at the age of 76 in 1689, but Khushal, the poet is among the immortals.

Mughul-Afghan Rapproachment.

Aurangzeb's early reign was marked by some bitter fighting on the frontier and of course, the Afghan hostility to the Mughuls found its most vivid expression in Khushal's poetry, but this should not obscure the fact that Aurangzeb lived long enough to see a complete transformation in Mughul-Afghan relationship.

Personal grievances may have played their part in conversion of the scion of a family, traditionally loyal to the Mughuls into

their most inveterate enemy, but there was a solid, historical basis for the Mughul-Afghan animosity. Mughuls had displaced the Afghans, first the Lodis and later the Surs, on the throne of Delhi, and acute national rivalry was inevitable. Mutual animosity and distrust started a vicious circle and in early Mughul administration the Afghans did not get an adequate share. They were, as a rule, excluded from offices of trust and importance—especially under Akbar and Jahangir. Even in less mundane affairs there were factors contributing to differences and antipathy. The acceptance of Raushniya doctrines by some sections of the Afghans provided a basis not only for religious differences, but also of a conduct which was sound to involve them in conflict with others.

But these factors gradually lost their validity and force. The heterodox Raushniya doctrines were vigorously controverted by local religious leaders. Islamic orthodoxy was restored in the Afghan highlands. Religious differences had, thereby, disappeared and Khushal Khan Khattak was as keen and orthodox a Muslim as Aurangzeb himself. In worldly matters also the Mughuls and the Afghans had begun to understand each other. In the days of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the bitterest and longest feud of the Mughuls had been with the Yusufzais, and now relations with them were very smooth. Under Shah Jahan the Afghans were finding better employment under the Mughuls; but their great opportunity came when Aurangzeb launched his campaign in the Deccan. The Afghans rendered signal services in this long drawn struggle, and Dilir Khan, who rose to be a *panj-hazarari*, was perhaps Aurangzeb's ablest and most realous general in war with Shivaji and Sambhaji.

The reconciliation between the Mughuls and the Afghans during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign can be clearly seen in the twenty-year peaceful regime of Amir Khan, (1678—98), his last governor of Kabul and Peshawar. During Muhammad Shah's reign a number of Afridis and Yusufzais settled in Rohilkhand, and many amongst them—notably Najib-ud-Daula, Regent at Delhi for a number of years—played an important role during the decline of the Mughuls empire. Perhaps the climax in the formation of the Mughul-Afghan relations came when on the eve of the third battle of Panipat, Nawab Qudsia Begum, the old, venerated widow of Muhammad Shah personally went to Shuja-ud-Daula to appeal to him to throw in his lot with the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali !

In course of time Aurangzeb became involved in difficulties with the Sikhs and it may be convenient to review their relations with the Mughul government at this stage.

The Sikhs.

The Sikh religion was established by Guru Nanak (1469—1539) and was a phase of the general religious movement which tended to bring Hinduism and Islam closer. A feature of the new creed, borrowed from Islam, was the elimination of priesthood [illegible] almost all the Sikhs were originally Hindu, the Brahmin priests were naturally unhappy at the new development resulting in the loss of a privileged position. The first two successors of Nanak met with constant trouble from the Hindu Tapasis, and their relations with Muslims were friendly. The third Guru was visited by Akbar, who made him a gift of several villages and granted him the land on which the lake of Amritsar was excavated. Soon, however, the Sikhs and the Mughul authorities came into conflict. This was basically due to the fact (as pointed out by Sarkar) that the militant and turbulent peasantry of the central Punjab had adopted the new doctrines, and it was almost natural for them to come in conflict with the established authority. The first clash occurred during the days of Jahangir, when Guru Arjun, the contemporary guru, gave his blessings (and financial help) to Prince Khusrau, who had revolted against his father. According to the Sikh accounts, the resentment of Jahangir was fanned by a Hindu revenue official, named Chandu Shah, who " harboured a deep animosity against Arjun for refusing to accept his daughter for his son." A fine of two lacs of rupees was imposed on the Guru as a punishment, and on his failure to pay the fine or allow his Sikh followers to subscribe to it on his behalf, he was handed over to Chandu Shah. In order to enforce the payment the Guru was subjected to torture, in the course of which he died.[(b)]

" One of Guru Arjan's last instructions to his son, Guru Har Gobind was to sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability." Macauliffe, who records this in his

(b) For the Sikh account of Guru Arjun's life, see Macauliff's Sikh Religion, Vol. II pp. 253—58 and Vol. 11. Pp. 1—101, Beni Prashad gives a good survey in his History of Jahangir (pp. 129)—130. It would be interesting to speculate to what extent the later Sikh Gurus were motivated consciously or unconsciously, by a desire to establish a principality (like the Safavids in Iran, Kalhoras in Sind, and numerous principalities and zamindaris established by religious families in the subcontinent in the Eighteenth Century).

lecture on, " How the Sikhs became a Militant People (P. 5) adds: " This was the turning point in the history of the Sikhs." By now the Sikhs had begun to organise themselves on semi-military lines and there were more conflicts with established authority. As Sarkar says; " the growing military strength and the royal pomp of the Guru and his wordly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the government of the country inevitable, and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession."[14] Guru Har Gobind " had so completely sunk the character of a religious reformer in that of a conquering general, that he had no scruple in enlisting large bands of Afghan mercenaries."[18]

In 1628 the Sikhs defeated a Mughul force which had been sent against them, but they were ultimately defeated, and Har Gobind had to flee to the hills. The *gaddi* in the plains was maintained by a representative "in alliance with the imperial government" and on his death in 1645, the Guru was succeeded by Guru Har Rai, who was a friend of Dara Shukoh. On his death in 1661 Aurangzeb was asked to intervene in the dispute between his sons, but before he could give his verdict, the dispute was resolved by the death of one of the two claimants.

The ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, who came to the *gaddi* in 1664, served in the Mughul army on the Assam frontier for some years, but later returned to eastern Punjab and settled down at Anandpur. He called himself Sacha Badshah, (True King), and started levying tribute from the local population. According to Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs, the Guru, "followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansi and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder in a way, indeed that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Muhammadan zealot, named Adam Hafiz, and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindus, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Musalmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners." The Muslim saint was exiled, while the Sikh guru was taken to Delhi under Aurangzeb's orders and ultimately put to death in 1675[c].

(c) Cunningham's account is based on Sikh sources, and he is very definite that Guru Tegh Bahadur was "put to death as a rebel." Cunningham, Hisrory of the Sikhs, 1918, p. 65. Muslim historians, however, anxious to show Aurangzeb as a champion of Islam and perhaps un-willing to admit disturbed conditions existing in East Punjab, make it a case of religious conflict.

He was succeeded by Guru Gobind Singh, who concentrated his energies on converting the Sikhs into soldiers and making himself supreme in the hilly areas of East punjab. The Sikhs were trained in the use of arms, and were told to devote themselves to waging of wars against the Mughuls, and always to wear steel in one shape or another. The real sufferers from the growing military strength of the Sikhs, who had enrolled a large number of Pathans in their ranks, were the Hindu Rajas of the Punjab hills, and many bloody battles were fought between the guru and these Rajas. At last they complained to the Mughul governor, who passed on the comlaint to Aurangzeb in the Deccan. "The emperor consented to send an expedition against the Guru, provided the hill chiefs defrayed its expenses. The hill chiefs accordingly contributed a lakh of rupees, whereupon a force of ten thousand men was sent against the Guru."[19] This expedition was originally unsuccessful, but later the combined forces of the Mughuls and the rajas besieged Guru Gobind Singh in his stronghold of Anandpur. The Guru managed to escape, but his mother and two children were captured and taken before Wazir Khan, the *faujadar* of Sirhind. At first the *faujadar* treated the children with kindness, but later at the instigation of his cheif subordinate, Saj Anand, had them executed.

Meanwhile Guru Gobind Singh was pursued by the Mughul forces, but with the assistance of certain Muslims managed to escape in the blue dress of a Haji. It was during this flight that Guru Gobind Singh addressed Aurangzeb a long epistle in Persian verse, generally known as *Zafar Nama.* This poem contained bitter complaints against the Mughul emperor, but its appeal was in the name of humanity and Islam, and it provided a basis for mutual understanding. According to certain Sikh accounts, Aurangzeb invited Guru to visit him in the Deccan. Evidence on this point is not conclusive, but it is certain that after this Guru Gobind Singh was allowed to live in peace. Shortly thereafter, Aurangzeb died, and his son Bahadur Shah, who was the viceroy of the Punjab before ascending the throne, was on excellent terms with the Guru. Later the relations of the Mughuls with the Sikhs sharply deteriorated owing to the emergence of Banda, a Hindu Bairagi as the leader of the Sikhs, but a study of the reign of Aurangzeb shows that he was able to deal successfully with the Sikh problem and in any case, the Sikhs were not a major source of disturbance to him.

Conquests in the Deccan and the Maratha Wars

The Marathas presented Aurangzeb with a much bigger problem than the Sikhs. Their rise into prominence was partly the after-effect of the Bhakti movement which, by giving birth to a new literature, enriching the local language and popularising a religious cult which made a powerful emotional appeal to all sections of the people, had infused a new life in society. The growing importance of the Marathas was also due to more mundane factors. There is much truth in Sardesai's observation that the Muslim conquest of the Deccan was far less complete than that of Northern India. Hindus held many appointments in the revenue and finance departments of the Muslim rulers of Golconda and Bijapur, and at times even the highest ministerial appointments were filled by Deccani Brahmins. Life in the hill forts of the Western Ghats, never easily accessible and practically cut off from the world during the monsoon, did not appeal to the Muslim officers, and Maratha chiefs and soldiers were employed in large numbers in garrisoning these forts.

Maratha statesmen and warriors controlled various departments of the Muslim states of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bijapur, and the conflicts of the Mughuls with these states provided them with an opportunity to advance their sectional interests. Amongst Maratha statesmen who rose to prominence during the days of Shah Jahan was Shahji, who served under the sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and had large estates at Poona in Karnatik. His importance may be judged by the fact that in 1635-36 he set up a Nizam Shahi boy as the nominal Sultan of the now defunct kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and reoccupied in his name the whole of the western portion of the old dominion as far as the sea. Shah Jahan was, however, able to deal with him, and Shahji, after making his submission to the Mughuls, sought service with the ruler of Bijapur. Shahji's son, Shivaji, however, more than fulfilled the dreams of his father. Shivaji's mother was living at Poona, as Shahji had married again, and the young Maratha spent his early days in the spurs and valleys of the Ghats, which were to be his battlefield. He attached to himself a number of *Mawali* leaders of his own age and in the disturbed conditions of the Deccan started taking control of hill fortressess. For a long time these aggressive proceedings were ignored at Bijapur, and

when in 1659 a strong contingent of ten thousand cavalry was sent under Afzal Khan, the vigilant Maratha met him in a private conference, in which he stabbed and killed the Khan with his dagger. The leaderless troops of Bijapur were routed by Shivaji's soldiers who lay in ambush.

Next year Shivaji came in conflict with the Mughul rulers. In 1660 Aurangzeb appointed Shayista Khan, his maternal uncle, and a veteran general, viceroy of the Deccan, with instructions to suppress the activities of Shivaji. He gained a few victories and recaptured several forts, but on the April 5, 1663 the nimble-footed Marathas delivered a night attack on Shayista Khan, who was camping at Poona, and although the viceroy escaped with the loss of three fingers, his son was killed.

Next month Shayista Khan was recalled by Aurangzeb, who now sent Dilir Khan and Raja Jai Singh, with his son, Prince Muazzam, to the Deccan. The imperialist generals were successful and Shivaji sued for peace. In 1666 he attended the court at Agra, but felt insulted at being given a rank amongst *mansabdars* of only five thousand, made known his displeasure and was kept under surveilance from which he secretly escaped and reached the Deccan. On his return Shivaji formally assumed the title of Maharaja in June 1674, and as Aurangzeb was busy in the north-west, he was not disturbed. He, however, died in 1680 and the mad cruelty of his unworthy son, Sambhaji, forcibly attracted the attention of the Mughul ruler. In 1682 Sambhaji raided Burhanpur and perpetrated such cruelties on the Muslim population that the *qazis* of the place sent a manifesto upbraiding Aurangzeb. The Mughul emperor, who was even otherwise anxious about the developments in the Deccan where his rebel son, Prince Akbar, kad taken refuge at Sambhaji's court, decided to go to the south. He reached Aurangabad in the third week of March, 1682 and the last twenty-five years of his life were to be spent in this part of the subcontinent.

Bijapur and Golcunda, which often gave shelter to the Maratha raiders, were annexed in 1686 and 1687 respectively, and Sambhaji was captured and put to death in early 1689, but this did not mean the end of Aurangzebs troubles in the Deccan. Aurangzeb brought up Sambhaji's child, Sahu, at the court and treated him with great consideration, but Shambhaji's younger brother, Rajaram, took over the Maratha leadership. On his death in April, 1700

his widow, Tara Bai, carried on the struggle.

Mughul forces achieved many successes against the Marathas, but they proved temporary. Often the forts, won at great cost and after prolonged efforts, would be easily lost through the treachery or the stupidity of the Muslim commanders. The conquest of the fort of Jinji took seven years, in spite of the fact that the *Wazir* Asad Khan and his son, Zulfiqar Khan, were in charge of operations. Before his death in February, 1707, Aurangzeb had conquered most of the Maratha forts, but he was unable to suppress the powerful roving Maratha bands which challenged the Mughul authority whenever they got an opportunity. In 1699, they carried their first raid in Malwa. Four years later they disrupted the communications between the northern and southern India, and in 1706 they sacked Baroda. After Aurangzeb's death, the Marathas got completely out of hand, largely owing to the internal quarrels of the Mughul nobles and princes, who started competing for the Maratha support and became a major factor in the downfall of the Mughul empire.

Policy Towards Non-Muslims

A marked feature of Aurangzeb's reign was the religious policy which he followed. "When he came to the throne, Aurangzeb gave no signs of being adversely inclined towards any class of his subjects." The trial and execution of Dara and Sarmad were on charges of heresy but as pointed out by the contemporary writers, the steps were really political. No action of any sort against the Hindus or other non-Muslims was taken. Aurangzeb, however, tried in an increasing degree to run the empire in accordance with Islamic Law, and in course of time this brought the question of the position of non-Muslims to the fore. The eleventh year of Aurangzeb's reign (1688), when he forbade music at the royal court and took other puritanical steps in conformity with strict injunctions of Muslim Law, is considered a landmark in his reign. Eleven years later (1679) a still more thorough purification of the court practices was ordered and the *jizya*, which had remained abolished for nearly a century, was reimposed on the Hindus. By now Aurangzeb had accepted the policy of regulating his government in accordance with strict orthodox Islamic Law and many orders in furtherance of this policy were issued.

Aurangzeb had abolished a large number of taxes, which had been levied in India since old days, but were not authorised by

Islamic law. Possibly it was the unfavourable effect of these remissions on the state exchequer which led to the exploration of other lawful sources of revenue. The fact that, according to the most responsible account,[20] the reimposition of *jizya* was suggested by Inayat Khan, the Diwan-i-Khalsa, would seem to show that it was primarily a fiscal measure. The theologians, who were becoming more dominant at the court, naturally endorsed the proposal and Aurangzẹb carried it out with his customary thoroughness.

The other measure which has been the basis of adverse comment, is the issue of orders at various stages regarding destruction of Hindu temples. Originally these orders were with regard to a few specific cases—like the temples at Muttra built by Abul Fazl's murderer, to which a railing had been added by Aurangzeb's rival, Dara Shukoh In 1669 it was reported to Aurangzeb "that in the provinee of Thatta and Multan, and particularly in Benaras, the Brahmins were engaged in teaching unholy books in their schools, where Hindus and the Mussalmans flocked to learn their wicked science and were led away from the right path. Orders were therefore issued to all the Governors of provinces, ordering the destruction of temples and schools and totally prohibiting the teaching and infidel practices of the unbelievers." This statement has been examined at length by Faruqi in his "Aurangzeb and his Times" and found incompatible with other known facts."[21] It is, however, incontestable that at a certain stage Aurangzeb tried to enforce strict Islamic law by ordering the destruction of newly built Hindu temples. He obviously did not relish this step, and later, the procedure was adopted of closing down rather than destroying the newly built temples in Hindu localities.[22] It is also true that very often the orders of destruction remained a dead letter but Aurangzeb was too deeply committed to ordering of his government according to Islamic law to omit its implementation in so significant a matter. The fact that a total ban on the construction of new temples was adopted only by later jurists, and was a departure from the earlier Muslim practice—e.g. as laid down by Muhammad bin Qasim in Sind—was no concern of the correct, conscientious and legal-minded Aurangzeb.

As a part of general policy of ordering the affairs of the state in accordance with the views of the *ulama* certain discriminatory orders against the Hindus were issued, (for example imposition of

higher customs duties, 5% on the goods of the Hindus as against 2% on those of Muslims). These were generally in accordance with the practice of the times but they marked a departure not only from the political philosophy generally governing Mughul government, but also from the policy followed hitherto by most Muslim rulers in Indo-Pak subcontinent, and aroused resentment amongst the Hiudus.

Aurangzeb has often been accused of closing the doors of official employment on the Hindus, but as a study of the list of his officers shows, this is completely baseless. Actually there were more Hindu officers under him than under any Mughul Emperor, and though this was primarily due to a general increase in the number of officers, it clearly shows that there was no ban on the employment of the Hindus. In case of subordinate revenue officials, (*qanungos*), Aurangzeb passed orders that 50% of the appointments should go to the Muslims, and 50% to the Hindus. Those who have seen contemporary criticism of the revenue officials and the complaints that they were making assignments for waqfs and even military services null and void, leading to widespread misery and discontent in the solidiery[(d)] will not be surprised at this step. Practically all village officials (*patwari*) and (*patel*) who handled the revenue and record work were Hindus, and in a state where payments (e.g. for military services or maintenance of educational institutions) were generally not in cash, but through assignments of land, the revenue organisation had colossal powers. This power became decisive in a reign in which great importance was attached to the legal position of documents, and probably Aurangzeb found it necessary to end a monopoly, not only to give Muslims greater share of the biggest department of the state, but also to provide a check on the work of the subordinate revenue officials.

Aurangzeb's policy towards the Hindus was naturally unpopular with them. It was forgotten that he had remitted nearly eighty taxes and cesses, paid mainly and in many cases entirely by the Hindus, but reimposition of *Jizya*, was carefully noted, and resented. At Delhi the Hindus demonstrated and the rising of Satnamis in 1672 though agrarian in origin took a religious colour. Aurang-

(*d*) For an impassioned account of the hardships of the soldiers at the hands of the Hindu revenue officials in Bengal, see Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, (J. N. Sarkar) pages 173, 174, 175.

zeb found no difficulty in dealing with these demonstrations, and except in cases where *jizya* was remitted for special reasons, it was duly recovered throughout Aurangzeb's dominions.

It has been often stated that the offence which Aurangzeb gave to the Hindus by the religious policy created confusion in his kingdom, and led to the downfall of the Mughul empire. That this is not so becomes clear on a study of Aurangzeb's reign. As Dr. Tara Chand says : " The Hindu risings were not successful, and they were not inspired by any common aims, whether religious or political. Aurangzeb suppressed them with Hindu help."[23]

Aurangzeb's policy was highly unpopular with the non-Muslims but in assessing this policy we should not forget that we are dealing with the Seventeenth Century. As a Hindu scholar has pointed out, " Aurangzeb was no worse than the Cavalier Parliament in England which passed the Clarendon Code. His legislation lagged far behind that manifestation of the collective wisdom of the English at that time. He did not interfere with the celebration of private religious worship of his Hindu subjects. He did not forbid their priests teaching Hindus. He did not exclude them from the public services. Aurangzeb erred in common with most of the contemporary rulers of the world. If his church was that of a minority, so was the Protestant church is Ireland. If he levied the *jiziya* on the majority of his subjects, the preponderant majority of the Roman Catholics in Ireland went on paying the tithes for the support of the alien Protestant church legally till the thirtees of the Nineteenth Century, but virtually till 1867. For almost everything that he did, he could find an excuse in the state policy of his times."[24]

Aurangzeb and the East India Company.

Aurangzeb had serious difficulties with the East India Company, which opened its first trade factory in India at Surat in 1612 and later established trading-houses at Masaulipatam, Balasore, (1633), and Madras (1640). The trouble first arose in Bengal, where Shayista Khan was trying to introduce some order and regard for the Mughul government in place of Shah Shuja's lax administration. The foreign settlements of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, emboldened by their superiority on the sea had become truculent, and in distant regions considered themselves subject to no checks. Shah Shuja, partly out of his general indifference to financial considerations and partly to gain their support in the coming struggle for the throne, was particularly gene-

rous to the foreign traders. To the English factory which was opened at Hugli in 1651, he gave a *nishan* (an order) in 1652, permitting them to trade freely in Bengal on a lump annual payment of Rs. 3,000 in lieu of customs dues. In the succeeding years the Company's trade in Bengal multiplied many times but, on the authority of Shuja's order, it refused to increase its contribution or even pay subsidiary taxes like *rahdari*, *peshkash* etc. Shayista Khan objected to this and difficulties arose between him and the English. The attitude of the officers of the Company may be judged from a letter addressed to the Head Office on 13th January, 1665 :—

"Your Worship must consider that these people are grown more powerful than formerly, and *will not be so subject to us as they have been*, unless they be a little beaten by us, that they may understand, if they impede us by land, it lieth in our power to requite them by sea . . . . . . In fine, it is Mr. Blake's opinion that your affairs will be quite ruined if this Nabob (Shayista Khan) lives and reigneth long."[25]

These differences came to a head in 1685, when the English sacked the Mughul town of Hugli. At this time Sir Joshia Child was the Chairman of the East India Company and "he persuaded King James II to sanction despatch of 10 or 12 ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition was an utter failure and in 1686 the English found themselves obliged to abandon Bengal altogether."[26] Meanwhile, a similar situation was developing on the western coast of India. Partly, it was due to the imperial ambitions of Sir Joshia Child who, in 1688 had a resolution passed by the Board of Directors, placing on record "the determination of the company to guard their commercial supremacy on the basis of their territorial sovereignty"[27] and thus foreshadowing the British annexations of the later period. Partly the troubles arose on account of the activities of English pirates,[(e)] who seized several pilgrim ships including Ganj-i-Sawai, owned by Aurangzeb himself. The English it appears, had also begun to coin rupees in Bombay, with a superscription containing the name of their king. Aurangzeb, thereupon ordered that the English

(e) The historian Khafi Khan who visited Bombay about this time states that the island produced so little, and the parsimonious English provided so poorly for their local officers, that they had to engage themselves systematically in piracy to keep themselves going.

Factory at Surat should be seized, and the factors and all Englishmen expelled from his dominions. Effect was given to these orders, but ultimately terms were arranged between the Company and the Mughuls. Aurangzeb relented due to the fact that the English had the control of the Arabian Ocean and were able to interfere with the *hajj*, but, it appears, they eascaped permanent damage through having a powerful advocate at the court in the person of Aurangzeb's *Wazir* Asad Khan himself. In Bengal also, the aged Shayista Khan died in 1688 and was succeeded by mild and incompetent Ibrahim Khan. The actions of the East India Company were condoned on payment of a fine of Rs. 1½ lakh and on its undertaking the responsibility for checking piracies on certain terms. The important result of the action taken by Aurangzeb, however, was that "the English merchants kept clear of politics and fighting for about half a century."[28]

Cultural Life (1658-1707)

Under Shah Jahan the royal patronage of cultural activities was at its zenith. Aurangzeb completely altered the position. In course of time he disbanded the court musicians, abolished the offiice of the poet-laureate, and discontinued the work of the court chronicler. He offered little encouragement to the painters. Even about the Taj, the greatest gift of the Mughuls to Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and incidentally the tomb of his mother, he was critical on grounds of economy and Islamic law. "The lawfulness of a solid construction over a grave is doubtful, and there can be no doubt about the extravagance involved." [f]

Aurangzeb's policy was unfavourable to the promotion of arts, but except in the realm of architecture wherein even otherwise large-scale activity could not be carried on with a depleted treasury, it did not prove disastrous. Partly this was due to its gradual adoption, and partly because the princes and noblemen partially made up for the lack of royal patronage. In case of poetry, in which genuine self-expression yields better results than compliance with a patron's wishes or moods, the abolition of the court patronage and the weakening of the court tradition even led to some welcome new developments. Poetry was, so to say, released from the bondage of the court tradition, and the poets could give a free rein to their own ideas aud interests. The greatest Persian poet of the period was Bedil, who turned away from the polished love

(f) See Fanun-i-Latifa Bad-i-Aurangzeb by Dr. Abdullah Chughtai P. 42.

lyrics of the old court poets and concentrated on metaphysical poetry. Often his fancy ran riot, and many of his metaphors are quaint and far-fetched. Even his meaning is frequently obscure, but he is unmatched for profundity of thought and originality of ideas and similies. He is highly popular in Afghanistan and Central Asia, where his poetry appeals to the serious readers in the same way as the great *Masnavi* of Rumi. He paved the way for Ghalib, who followed him in aiming at originality and depth of thought, but adopted the polished diction of Mughul court poets.

Even more fruitful, in this atmosphere of free experimentation were the efforts of Wali (1707),[g] universally recognised as the Chaucer of Urdu poetry. Aurangzeb's long sojourn in the Deccan resulted in the mingling of the poets of the Deccani and Gujarati languages with the northern speakers of chaste Urdu. Wali, whose birthplace is variously given as Aurangabad and Ahmedabad, started as a writer of Deccani. Under the influence of his teacher Gulshin, he modified his diction and incorporated ideas and metaphors from Persian poetry in his verses so beautifully that the result was a great literary success and showed the way to the poets of Delhi. There was thus laid the foundation of modern Urdu poetry.

These developments owed very little to Aurangzeb's initiative. The cultural activities for which he was directly responsible were the spread of Islamic learning and general difusion of education. His reign was marked by the most extensive grant of patronage and stipends to scholars and students. As Narendra Nath Law points out, "he sent orders to Mukramat Khan, Diwan of Gujarat, as he did to other Diwans in his dominions, that all students from the lowest to the highest form, those who read the *Mizan* as well as those who read the *Kashaf*, be given pecuniary help from the State Treasury with the sanction of the professors of the colleges and of the Sadr of the place". In Aurangzeb's reign we do not come across religious leaders of the calibre of Shah Waliullah or Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi, but there is no doubt that the foundation of the Islamic religious revival of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries was laid in his day. He made very liberal grants for the spread of education, and the large-scale employment of *qazis* offered lucrative openings to those who received proper education. The popular Islamic curriculum, known as *dars-i-Nizamiya*, was coming into being in his reign, and the Emperor was personally

(g) This date is based on Maulvi Abdul Haq's researches.

responsible for the grant of extensive buildings, known as Farangi Mahal of Lucknow, to the family of Mulla Nizam-ud-Din, after whom *Dars-i-Nizamiya* is named. Leaving aside the foreign works, most of the books included in the *Dars-i-Nizamiya* were written during Aurangzeb's reign. They were mainly the work of two scholars specially patronised by the Emperor—Mir Zahid, the Qazi of Kabul and Muhibullah Bihari, the Qazi of Lucknow. Compilation of the comprehensive legal digest, known as Fatawa-e-Alamgiri, was also due to the Emperor's own initiative.

One depressing feature of Aurangzeb's reign was the poor performance of the "intellectuals." Akbar attracted scholars like Fath Ullah Shirazi and Abul Fazl to his court and utilised them for running the administration, perfecting the revenue system, and reorganizing education etc. The same trend is noticeable under Shah Jahan, whose two *wazirs*, Sadullah Khan and Fazil Khan, were essentially scholars and intellectuals. There were other nobles like Danishmand Khan, the patron of Bernier, who occupied high positions. In Aurangzeb's reign a distinct deterioration in the level of "intellectuals" is noticeable. Not only do we look invain for them in high positions,—Aurangzeb's reign was the heyday of the bureaucrats—but those who claimed intellectual interests did not attain any great heights in these fields. Nimat Khan Aali, who was a pupil of Danishmand Khan of Shah Jahan's reign and received the title of Danishmand Khan from Aurangzeb's successor, was no more than a satirist and a pedant, and some of his writings are in very poor taste. Bedil employed his massive intellect not towards the extension of knowledge or towards the working out of a new philosophy, of which he was fully capable, but in thinking out far-fetched metaphors and spinning endless metaphysical conceits.

Aurangzeb, the man and the administrator.

Aurangzeb is, perhaps, the most controversial personality of Indo-Pak history. By some he is held responsible for the downfall of the Mughul empire, while Orme considered him "the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan," Dr. Sorley refers to him as "the gaunt, austere and obstinate doctrinaire, whose powerful hand had succeeded in arresting the fissiparious tendencies of the Mughul dominion," and adds, "It is a tribute to the strength of determination and the ability of this man of remarkable genius that he succeeded so well, as he did in preserving the unity of the

vamshackle Delhi empire".(h)

Aurangzeb is also the least understood of Indian monarchs. Sri Ram Sharma, who has dealt with his personality at length heads this section, "The Riddle of Aurangzeb" and speaks of him as "a great enigma". The real puzzle of Aurangzeb's personality, however, is that a monarch so able and alert, so industrious and keen to prove an ideal monarch, and so pure in his personal life left the empire entrusted to him (larger but) weaker than he found it.

Personal qualities.

So far as Aurangzeb's personal qualities are concerned there is general admiration for them. Majumdar writes about him: "Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose, and ceaseless activity were some of his prominent qualities. His military campaigns gave sufficient proof of his unusual courage, and the manner in which he baffled the intrigues of his enemies shows him to have been a past master of diplomacy and statecraft. His memory was wonderful, and his industry indefatigable. He personally read all petitions and passed orders on them in his own hand. The Italian, physician, Gemelli-Careri, who visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and saw him in 1695 when he was seventy-seven years old "admired to see him endorset he petitions with his own hand, without spectacles and by his cheerful, smiling countenance seemed to be extremely pleased with the employment"[29].

Aurangzeb exercised severe self-discipline and appeared to have a cold and unmoving disposition, but those who have not been deceived by superficial appearances have found that beneath a rigid and ascetic exterior' he had a soft and kindly heart. Sri Ram Sharma' after quoting Aurangzeb's revenue regulations at length, says: "It must have been clear to the reader from the above evidence that Aurangzeb had the right perspective for a ruler of an agricultural land like ours" (P. 619). He qoutes, with approval what he calls Lane-Poole's "just estimate of Aurangzeb"—"Incomparably his father's superior,—a wiser man, juster king, and more clement and benevolent ruler."—"His greatest calumniator, Manucci," he adds. "admits that his heart was really kind."

Apart from bravery, industry, benevolence and devotion to

(h) *Shah Abdul Latif.* H.T. Sorley, page 6. Elsewhere Sorley refers to him as the "sad, grim and loneiy doctrinnaire" and pays a tribute to "the unbending vigilance of the tyrannical and ascetic Aurangzeb" (pp. 8-9.)

duty, Aurangzeb's life was remarkable for its simplicity and purity. His dress, food and recreations were all extremely simple. He was free from vice and "even from the more innocent pleasures of the idle rich". He ate simple, vegetarian food, and led an extremely well-regulated life. He died at the age of ninety, but all his faculties (except his hearing) remained unimpaired. He had a wonderful memory ; "he never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard."

He was a very well-read man, and kept up his love of books till the end. He wrote beautiful Persian prose. A selection of his letters (Ruq'aat-i-Alamgiri) has long been a standard text book as a model of simple but elegant prose. According to Bakhtawar Khan, he had acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeable to the words of God, "Poets deal in falsehoods," he abstained from practising it. He even understood music well but "on account of his great restraint and self-denial" he gave up this amusement. in accordance with Islamic injunctions.

Administrative weakness

Aurangzeb's personal qualities have won the admiration of even his opponents, but the greatness of a statesman can only be judged by the practical results achieved by him. In this Auragnzeb was not so fortunate. He greatly extended the Mughul dominion, and many of his achievements proved solid and enduring, but there is another side of the picture also. For 20 years he struggled against the Marathas with all the resources of the empire and made extensive territorial gains, but his success was far from decisive. Shibli, in his brilliant defence of Aurangzeb, has stated that the Mughul emperor had "taken the sting out of the Maratha problem" and at the time of his death, only some "mopping up" operations were called for. This is historically incorrect—and one has only to read the concluding pages of Alamgir Nama to realise the sorry state of Aurangzeb's "Grand Army" at the time of his death—but even if it were true it can hardly be considered a great achievement. The old, extensive kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur were each conquered in less than a year but the entire might of the Mughul empire was pitted against the Marathas, without gaining decisive results. And in the process the Achilles' heel of the Mughul superiority was so exposed, that the Marathas gained a new confidence and soon moved from the defensive in the Deccan to an offensive in the north.

In the financial field, Aurangzeb's achievements were even less distinguished. When he died, the imperial treasury was almost empty. He left barely Rs. 12 crores—not very much more than the inheritance of a single Mughul noble like Asaf Khan. Towards the end of his reign, the imperial finances were in such severe straits that the Diwan would anxiously wait for the receipt of the Bengal revenue, so that there may be no administrative breakdown and the expenses of the Deccan campaign might be met.

It is a tribute to Aurangzeb's grasp over the affairs of the empire that no major upheaval occurred in the north during his prolonged absence in the Deccan, but there are clear indications of many minor disturbances and a general slackening of administration. In Bengal, for example. Sobha Singh, a petty chief of Midnapur District, joined hands with Rahim Khan, the Chief of Orissa Afghans and defeated the Hindu Zamindar of Burdwan and captured the chief town. They also seized the fort and city of Hugli and plundered the cities of Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda and Rajmahal. The emperor removed Ibrahim Khan, the Governor (though, it appears, soon to appoint him at Allahabad), and the rebellion was effectively put down, but it exposed the insecure state of administration. As this disturbance enabled the English and other foreigners to fortify their settlements at Calcutta, and other places, its effects were far-reaching and permanent.

Perfect peace did not prevail outside these areas either. One has only to read the vivid account of the poet Bedil, who was held up at Muthra for nearly two years, about the disturbed conditions round Delhi and Agra, and the way "the lightning of helplessness had struck the countries of Hindustan", when Aurangzeb was "preoccupied with the idea of conquest of Deccan".[30]

The Basic Weakness

The basic cause of Aurangzeb's incomplete success did not lie in any weakness of his own. It lay in the quality of men at his disposal. An artisan is as good as his tools and a ruler is as effective as his officers. Aurangzeb's misfortune was that he came to the helm of affairs, when two generations of unparalleled prosperity, ease and high living had sapped the moral fibre of the Mughul aristocracy. The Mughuls were no longer the hardy soldiers or resourceful improvisers of the days of Babur and Akbar. Aurangzeb constantly bemoaned the scarcity of good officers. In one of his

letters he says, "My grandfather (Akbar) had many faithful servants. He entrusted them with the work of gaining successful victories and of performing many affairs, and in the time of my father (Shah Jahan) there came forward many brave and faithful servants, well behaved officers and able secretaries. Now I want one competent person, adorned with the ornament of honesty, for the Diwani of Bengal ; but I find none. Alas ! alas ! for the rarity of useful men." A growing weakness of the Mughul officials was that they shirked arduous and difficult assignments. For them the continuous stay in the Deccan, away from the attractions of Shahjahanabad were such a calamity that they would probably have preferred the Maratha victory to such an exile. One of Aurangzeb's leading nobles used to say that he would distribute a lakh of rupees in charity, if he could see the capital once again. Such ease-loving generals fared badly against the hardy Marathas. They took years to conquer small hill-forts, and many of these forts conquered after long sieges would be quickly lost owing to the sloth and negligence of the officers in charge of the Mughul garrisons.

Treachery was rampant in the Mughul army, from which even royal princes were not immune. During the seven year long siege of Ginji, Prince Kam Bakhsh, who was in charge of the operations along with Zulifqar Khan, had to be placed under arrest as he was about to join the Marathas with his troops. During the siege of Satara fort the Marathas bribed Prince Azam to ensure that provisioning of their garrison would not be interefered with, and the fort which at the commencement of the siege had provisions to last only for two months could not be conquered for full six months.

With such instruments at his disposal there is no wonder that Aurangzeb's policy did not succeed. Iqbal, in a penetrating analysis of the Mughul emperors says," The political genius of Aurangzeb was extremely comprehensive. His one aim of life was, as it were, to subsume the various communities of this country under the notion of one universal empire. But in securing this imperial unity he erroneously listened to the dictates of his indomitable courage which had no sufficient background of political experience behind it. Ignoring the factor of time in the political evolution of his contemplated empire he started an endless struggle in the hope that he would be able to unify the

discordant political units of India in his own life-time." [i] Perhaps Aurangzeb's real mistake (or misfortune) was that in listening to "the dictates of his indomitable courage" he ignored the quality of men at his disposal.

Legalistic Attitude

Some of Aurangzeb's difficulties were due to causes beyond his control. Others, especially the financial and the administrative, arose out of his basic policy and his personal character. In dealing with Aurangzeb's attitude towards the non-Muslims we have stated that the central core of the policy, which he put into practice as soon as he felt strong enough to do so, was to run his government according to the Islamic law. In this, he is stated to have reversed Akbar's religious policy. Actually, the departure he made was much bigger. He gave up the age old policy, followed since the inception of the Muslim rule in India, and openly proclaimed by Balban, Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Sher Shah of subordinating legal and ecclesiastical considerations to practical requirements of administration.

In organizing his Government on the basis of Islamic law, Aurangzeb was inspired by high motives, but the policy created many problems. His financial difficulties were, partly, due to the wholesale remission of some 80 taxes and Aurangzeb's refusal to levy any tax, not specifically authorised by *Shariat*. He failed to see, as even Firuz Tughluq had seen, that such a policy was inconsistent with military expansionism and large-scale warfare. In administrative field, also, Aurangzeb was opposed to taking any action or imposing any penalty, except in accordance with the Islamic law. This resulted in precedence being given to the qazis, which was not liked by many of Aurangzeb's Muslim officers. "When the news of Shayista Khan's discomfiture at the hands of Shivaji reached the court, someone suggested that a theologian be deputed against Shivaji." Some of Aurangzeb's ablest generals found the attention given by the emperor to rigid legal procedure, irksome. Firuz Jang, the grandfather of Nizam-ul-Mulk and the conqueror of Bijapur and Golcunda (whom the emperor held so dear that once when he fell ill and was forbidden melons, Aurangzeb himself gave up this fruit), put to death one Muhammad Aqil, on a charge of highway robbery, without formal trial by a qazi. Aurangzeb sternly rebuked him, and even asked his wazir to write

(*i*) Stray Reflections, a Note-Book of Allama Iqbal, edited by Javid Iqbal, p. 44-45.

to the over-enthusiastic noble that if the heirs of the slain refused to accept the blood—money permitted by law he would have to pass an order of retaliation (execution) against him.[31]

There is something truly noble and touching in a ruler reminding his dearest and ablest general that he would have to face the full rigours of the law for unlawful action, and there can be nothing but admiration for Aurangzeb's endeavours to uphold the law and proper judicial procedure, even in such cases, but in the Seventeenth Century the administrators found this meticulous emphasis on legal procedure and the prominent position of the qazis something of a hindrance. The contemporary historian Khafi Khan has attributed the imperfect success of Aurangzeb, inspite of his great ability and superhuman industry, to his reluctance to impose penalties. After praising Aurangzeb's unrivalled devotion, austerity, justice, courage, forbearance, and sound judgment he says: "But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law, he did not make use of punishment and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions rose among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good ; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed in its objective."[32] A more modern Muslim writer confirms this criticism. Writing of Aurangzeb's policy, M. B. Ahmed says: "While such attitude...... would give credit to a judicial temperament, I doubt if it has much to commend itself, when the chief judicial officer was also the *defacto supreme* executive head of the Government."[33]

Moreland writes about Aurangzeb: "Himself a rigid Muslim, his guiding principle was to organise the Empire in strict accordance with the public law of Islam, and he pursued this course, without any recognition of the factors which it is a statesman's business to take into account."[34] This sentence sums up the basic dilemma of Aurangzeb's character. These factors must have been obvious to a man of his clear vision and realism. But he felt it was his duty, as a Muslim King, to apply the only law which he recognised, to all branches of his government. The fact that his lawyers and legal advisers were not equal to their responsibilities did not deter him. From an early age he had resolved to do his duty, irrespective of the odds in the way, and this he continued to do until the end of his days.

Normally Aurangzeb was a good judge of men, and took long

Aurangzeb's Wazir

and pondered carefully in selectlng officers for the key posts. He, however, made some major mistakes, which proved disastrous to the empire. In particular his trust in Asad Khan, who was his *wazir* or Bakhshi for 37 long years, and whose son Zulfiqar Khan became the senior-most general, was not justified by subsequent events. As we shall see later, the first disastrous blow at Mughul monarchy was struck, when after the death of Aurangzeb's successor, Zulfiqar came to terms with the four contending princes, by offering individually his support to each one of them on the condition that he should be made the wazir.[35] The prince, he ultimately selected and zealously supported was Jahandar Shah, the most dissolute and incompetent of all who (with his revelries with Lal Kanwar) soon reduced kingship to a joke.

This happened when Asad Khan was alive and, as later events proved, still influential with his son. The extent to which Asad Khan and his son shared Aurangzeb's outlook may be judged from the fact that within nine days of Jahandar Shah's accession, "Aurangzeb's wazir and lifelong favourite"[36] and his son jointly petitioned the new king to abolish *jizyah*—and it was immediately abolished.

The advice to abolish *jizyah* may have been sound, but it appears a little odd, coming from Aurangzeb's wazir. Such information as is available about Asad Khan's style of living leaves no doubt that he had nothing in common with his grim, dutiful, ascetical master. He must have been the most highly paid official in the empire, but he maintained such a high style of living that he could not cope with his expenditure. According to Ma'asir-ul-Umara "the expenses of his *harem* and for the purveyors of music and song were so great that his revenues did not meet them.[37]

There is evidence available from the records of the East India Company that Aurangzeb's favourite Prime Minister was corrupt and was receiving expensive presents (and even cash) from the foreign Company to promote its interests. When in 1695 Aurangzeb became angry at the capture of a pilgrim ship by the English pirates, and ordered that Bombay should be invaded, Asad Khan came to the rescue of the East India Company. An English historian writes :—

"Fortunately for the English interest it had at this period a powerful friend at court in the Prime Minister, Asad

Khan. This worthy was too well-informed to believe that the Engligh Company had any real part in the piracies.........Mingled with his solicitude for the State interests was no doubt a lively sense of the adverse effect that the expulsion of the English would have on his own finances. Corruption was the breath of Mughul official's life, and whatever the shortcomings of the English, they were handsome bribers. Asad Khan, therefore, found no difficulty, when Aurangzeb's rage had abated, in representing to him that there might be another side of the question..........."[38]

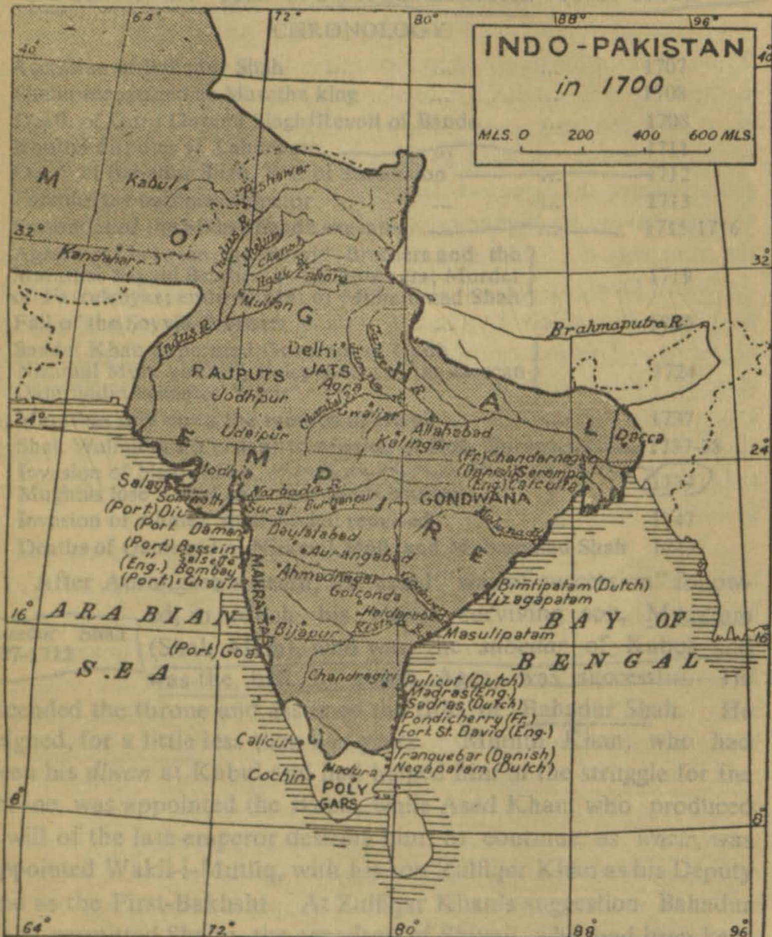
The author has quoted from a contemporary letter written by Anneseley, the President of the Surat Council, suggesting how they should proceed: "A good *vakeel* at court, and some rarity to Asad Khan (who was so lately obliged to be our friend by a present of 30,000 rupees)......would have such an awe on the several governors where the Right Honourable Company's business is concerned......."[39], was the suggestion he made.

Aurangzeb's judgment of men was often shrewed—his warning about the Sayyids of Barha proved truly prophetic—but it is very doubtful whether Asad Khan and Zulfiqar deserved the position which they gained under him. He was careful and considerate in handling of men, but his failure in two cases—of Khushal Khan Khattak and Shivaji—proved very costly. In case of Khushal Khan the difficulty arose on account of the general decision to abolish tolls, and in the other case the expectations and demands of the Maratha leader were excessive. In both cases probably Aurangzeb was faced with an impossible task, but it still remains a question whether Akbar or Shah Jahan, the 'Qadardan' would not have been more successful.

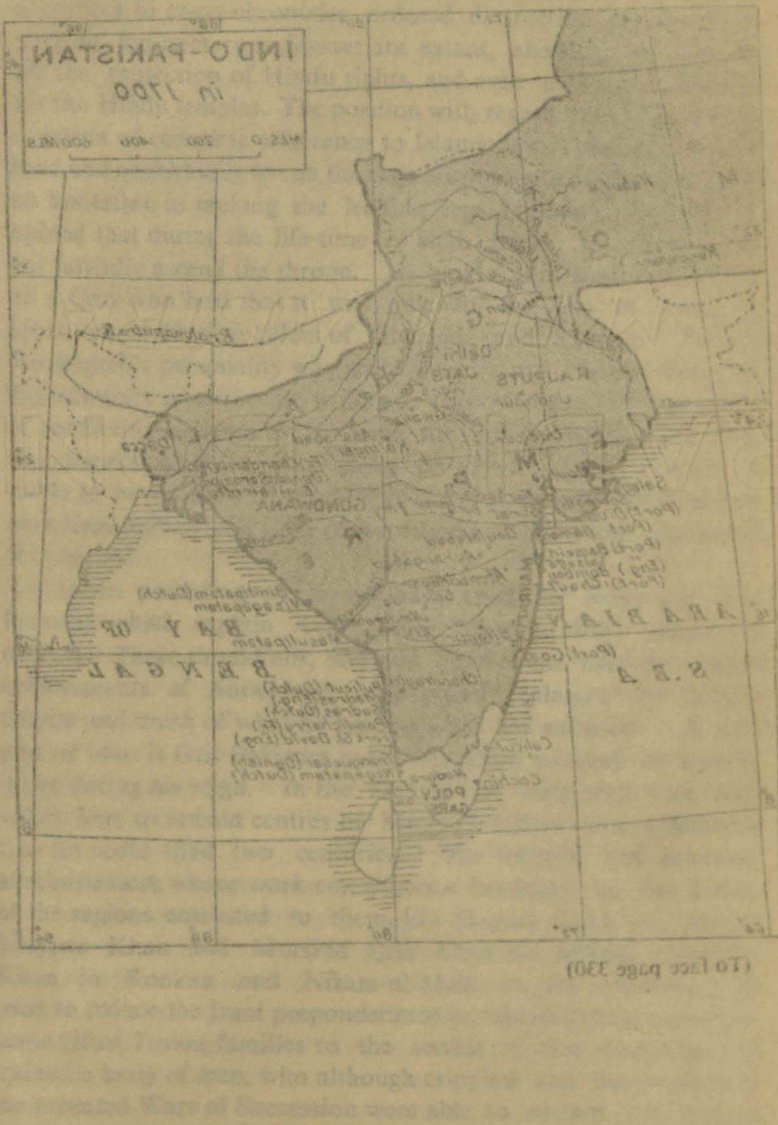
Perhaps the time to make a final assessment of Aurangzeb has not yet arrived. More than five thousands of his letters are extant, out of which only a handful have seen the light of the day. Until this rich material is published and scrutinised, a proper appraisal of Aurangzeb's personality is not possible. At present evidence about him is fragmentary, and at times contradictory, even on basic issues. For example, he is often accused of an anti-Shia bias and Sarkar has dwelt on this at length. On the other hand it has been estimated that majority of his nobles were Shias and once when Shia-Sunni question was raised before

him in connection with the claims of the Irani and Turani nobles, he stated, "What have the sectarian differences got to do with administrative matters?" Evidence on Aurangzeb's attitude towards Hindus is also far from consistent. He reimposed *jiziya*, and according to court chronicles ordered destruction of newly built temples, but numerous *firmans* are extant, showing his solicitude for the protection of Hindu rights, and even making endowments for the Hindu temples. The position with regard to the fundamental question of complete adherence to Islamic law is similar. He tried hard and consistently to run the state according to Shariat but he had no hesitation in sacking the leading legal luminary when the latter opined that during the life-time of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb could not lawfully ascend the throne. He took similar action with regard to a Qazi who held that it was unlawful for him to invade the territories of Muslim rulers of Golcunda and Bijapur. Possibly, Aurangzeb's personality was more complex and flexible than either his admirers or critics are willing to acknowledge. In the context of conflicting evidence the tendency for each group is to emphasise the elements supporting its point of view. These verdicts are liable to be modified in the light of the vast material which remains unutilized and all judgment of Aurangzeb, at this stage, can only be provisional.

In the preceding pages we have tried to bring out those features which explain Aurangzeb's failure to fully achieve his objects. These should not, however, obscure the solid and abiding achievements of Aurangzeb. He greatly enlarged the Mughul empire and much of what he accomplished has endured. A large part of what is East Pakistan today was either annexed or consolidated during his reign. In the Deccan he conquered vast areas which were to remain centres of Mughul culture and administration for more than two centuries. He selected and promoted administrators whose work constitutes a landmark in the history of the regions entrusted to them, like Shujaat Khan in Gujarat, Shayista Khan and Murshid Quli Khan in Bengal, Muhtabir Khan in Konkan nnd Nizam-ul-Mulk in the Deccan. He tried to reduce the Irani preponderance in administration, attracted some gifted Turani families to the service of the Mughuls, and trained a body of men, who although crippled and demoralised by the repeated Wars of Suceession were able to sustain the Mughul empire through the ravages of the Sayyid Brothers and Banda, and gave it a new lease of life.



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CHAPTER XXII

DECLINE OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE—(1707-1748)

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Bahadur Shah	1707
Shahu recognized as Maratha king	1708
Death of Guru Gobind Singh/Revolt of Banda ...	1708
Khutba disputes at Lahore etc.	1711
Death of Bahadur Shah, War of Succession ...	1712
Farruksiyar becomes emperor	1713
Surrender of the Sikhs; Banda executed	1715/1716
Agreement between the Sayyid Brothers and the Marathas Sayyid Brothers as King-makers; Murder of Farruksiyar; enthronment of Muhammad Shah	1719
Fall of the Sayyid Brothers	1720
Saadat Khan appointed Governor of Oudh Nizamul Mulk virtually independent in the Deccan Qamruddin becomes Wazir	1724
Marathas raid up to the suburbs of Delhi ...	1737
Shah Waliullah's (Persian) translation of Holy Quran	1737-38
Invasion of Nadir Shah Mughuls lose Kabul and trans-Indus country	1739
Invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali repulsed ...	1747
Deaths of Qamruddin, Nizamul Mulk and Muhammad Shah	1748

Bahadur Shah 1707-1712

After Aurangzeb's death, the usual "war of succession" followed, in which his eldest surviving son, Muazzam (Shah Alam), who was the *subedar* of Kabul and was the first to reach Agra, was successful. He ascended the throne and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. He reigned, for a little less than five years. Munim Khan, who had been his *diwan* at Kabul and had helped him in the struggle for the throne, was appointed the *Wazir*, while Asad Khan, who produced a will of the late emperor desiring him to continue as *wazir*, was appointed Wakil-i-Mutliq, with his son Zulfiqar Khan as his Deputy and as the First-Bakhshi. At Zulfiqar Khan's suggestion Bahadur Shah permitted Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji, who had been kept as a hostage at the royal capital, to return to Maharashtar.

Bahadur Shah was a mild and forbearing ruler, and tackled the the problems with which he was confronted with tolerable competence. He had to face trouble in Rajputana, which he overcame without much difficulty. His longest campaign was against Banda

in the Punjab. When the last Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh died in November, 1708, he was on the best of relations with the Mughul government. Both the Sikh accounts and the court historians agree that Guru Gobind Singh joined the Mughul army as a *mansabdar* under Bahadur Shah. Irvine says: "It seems certain that Gobind Singh joined Bahadur Shah at some point, when that Prince was on his march down country from Lahore to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother, Azam Shah. Gobind Singh must have received some rank but what it was is not stated by the Muhammadans. A *mansab* of 5,000, as stated by the Sikhs, is preposterous, the greatest leaders at the head of thousands of soldiers having no higher rank than two or three hundred men. In the same way the Sikhs make the battle fought at Jajua, between Agra and Dholpur, on the 18th Rabi I, 1119 (18th June, 1707), to have been won solely by the marvellous feats of Gobind Singh and his Sikhs. This is absurd, and may summarily be rejected. But, there is, I think, evidence that Gobind Singh was in the Emperor's army at Agra immediately after the battle. I think that he is to be identified in the entry of the Bahadur-Shah-Nama of the 4th Jamadi I, 1119 (2nd August, 1707), when a 'jewelled scarf was presented to Gobind Singh'.[1]

Much progress had been made in healing the wounds which had poisoned the relations between the Sikhs and the Mughuls before the untimely death of Guru Gobind Singh, but those of his followers, and others, who were not well-disposed towards the Mughuls, and had possibly seen the ineffectiveness of the Mughul army in the Deccan took steps which ushered the saddest chapter in the history of the Sikh-Mughul relations. "They produced a man who exactly resembled him (Guru Gobind Singh) and secretly sent him to the Punjab declaring that he was Guru Gobind Singh miraculously brought back to life for leading his followers in a war of independence against the Muslims." This man who was known as *Banda* (the slave), took the title of Saccha Padshah, and calling himself Gobind Singh, summoned the Sikhs to join their Guru who had reappeared. In response to his call many zealous Sikhs assembled and marched in arms to Sonepat, some twenty-five miles north of Delhi, where the Faujdar came out utterly unprepared, and was routed. This success emboldened Banda and brought many to his standards. Accompanied by forty thousand men he next conquered Sadhaura near Ambala and committed unspeakable

atrocities. This was followed by the defeat and slaughter of Wazir Khan, the commandant of the provincial capital, Sirhind (22 May, 1710). "Then the town of Sirhind itself was taken, pillaged for four days with ruthless cruelty; mosques were defiled, houses burnt the women outraged and the Muslims slaughtered."[2]

The progress of Banda towards the south was checked by Shams Khan Khweshgi, the brave Faujdar of Sultanpur, but the situation became so serious that it was feared that the disruption which the Maratha rising had caused in the south may be paralleled or even exceeded in the north. Bahadur Shah therefore, decided to address himself to the task. On December,4, 1710, he reached Sadhaura, which was evacuated by Banda on his approach. The Sikhs moved to the strong fort of Lohgarh, where Banda had been living like a king and had issued coins in his own name. Bahadur Shah, who was accompanied by Munim Khan and Zulfiqar amongst other generals, captured the fort of Lohgarh, but Banda was able to escape. In January, 1711, Sirhind was reoccupied, and Banda took shelter in the hills. After Bahadur Shah's death next year he took advantage of the new war of succession to recover Sadhaura and restore the fortification of Lohgarh, so that the whole problem had to be tackled afresh.

After a halt at Sirhind, Bahadur Shah moved to Lahore. His stay here was marked by one major controversy of his reign. Soon after his occupation of the throne, he had ordered, at the suggestion of Wazir Munim Khan, that the title *wasi* should be added after the name of Hazrat Ali in the Friday prayers. This was considered a Shia innovation and led to trouble in many places. At Lahore the matters came to a head. Bahadur Shah called the leading local theologians to hold discussions with him and made a powerful plea for the change. The local *ulama*, however, did not agree, and the general population with the support of the Afghan soldiers, forming a body of a hundred thousand men, made ready to resist the measure by force. At first the Emperor ordered his Chief of Artillery to have the new form of prayer recited from the pulpit of the Badshahi Masjid on April, 22 1711, but finding that a vast crowd, ready for violent resistance, had gathered in the streets of Lahore, the Emperor gave way and in the end the old form in use in the days of Aurangzeb was recited. Seven leading *ulama* of Lahore were, however, sent to the state prison in the Gwalior fort.

Jahandar Shah

Bahadur Shah who died on February, 27, 1712, left four sons, and as usual, everyone aspired for the throne. At this stage Zulfiqar Khan, who due to the death of Munim Khan and the old age of his father, was the most influential noble of the realm, started playing a role unworthy of a member of a family to which Aurangzeb had entrusted the affairs of the empire. Prince Azim-ush-Shan was his father's favourite and was generally expected to succeed him, but Zulfiqar secretly brought the other three princes together for joint action against Azim and they made solemn agreement for partitioning the empire amongst themselves with "Zulfiqar as Minister for all the three."[3]

In the battle which followed Azim was drowned with his elephant in the Ravi, and then Zulfiqar threw aside the two youngest princes in faveur of the worthless Jahandar Shah, who ascended the throne on 29 March 1712. Zulfiqar became the all-powerful minister, and the king, infatuated with his concubine Lal Kunwar and free from all responsibilities of the state, spent his time in an orgy of mad freaks and low amusement. The relations of Lal Kunwar robbed and mismanaged the state, and the entire tone of the society and the administration was vulgarized. The practice of royal favourites interfering in the affairs of the state, which was to be the bane of Muhammad Shah's reign, really started under Jahandar Shah.

Nemesis was, however, not long delayed. Muhammad Farrukh-Siyar, the second son of Azim-ush-Shan, who was his father's deputy in Bengal, had not reconciled himself to the enthronement of Jahandar Shah. On learning of his father's death, he proclaimed himself emperor at Patna in April, 1712, and was able to interest the two powerful Sayyid brothers in his fortunes. One of these, Husain Ali was his deputy at Patna and the elder Hasan Ali (later Abdullah Khan Qutbul-Mulk) was the deputy at Allahabad. They agreed to espouse the cause of Farrukhsiyar, and by getting support from other quarters, defeated Jahandar Shah at the fateful battlefield of Samugarh, (6 January, 1713). Jahandar Shah escaped from the battlefield, hidden in the *howda* of Lal Kunwar, and entering Delhi by stealth at night, immediately went to Asad Khan and appealed for protection, and sought help from Zulfiqar. "But the crafty old minister dissuaded his son Zulfiqar from making any other attempt on behalf of Jahandar Shah and in violence of their oaths to him decided to imprison him and hand him over to gain

the new emperor's favour and retaining their wealth, titles and influence in the state."[4] Jahandar Shah was murdered in prison on 11 February, but Zulfiqar and Asad Khan did not gain their objects. Zulfiqar Khan was put to death on 13 February, and although the old Asad Khan was allowed to linger on till his death at the age of 88 (15 June, 1715) all the houses and property of Zulfiqar and his father were confiscated and the family completely ruined.

Farrukhsiyar 1713-1719.

Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne on the 11th June, 1713, but his position was far from happy. He owed his crown to the Sayyid brothers, who received the highest offices in the realm. Sayyid Hasan Ali became the Wazir, with the title Qutb-ul-Mulk Zafarjang Sipah Salar, while Sayyid Husain Ali became Mir Bakshi with the title of Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang. The authority and power which the Sayyid brothers assumed was galling to the new king. He, however, lacked the ability and character of an Akbar to overthrow Bairam Khan, and only made schemes and ineffectual efforts which really made his position worse. He had not the courage to strike boldly, but with a low cunning and a weak mind encouraged others to face the Sayzids. Bold and resourceful Turani nobles like Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had been kept in the background under Bahadur Shah and who might have dealt with the Sayyids, hesitated to side with Farruksiyar on account of his fickle nature, and remained aloof. King's friends like Mir Jumla were men of straw and could not accomplish anything. In April, 1715, Husain Ali left Delhi as viceroy of the Deccan, but before leaving he warned the king that in case his brother was harrassed at Delhi, he would promptly return to the capital. Matters came to a head in 1718 when Mir Jumla was recalled by Farrukhsiyar from Lahore. On hearing of this the Wazir wrote to his brother to come back from the Deccan. Husain Ali immediately complied and arrived outside Delhi on 15 February, 1719. A particularly sinister feature of Husain Ali's return was that he was accompanied, apart from his own army, by some eleven thousand Marathas under the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and Khande Rao "Their help was secured by promising to Raja Shahu : (*a*) the *chauth* or one fourth of the revenue of the Deccan (*b*) the *sardeshmukhi* or ten per cent on the collections (*c*) the confirmation of Shivaji's hereditary dominions, and (*d*) the release of Shahu's mother and half-brother from captivity in Delhi, besides a cash salary to each Maratha soldier.[5] On arri-

val at Delhi, the Maratha soldiers did not prove very effective. As a matter of fact, at their first appearance they were panic-striken and large numbers of themb were easily butchered by the Mughul retainers and other inhabitants of the capital, but as pointed out by Owen, Husain Ali's deal with the essentially anti-Mughul community of the Marathas had a far-reaching importance. "Thus the Maratha plan of establishing virtually an anti-polity within the limits of the Mughul empire was realised, and in a most glaring and provoking form."[6]

On arrival at Delhi, Husain Ali assumed an openly rebellious attitude. He ordered his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance of normal Mughul ban on beating of a subject's drums near the emperor's residence and repeatedly said that he no longer reckoned himself amongst the servants of the Mughuls. "I will maintain the honour of my race." Husain Ali probably aimed at setting up a new dynasty but circumstances did not prove propitious. The sympathies of large sections of public were with Farrukhsiyar, and there were large-scale demonstrations in his favour in the capital. This probably curbed Husain Ali's ambitions, but only hastened the emperor's end.

The conflict between the king and the "king-makers" absorbed the energies of the central government, but some provincial governors maintained firm administration, and the extermination of Banda and his companions, which led to the pacification of the East Punjab for one whole generation belongs to Farrukhsiyar's reign. This was essentially the work of Abdus Samad Khan. Early in Farrukhsiyar's reign, (22 February, 1713) he had been appointed the governor of Lahore with his son Zakariya Khan as the Faujdar of Jammu, with instructions to expel Banda from Sadhaura and, if possible, to destroy him altogether. This proved a long and arduous task, especially as attempts had to be made to capture Banda. Sadhaura was beseiged and the Sikh garrison escaped to Lohgarh, where Banda himself was residing. Abdus Samad Khan pushed on to Lohgarh but a panic seized Banda and his men, and they evacuated Lohgarh without firing a short (Oct. 1, 1713). Now Banda took refuge in the hills from where he sallied forth at intervals, plundering the inhabited places and otherwise causing damage to the countryside, by cutting "the Shah-nahr canal" and other small streams, to allow the water to flood the contiguous fields. Ultimately he was chased back to the fort of Gurdaspur, and the patient and painstaking Abdus Samad

Khan took elaborate steps to ensure that he did not escape. A high earthen wall with a trench behind it was raised all round Gurdaspur, so as to completely enclose the fort from all sides. Next a stockade was constructed near the fort walls with a deep and wide ditch at its feet. Banda's followers offered fanatical resistance but all their attempts to escape failed, and the garrison was forced to surrender unconditionally on 17 December 1715, after a prolonged siege of eight months. Banda was taken to Delhi and put to death on 19 June. In dealing with him and his followers stern vengeance was wreaked, but the peace of the area was ensured for a generation or more. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, "after Banda and his personal followers had been crushed in 1715, the Sikhs remained quiescent for over one generation and did not disturb the public peace."[7]

After the death of Farrukhsiyar who was blinded and imprisoned on February, 27, 1719, and strangled two months later, the king-makers placed on the throne Rafi-ud-Darjat but, "he lived and died as a capitve of the Sayyid brothers." He was deposed on the June, 4, and a week later died of consumption. On the 6th of June his elder brother, Rafi-ud-Daula, who "too lived within the fort, a prisoner of his two ministers in all matters, even in private life," was declared the King. He died on the September, 17, 1719, but the fact was kept concealed for nine days. On the 28 December, 1719, Raushan Akhtar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah was crowned king under the title of Muhammad Shah. During the nominal rule of Rafi-ud-Darjat the Sayyid brothers obtained his consent to post Nizam-ul-Mulk to Malwa as viceroy "to get his Mughul troops out of Delhi" (3 March, 1719), and to send back Maratha contingent with the royal orders dated 13 and 24 March confirming the promises made to them by Husain Ali, which Farrukhsiyar had refused to endorse. Another important development was that the two brothers had a violent quarrel over the treasures seized in the palaces of Delhi and Agra, and although this quarrel was patched up, the resultant coolness may have been partly responsible for Husain Ali not proceeding with his original dream of founding a dynasty.

Muhammad Shah (1719-1748)

The new emperor was crowned at the age of twenty and remained on the throne for some thirty years. During the first year he was under the tutelage of the Sayyid brothers, but by now their hold, never

very secure in the face of the powerful Turani nobles, had greatly weakened and they were widely unpopular. Hasan Ali, the Wazir, had left the management of all public affairs to his agent Ratan Chand, who interfered even with the Muslim ecclesiastical appointments. The Sayyid brothers were generous to their troops and followers, but they blatantly looted public properry. At Delhi the Wazir "making use of his position within the palace and the fort had taken possession of all the buried treasures, jewellery, armoury, and all the imperial establishments." The same thing was repeated at Agra. "After an acrimonious dispute, Sayyid Husain Ali Khan was obliged to surrender over two million rupees to his brother and the two were never again on their former terms of amity." Even otherwise the hold of Sayyid brothers was never very secure. As the verses of the famous poet Bedil show, there was widespread resentment over the way in which Farrukhsiyar had been treated. "Even on the day of blinding, several nobles appeared in the streets with their contingents and tried to fight their way to the fort," but withdrew to their homes when it was learned that all was over with Farrukhsiyar.

During Muhammad Shah's reign the opposition to the Sayyid brothers took a more effective form. By now Nizam-ul-Mulk had been estranged by the Sayyids and was in open rebellion. But the blow was struck by some other nobles, who represented both the Turani and Irani factions. Muhammad Amin Khan, the Turani noble who occasionally spoke in Turkish to the Emperor, having ascertained his resentment of the Sayyids, formed a conspiracy to remove Husain Ali. Among his supporters was "Mir Muhammad Amin, a Sayyid of Nishapur who had lately received the title of Saadat Khan and had been, as a Sayyid and Shia, a protege and favourite of Husain Ali. The assasin, Mir Haider Beg, another Sayyid, was found by Muhammad Amin Khan from his own contingent."[8] Husain Ali was assassinated on the October, 9, 1720, a day after his boast "about making an emperor of anyone on whom he chose to cast his shoe."[9] Abdullah Khan, who gave battle was defeated and imprisoned on 15 November. Ratan Chand was beheaded the same day.

Muhammad Amin Khan, who became *Wazir* died of colic on 30 January 1721. On 29 January 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk reached Delhi from Deccan and on 21 February was presented with the pen-case, symbolical of the post of *Wazir*. He was an efficient

officer but too strict a disciplinarian to be popular with the young emperor or his ease-loving courtiers. Muhammad Shah had come under the influence of such courtiers as the witty Umdat-ul-Mulk Amir Khan;, the cultured Muhammad Ishaq, and the indolent Qamar-ud-Din Khan, who were courtiers rather than statesmen, and neglected public business. Nizam-ul-Mulk gave him serious advice "and entreated him to abandon the practice of letting out the reserved lands in farms, to abolish the wholesale bribery which prevailed at the court, to exact the levy of the *jiziya*, as in the time of Aurangzeb, from unbelievers and to requite the services rendered by Tahmasp I of Persia to his ancestor Humayun, by marching to relieve Tahmasp II, now beset by Afghan invaders, who had sacked and occupied his capital."[11] Nizam-ul-Mulk's advice was rejected and on 18 December, 1723 he left the court to return to the Deccan.

After Nizam-ul-Mulk's departure the affairs of the country and the court went from bad to worse. Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to keep the Marhathas away from his territories in the Deccan with skill and tortuous diplomacy, but they were harrassing other parts of the country. By 1732, they had partly occupied Gujarat, partitioned Bundelkhand and temporarily overrun Mewar. Next year Muhammad Shah resolved to march against them in person and made a couple of short marches, but the imperial camp never went beyond Faridabad, sixteen miles south of Delhi. The Marathas became bolder and spread themselves from Gwalior to Ajmer. They suffered defeats at the hands of Burhan-ul-Mulk and Khan Dauıan, but reassembled again, and in 1737 Baji Rao Peshawa managed, by successful and rapid marches, to evade the imperial army and reach Delhi itself. After some looting near the tomb of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya he withdrew on hearing that the *Wazir* and the Mughul army were nearing the capital.

The situation became so grave that there was a general feeling that Nizam ul-Mulk was the only man who could save the kingdom and drive away the Marathas. A pressing invitation was, therefore, sent to him and he started from Burhanpur on 17 April, 1773.

(a) "Unsuccessful in war, the Nizam at last entered into a secret compact with Baji Rao, by which the Maratha government promised to leave the Deccan unmolested and to levy nothing beyond the stipulated *chauth* and *sardesh mukhi* while the Nizam agreed to remain neutral during the projected Maratha invasion of Hindustan". C. H. I. Vol. IV P. 382.

Many miles from the capital he was received by the *Wazir* with the highest honours. In April, 1738, he re-entered Delhi at a time when already a new danger, the invasion of Nadir Shah, was threatening the empire.

Invasion of Nadir Shah

In Persia the ruling Safavi king had been driven out by an Afghan soldier, whose father had freed Qandhar—for long an object of dispute between the Mughuls and the Safavids—from the Persians. He conquered Herat and Khurasan, and in 1722, occupied Isfahan, the Safavi capital. A saviour, however, arose in the person of Nadir Quli, who, acting in the name of the Safavi king, defeated the Afghans, and in 1729, expelled them from Iran. In 1736, hc ascended the throne as Nadir Shah. He wished to punish the Afghans who still held Qandhar, and sent envoys to Muhammad Shah, requesting him to close the frontier of the Mughul province of Kabul to the fugitives from Qandhar. Favourable replies were sent from Delhi, but nothiug tangible was done, and many Afghans escaped from Qandhar to Kabul. Nadir Shah sent another envoy to demand an explanation and return within forty days, but he could neither obtain an audience from the king nor leave to depart, and returned to Nadir Shah only after about a year's absence. After the victory at Qandhar, Nadir moved towards Ghazni and Kabul, which he captured in June, 1738. From there he moved to Peshawar and Lahore, which he occupied after minor local resistance. From Lahore he addressed a letter to Muhammad Shah complaining of gross discourtesy and saying that he was coming to Delhi to punish the royal counsellors, who were responsible for this. Muhammad Shah along with his large army, marched to stop the invader at Karnal but the Indian army (to which Rajput chiefs had refused to send any contingent) was outmanoeuvred.

There was no real, large-scale contest involving the two armies in their entirety. There was a skirmish between the Irani scouts and the fresh troops which were being brought to join the main Indian army in which Burhan-ul-Mulk, the Subedar of Oudh, was captured, and Khan-i-Dauran, the premier noble and the first Bakhshi of Muhammad Shah, was also fatally wounded through an accidental (or well-aimed) shot of the Iranian artillery. The main body of the Indian army, and the contingents of nobles like Nizam-ul-Mulk were not yet involved in action, when the so-

called Battle of Karnal was over, with disastrous results for Indo-Pak subcontinent. The damage, due to misfortune or the battle-field, was completed by treachery and poor statesmanship. Burhan-ul-Mulk, who had been taken to the Persian camp and was originally from Nishapur, was able to persuade Nadir to agree to leave Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi and to retire from India, immediately on receipt of an indemnity of 20 million rupees. Burhan-ul-Mulk, however, hoped to be made Amir-ul-umara in place of Khan Dauran, but when Muhammad Shah conferred the office on Nizam-ul-Mulk, Burahan-ul-Mulk became so angry that he now advised Nadir Shah not to be contented with mere 20 millions, and to move to Delhi.[12] The Persian king decided to leave over the question of indemnity till he reached the capital. The two kings moved towards Delhi in apparent harmony, but what the realm had not yet suffered from the failure on the battle-field and the rivalry of the nobles, was brought about by the rashness and vainglory of the citizens of Delhi. Nadir Shah's troops were quartered in different parts of the city, when a rumour gained currency that the Persian king had been assassinated. This led to a massacre of the Persian soldiers, who were moving about unarmed and nearly nine hundred Persians were slain. This enraged Nadir Shah, who ordered a general massacre of the citizens of Delhi, which continued for a whole day and resulted in the slaughter of nearly thirty thousand persons. In the evening, at the request of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the massacre was stopped but the general loot and extortion continued. In addition to the seizure of Shah Jahan's wonderful Peacock Throne and large stock of pearls, diamonds, and jewellery from the imperial treasury, large levies were imposed on nobles, and wealthy citizens were plundered. On 16 May, Nadir Shah left Delhi laden with booty, the like of which had never been taken away by any conqueror out of India. He left Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi, but annexed all territory west of the Indus, including the province of Kabul and later, stipulated that a sum of twenty lakhs out of the revenue of four mahals of Gujarat, Sialkot, Pasrur and Aurangabad (in the Punjab) which had hitherto been reserved for meeting the administrative cost of the perpetually deficit province of Kabul, should be paid into the Persian treasury.

Nadir's deafeat of the Indian army and massacre and plunder of the capital, destroyed the prestige of the Mughul government

and financially ruined it. This emboldened the Sikhs and the Marathas, and even the provincial governors became defiant and truculent. When addressing Muhammad Shah in a letter from Kabul, Nadir Shah had stated that he had occupied his north-western territory "purely out of zeal for Islam" so that in case "the wretches of the Deccan" again move towards Hindustan, he might "send an army of victorious Qizilbashes to drive them to the abyss of Hell,[13] yet actually he had given a death stab to the empire "of the king of the Musulmans." Apart from the damage done by the Sayyid brothers and the Marathas, Nadir's invasion was the biggest factor responsible for the break-up of the Mughul Empire.

Nadir's invasion of India was a stunning blow, but after a period of helplessness and stupor, Muhammad Shah tried to reorganize his government. According to contemporary accounts, after the departure of Nadir "the emperor and the nobles turned to the management of state affairs and gave up all sorts of uncanonical practices."[14] This phase was short-lived. Nadir Shah, by his attempts to influence Muhammad Shah against Nizam-ul-Mulk and to buttress the influence of one faction, had further aggravated the factious conflicts at the court which had contributed to the Mughul weakness. Muhammad Shah's reign did not, however, close without at least one victory against a foreign enemy. In March, 1748, there was a battle between Ahmed Shah Abdali who had succeeded to the eastern territories of Nadir Shah's empire and the Mughul army near Sirhind, and resulted in the last victory, which Mughuls were to win against a foreign invader. At the head of the Mughul army was the Emperor's son, Ahmed Shah, Wazir Qamruddin, his son Muin-ul-Mulk, and Safdar Jang. There was a stubborn fight, in which Muin-ul-Mulk and Safdar Jang covered themselves with glory and Ahmed Shah Abdali was forced to retreat. Just before the battle, however, the Wazir was hit by a cannon-ball, which inflicted mortal injuries, and in another six weeks his royal patron, whose confidence he had enjoyed for almost a quarter of century, also passed away (26 April, 1748).

OTHER MUSLIM STATES.

One unhealthy development resulting from the growing weakness of the central Mughul authority was the establishment of hereditary viceroyalties in some major provinces of the empire. The process was due to the slackening hold of the central authority,

and in turn not only further weakened the centre by depriving it of financial stability and political cohesion, but ultimately led to the establishment of practically independent kingdoms in the sub-continent. In Muhammad Shah's reign the new phenomenon of hereditary viceroyalties was witnessed in the Punjab, the Deccan, Bengal, Sind and Oudh. In the Punjab, and Sind (mainly owing to intervention of external forces from the west) this did not result in the immediate establishment of independent kingdoms, but in the Deccan, Oudh, Bengal and to some extent in Rohilkhand it resulted in the rise of large principalities, over which the central government of Delhi had only nominal authority.

Nizam-ul-Mulk in Haidarabad

The most important of the new principalities was the Hyderabad State, which comprised six subas of the Deccan, and which at this time had a standard revenue of sixteen crores of rupees against seventeen crores from the other twelve provinces of the Mughul empire taken together. The founder of the state was Nizam-ul-Mulk (Mir Qamar-ud-Din Chin Qulich Khan), whose father Ghazi-ud-Din Firuz Jang was a farvourite of Aurangzeb, and had rendered signal services at the siege of Bijapur in 1686. Mir Qamar-ud-Din was born in 1671, entered Aurangzeb's service at the age of thirteen and six years later received the title of Chin Qulich Khan. In 1714 Farrukhsiyar made him the viceroy of Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk's first tenure of office was brief, as the Sayyid brothers were opposed to him, but he was too powerful to be ignored and held high offices even during the ascendency of the Sayyid brothers. Muhammad Shah made him Wazir in February, 1722, with permission to retain the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk strove hard to introduce order and discipline in the Government at Delhi, but was powerless against the frivolous and corrupt royal favourites. He was trained in a school of stern discipline "and was universally regarded as the sole representative of the spacious times of Aurangzeb and of the policy and traditions of that strenuous monarch." These traditions were not to the liking to the courtiers, who had delighted in the revelry of Jahandar Shah and had created a similar atmosphere of gaiety and frivolity under Muhammad Shah. Finding himself powerless to improve the affairs at Delhi, Nizam-ul-Mulk decided to save what he could from the impending ruin of the Mughul empire and on December, 18, 1723, after obtaining royal permission for a shooting Tour in the Duab set out for the

Deccan. His enemies in the court urged his Deputy to oppose him, but the latter was decisively defeated by Nizam-ul-Mulk and such was his power and prestige that soon Muhammad Shah confirmed him in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, with the additional title of Asaf Jah, (June, 1725).

Nizam-ul-Mulk worked hard to bring peace and order in a land which had been the scene of constant wars for nearly forty years. He enforced law and order with a strong hand, kept the assessment low, made the prohibition of illegal cesses effective and by giving security to the peasants and traders greatly enhanced the wealth of the country. The Marathas were the great menace to his state, and he tried to deal with them with firmness tempered by realism and diplomacy. In 1732 he came to an agreement with the Peshawa that in case the Marathas invaded northern India, he would not attack them in the rear. Five years later, when the Marathas carried their depredations right up to the city of Delhi, the Emperor wrote to Nizam-ul-Mulk for aid and the Nizam responded. He reached Delhi on 13 July 1737,[15] and participated in the battle of Karnal against Nadir Shah, but found that even this blow had not taught a lesson to the emperor and his courtiers. Despairing of all hopes of reforming Muhammad Shah's government, he finally left Delhi in August, 1740, and till his death on 1st June, 1748, continued to work for the consolidation of the state which was to maintain Mughul culture and traditions for over two centuries.

BENGAL (1707-1757)

The history of Bengal for half a century after Aurangzeb's death is essentially an account of two remarkable men, Murshid Quli Khan and Alivardi Khan, who gave the province peace and prosperity, when it was rare in other parts of the subcontinent.

Murshid Quli Khan

Murshid Quli Khan, who was selected *Diwan* of Bengal by Aurangzeb, after great deliberation, to which the emperor's letters bear testimony, was a most remarkable person. By birth a Brahmin, he had been sold as a boy to Haji Shafi Isfahani, later *Diwan-i-tan* of the Mughul empire. Murshid Quli Khan, whose Islamic name was Muhammud Hadi received financial training under him, and soon acquired a reputation for extraordinary ability. In 1698, the Emperor appointed him to the *diwani* of the Deccan and two years later posted him as Diwan of Bengal, where Prince Azim-us-shan was the subahdar. Aurangzeb had the highest admiration for

Murshid Quli's ability and honesty, but the Diwan's relations with the viceroy were most unhappy, and in 1704, Murshid Quli shifted his headquarters from Dacca, the provincial capital, to "Makhsudabad," the name of which was some years later changed, with the Emperor's permission, to Murshidabad.[(a)] Azimush-shan was able to keep Murshid Quli out of Bengal for two years (1708-1709) but in 1710 he was reappointed *Diwan* of that province and in 1717 became viceroy of Bengal, in addition. He retained both the offices till his death on 30 June, 1727.

For ill or well, Murshid Quli Khan has left a lasting impression on the revenue history of Bengal. "The land revenue system taken over by the English was, in its main features, the creation of Murshid Quli Khan, and it was continued in a more refined but more rigid form under Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement."[16] Murshid Quli with his industry and personal attention to details, was able to evolve a system out of chaos, but his success had a sorry side too. He adopted very opressive methods for collection of government dues, and in order to obtain maximum recoveries introduced *ijara* system—i.e. farming of revenue to contractors Not only did the *ijara* system involve hardships to the cultivators, but the replacement of crown collectors by contractors brought about a change in the upper structure of the society also. Sir Jadu Nath Sarker says, "In choosing his contractors, Murshid Quli always gave preference to Hindus and to new men of that sect, He thus created a new landed aristocracy in Bengal, whose position was confirmed and made hereditary by Lord Cornwallis." A large number of Hindu revenue officials acquired big landed properties. and in course of time "came to be called *zamindars* and many of them were dignified with the titles of Rajas and Maharajas."[(b)]

Murshid Quli Khan gave every encouragement to foreign merchants, and ensured that only lawful dues should be collected from them, but he kept a watchful eye on the activities of the East India Company, which had received very liberal concessions during the viceroyalty of Prince Shuja and fortified Calcutta during the last days of Aurangzeb. Murshid Quli Khan refused to endorse

(a) In 1706, the Prince also moved to Patna, thus reducing the importance of Dacca which was now placed under the charge of Deputy

(b) For examples of subordinate revenue officials of Murshid Quli, who acquired large areas, and established big estates (including Natore, Dighapatiea and Mymensingh *raj*) see, History of Bengal edited by J.N. Sankar Vol. II, PP. 409-414.

the privileges granted by Shuja to the British, and even otherwise ourtailed their activity, but the English Company, with the consent of the directors sent a mission to the court of emperor Farrukhsiyar. After spending some two years at the capital, the mission cucceeded in getting very liberal concessions from the emperor "through generous distribution of bribes" and the success of Dr. Hamilton, a member of the mission, in curing the emperor of a painful malady. Murshid Quli tried to circumvent those concessions but although the Company decided to bide their time during his life, its position was greatly strengthened by the concessions granted Farrukhysiar. Calcutta rapidly rose into importance not only on account of the operations of the English traders, but also because of the Portuguese, Armenian, Persian and Hindu merchants who settled there and carried on commerce under the protection of the British flag. English law was in force in the British settlement. The population of Calcutta, which was 15,000 in 1704 rose to a lakh in 1750, and it became a major centre of commercial and economic impatances.

Alivardi Khan

Murshid Quli Khan had no son, and on his death on 30 July 1727, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-Din Muhammad Khan, in whose name the imperial patent was obtained. Shuja's regime was marked by peace and prosperity, but his administration contained the seeds of future trouble. In his government Shuja-ud-Din was guided mainly by advice of Alivardi and his brother Haji Ahmed, Rai Rayan Alam Chand and Jagat Seth Fath Chand, whose family was to play such important part in the history of Murshidabad. Through various means, worthy and unworthy, Haji Ahmed acquired great inflnence over Shuja-ud-Din, and although there was no trouble during his reign, on his death in March, 1739, his son and successor Sarfaraz was deprived by Alivardi of the government of Bengal. Alivardi, whose original name was Mirza Muhammad Ali, and Haji Ahmed, were originally Arabs but Alivardi's father had married a Turkish lady who was related to Shuja-ud-Din Muhammad Khan. In 1733 Alivardi was appointed Deputy Governor of Bihar which he governed with great ability. Differences, however, arose between the two brothers and Sarfaraz, and Haji Ahmed was able to enlist the support of Alam Chand and Jagat Seth. Haji Ahmed and his brother made thorough preparations, and early in 1740 Alivardi marched from Patna. Sarfaraz lost his life on the battle-field,

and on 12 April, Alivardi ascended the *masnad* as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Arrangements had already been made to secure the recognition for the new Nawab from Muhammad Shah, the Mughul emperor in Delhi by offering a present of one crore of rupees over and above the usual annual tribute amounting to one crore and some lacs. Alivardi Khan proved an able administrator. He subjugated Orissa, where the Deputy Governor, a brother-in-law of Sarfaraz had refused to acknowledge his authority He achieved a large degree of success in warding off the Maratha menace and was able to ensure peace and order in his dominion till his death at the ripe age of 80, on 10 April, 1756.

The Punjab under Zakariya Khan

The disorders caused by Nadir Shah's invasion gave the Sikhs a God-sent opportunity and they started raising their heads, but the Punjab was at this time administered by a capable governor, Zakariya Khan, a scion of a distinguished famiiy, and he did not allow the Sikhs to get out of hand. The way his father, Abdul Samad Khan, had won his laurels against Banda in Farrukhsiyar's reign has already been described. In 1726 he died and was succeeded by Zakariya Khan, who had been trained under the vigilant eye of his father, and if anything, excelled him in renown and popular esteem. Not only was he able to deal firmly with the turbulent elements in his territory, but in those harsh days exhibited such a nobility of spirit and vigilance in protecting the people from injustice and oppression, that his personality shines like a beacon of light in a dark and troubled sea. Many were the stories, which the people narrated of his justice and impartiality, "and he was idolised by his subjects in a degree unequalled in that age."[17] Nadir's invasion gave him opportunities to exhibt his noble spirit. While passing Lahore on his return to Iran, Nadir pressed Zakariya Khan to ask for a personal favour, but "the only boon he asked the world-conqueror was the liberation of the artisans and other people whom Nadir was dragging away with him to Persia. Nadir agreed, and thousands of Indian homes, far away from the Punjab were rendered happy by this nobleman's unselfish generosity."

THE RISE OF KALHORAS IN SIND

After promoting peace and prosperity of the province entrusted to his care, Zakariya Khan died on July 1, 1745. Anand Ram Mukhlis records how great was the grief of the people

especially of the city of Lahore, and this grief was justified. With Zakariya Khan "ended the happiness of the Punjab", and this troubled land was not not to know peace for more than a century.

On his victorious return from Delhi Nadir Shah annexed the areas to the west of the Indus river to his empire. This transfer included both Thatta and Shikarpur, and affected the greater part of what later became the province of Sind. There is little mention of Sind in Mughul histories, but it appears that although Mughul officers were posted to Thatta and Bhakkar (which were subordinate to the Mughul viceroy at Multan), much power in this far off province remained in the hands of the local chiefs. Another important feature of the political situation, which continued practically till the British occupation, was the standing division of the area into Upper Sind (Sara) and Lower Sind (Lar). During pre-Mughul period Sehwan, not far from the old Hindu capital at Rohri; was the main town of Upper Sind but under the Mughuls the river-fortress of Bhakkar, between old Rohri and modern Sukkur occupied this position. In the Lower Sind the capital was at Thatta, not far from modern Karachi, though subsequently its place was taken by Hala, and later by Hyderabad, founded in 1769. The language spoken in the Upper Sind was Saraiki.

Even after the Mughul conquest, governors of the *sarkars* of Bhakkar and Thatta were appointed for a long time from the old Tarkhan dynasty. Later the officers belonging to the general cadre of the *mansabdars* took their place. The local zamindars and religious families, however, exercised great influence. During early Mughul rule Daudpotras came into prominence. In 1616 one of their chiefs founded Shikarpur, in an area which was originally a Shikargarh or a hunting forest. Daudpotras came in clash with Kalhoras who were a minor branch of the same family from which Daudpotras were dsscended, and were a family of *pirs* claiming disciples. They came from the Upper Sind (Sara), were originally called Sarais, and spoke Saraiki. They came to notice about the middle of the Sixteenth Century when their spiritual leader Mian Adam or Adam Shah (Circa 1520-1600) became the head of a large number of *faqirs*. He is said to have been a *khalifa*, spirtual successor of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, and was given lands by Akbar's general Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan His growing influance excited the jealousy of other zamindars, and at their instigation the Viceroy of Multan let him be put to death, when he was

on a visit to that city, with a large contingent of disciples. The foundation of future Kalhora importance was, however, laid in Multan, where Agha Shah Muhammad, the *Kotwal* of the city, himself became a disciple of Adam Shah, during his imprisonment. After his murshid's martyrdom the *Kotwal* brought his dead body to Sukkur, buried it in a *rauza* built on the top of a hill, where it forms an impressive landmark outside the town, and looked after the descendents of the *pir.* Agha Muhammad Shah became the first successor of Adam Shah, and after his death was succeded by a grandson of his *murshid.*

Kalhoras, like other holy men, originally depeneded upon *madad-i-ma'ash* (maintenance-land)and offerings of the disciples, but gradually they acquired large areas of land, and developed political ambitions. About 1658 (during the dislocation caused by the War of Succession following Shah Jahan's illness) under Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhora, they began to successfully defy the local representative of the Mughul Government. Mian Nasir Muhammad, who had become a powerful zamindar and the head of fanatical religious followers died in 1692 [18] and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Din Muhammad, who defied Prince Muiz-ud-Din, the Viceroy of Multan (afterwards Jahandar Shah), and was put to death about 1700. His younger brother, Yar Muhammad, succeeded him as the chief of the Kalhoras, and greatly extended the family sphere of influence. He drove Daudpotras from Sukkur, took, possession of Shikarpur (about 1701) and Sehawan, and took, from its old landowners, Sibi Dara, an extensive area running from Sind frontier to Qandhar. A brave and resourceful warrior, Yar Muhammad was also a cool-headed statesman. While extending his territory at the expense of his local rivals, he realised the need for building up good relations with the imperial government at Delhi. He successfully persuaded the Mughul authorities that the Kalhoras had better claims to some areas, which were previously with the Daudpotras, and would pay imperial revenue regularly. Ultimately a royal *firman* was issued conferring on him the governership of Sibi. (which at that time comprised Shikarpur and Sukkur), a high *mansab*, and the imperial title of Khuda Yar Khan.

Yar Muhammad died in 1719, and after a period of strife between his two sons, the succession of Nur Muhammad was confirmed by the Delhi Government, which conferred on him, his

father's title, Khuda Yar Khan and a *mansab.* Nur Muhammad greatly extended Kalhora influence. He fought bitter battles with the Daudpotras, and practically drove them out of Sind.[c] In 1736 Muhammad Shah conferred on him the Government of the sub-province of Thatta, and the fortress of Bhakkar also. Thus Nur Muhammad became the virtual ruler of entire Sind, Upper and Lower, but he was now faced with unexpected difficulties. When Nadir Shah wished to invade India, he asked Nur Muhammad to grant him passage, and offered tempting rewards. The brave chief, however, refused to be a traitor to his Mughul overlord and fortified the passes against the Irani ruler. After his return from Delhi, Nadir Shah decided to teach Nur Muhammad a lesson, and invaded Sind. The Kalhora governor desired to retire into inaccessible desert, but Nadir Shah caught up with him at Umarkot. (February, 1740). Nur Muhammad did his best to conciliate the Persian conqueror, but though he was given back the governorship of Sind on payment of annual tribute, part of his territory, consisting of Shikarpur and Sibi, was handed over to Daudpotras and Bhakkar was taken over by Nadir Shah for direct administration. Nur Muhammad, however, received the title of Shah Quli Khan. He extended his authority in the direction of the sea by subduing local chiefs, and was the principal power in Sind, when Muhammad Shah died and Nadir Shah was murdered in 1748.

Shah Waliullah 1703-1762

In the Eighteenth Century, Islam in the Indo-Pak subcontinent was faced with such menacing proplems in the sectarian conflicts, the low moral tone of the society, poor acquaintance with the Holy Quran, and general ignorance of Islam, that there were vahid grounds for fearing that political disintegration would be accompanied by religious collapse. That this did not happen and in fact an era of re-generation and intense religious activity was inaugurated was due, more than anything else, to the activities of one man Shah Waliullah.

Shah Waliullah was born on February 21, 1703, i.e. four years before the death of Aurangzeb. His father, Shah Abdul Rahim was both a Sufi and a theologian, and for a short time assisted in the compilation of Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, the voluminous code of

(c) Ultimately they got a *jagir* in the province of Multan and established the modern state of Bahawalpur.

Islamic Law prepared at the court of Aurangzeb. He was also interested in *maqulat* (the mental sciences) and was a pupil of Mir Zahid, the well-known writer in philosophical subjects.

Shah Waliullah received his academic and spirtual ed ucation at the hands of his father, who combined in himself three strands of Indian Islam—the theologian, the Sufi and the philosophical. Shah Waliullah was an heir to all this, and not only learnt *tafsir* and *hadis* and underwent spiritual discipline, but also studied metaphysics, logic and *ilm-ul-kalam* under his father. He was in his teens when he started teaching in his father's *madrasah*. He continued doing this for twelve years, after which, he left for Arabia for higher studies and for performing the Hajj. He was in Arabia for nearly fourteen months and prosecuted his studies under the best known teachers of Mecca and Medina. His favourite teacher was Shaikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim of Medina, from whom he obtained his *sanad* (diploma) in *hadis*. Shaikh Abu Tahir seems to have been a man of encylopaedic learning and broad catholic taste. Shah Waliullah wrote about him :—

"In short he was gifted with the virtues of the godly past, like piety, independence of judgment, devotion to knowledge, and fairness in controversy. Even in minor matters of doubt he would not offer an opinion until he had pondered deeply and checked up all references."

During his stay at Mecca, Shah Waliullah saw a vision in which the Holy Prophet blessed him with the good tidings that he would be instrumental in the organization of a section of the Muslim community. These were the days of political turmoil in Indo-Pak subcontinent, when life and property were unsafe. Shah Sahib was advised by his relatives to settle down in the Hijaz, but he knew that the proper field of his activities were his native land, and he did not accept the counsel of despair. He returned to Delhi on the July 9, 1732, and set himself to work on a planned and systematic basis. Prior to his departure for Arabia, Shah Waliullah's main occupation was teaching. Now he changed his method of work. He trained pupils in different branches of Islamic knowledge and entrusted them with the teaching of the students. He devoted himself largely to writing, and before his death on August, 10, 1762, and completed practically a library of standard works in all branches of "Islamic Sciences" of the type particularly suited to the local conditions.

Shah Waliullah's most important single act was his translation of the Holy Quran into simple Persian, the literary language of Muslim India. Some translations of the Holy Book had been attempted earlier, but either they were a part of and incidental to a voluminous *tafsir*, or did not gain any currency. Shah Waliullah's translation was in Persian, and after a brief opposition, became current and popular. This was due not only to the translator's eminence in religious circles, but also to the fact that his translation was not a single, isolated act, but was connected with a broad-based movement, aimed at bringing the knowledge of Quran within the reach of the average, literate Indian Muslim. Within sixty years of this translation, the two sons of Shah Waliullah prepared their Urdu translations—one completely literal and following the Arabic sentence-structure, and the other idiomatic and in accordance with the Urdu usage. Shah Waliullah's action, which involved not only scholarship, but imagination and great moral courage smoothed the way for others. His example was followed not only by his sons but, in course of time, by scores of others and it is due to his initiative that, outside the Arabic-speaking countries, Muslims in Hind-Pakistan have taken the lead in the study, understanding and propogation of the Holy Quran.

Not less important was his balanced understanding and fair-minded approach to different religious questions. In his day Indian Islam was rent by controversies and conflicts between the Shia and the Sunni, the Sufi and the Mullah, the Hanafi and the Wahabi, the Mujaddidi and the Wahdat-al-Wajudi, the Mu'tazali and the Asha'ari. Shah Waliullah, who called *adl*, the primal virtue and the basis of organized, civilized existence, studied the writings of all schools of thought, tried to understand the viewpoint of each one of them, and wrote bulky, authoritative and comprehensive volumes expounding what was just and acceptable to different points of view. In this way he worked out a system of thought, beliefs and values, on which all but the extremists could agree, and a spiritual basis was provided for national cohesion and harmony.

Shah Waliullah's success was also due to the fact that he found able and devoted successors. One of his four sons was the father of the great *mujadid*, *Shah Ismail Shahid*, and the other three were leading scholars and writers of the day including Shah Abdul Aziz who, according to Sir William Hunter, was "the greatest

Muhammadan doctor of the age," and occupied this position at Delhi for nearly fifty years. They followed the tradition of their illustrious father and grandfather of combining a study of "Mental Sciences" with *tafsir* and *hadis*, and though they specialised in the latter two subjects, they also wrote books on logic and philosophy. They taught and trained a large body of men, who carried the message of Shah Waliullah to all parts of the subcontinent. Their students and successors organized *jihad* against presecution of Islam by the Sikhs in the North-West, brought about a revival of Islam in Bengal and were held in equal veneration by Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, the leader of the Aligarh Movement and Maulana Mohammad Qasim, the founder of the Deoband seminary.

Luckily Islam is free from the problem of national churches, but owing to historic, racial, linguistic and geographical factors different schools and viewpoints have gained prominence in different Muslim countries. In Iran Shiaism is the national religion, while in the desert of Najd Wahabi puritanism is dominant. Similarly different countries have adopted, according to their peculiar developments, different schools of law—the Shafii, the Hanbali, the Malaki and the Hanfi. If the beliefs, the legal traditions and the religious tendencies of modern Muslim India and Pakistan were to be examined from this point of view, it would be seen that the foundation of the religious structure which is the most dominant here, and which may almost be called "the national church" of Muslims in this subcontinent, was laid by Shah Waliullah.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MUHAMMAD SHAH'S REIGN.

Muhammad Shah is popularly known as Rangila—the Gay—and it is usual to consider his reign as the period in which the ruler and the court gave themselves up to riotous living, and completely neglected the administration. In fact, Muhammad Shah is often held responsible for the fall of the Mughul Empire. There is a certain basis for this view. In Muhammad Shah there was nothing of Akbar's administrative vigour, or Aurangzeb's ascetic self-discipline. Qamr-ud-Din Khan (entitled Itimad-ud-Daulah II) who was his Wazir for quarter of a century was not very much better, and considered it the height of wisdom to let sleeping dogs lie and exert as little as possible. The historian Waris, whose youth had been spent under the vigorous administration of Aurangzeb,

wrote bitterly about the policy adopted in Muhammad Shah's reign :

"For some years past it has been the practice of the imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or Gujarat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news either visited the gardens to look at the newly planted and leafless trees, or rode out to hunt in the plains, while the Grand Wazir Itimad-ud-Daulah, Qamr-ud-Din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times the Emperor and the Wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief and no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people while these disturbances daily grow greater." *Mirat-i-Waridat. 117-118*)[22]

Waris's observations are discrete and guarded. Reliable information about Muhammad Shah's private life is not available (as is the case with Jahandar Shah) but about his Wazir it is known that his pleasures were not confined to gazing at lotuses or fishing and hunting deer. A contemporary chronicler has left on record that the wazir was fond of "wine and women" in a manner, which must have set a bad example for others, and lowered the general tone of the society.

The disastrous consequences of the "escapist policy" adopted by the ruler and the *Wazir* became manifest during the reign. The distant provinces became virtually independent, the Marathas grew powerful and began to challenge the Mughul government right up to the capital and ultimately the regime had to face utter humiliation at the hands of Nadir Shah.

The weaknesses of the regime are obvious, but it would be unfair to ignore the positive side. In the cultural field Muhammad Shah's reign stands as a landmark. It saw the rise of a new literature, and the maturing of a new language. Urdu, which had gained admission in the literary and cultural circles of the metropolis only a few years before the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign was a fully developed literary language at its end. A new school of music grew up around the Mughul court, and the names of Sadarang and his brother occupy a high place in the evolution

of Khiyal, which was to supersede all other varieties of the Hindustani music. Indian dancing, freed itself from the atmosphere of the temple, and instead of virtual devotion to Hindu gods and godesses became an art, ministering to human pleasure. The courtly *mujra* variety, was at its height, and bewitched outsiders like Nadir Shah. Goetz, who has compared the Delhi of Muhammad Shah to the Rome of the Renaissance Papacy, says that until its sack by Nadir Shah, "Delhi, like Renaissance Rome was the most refined, the most elegant, but also the most licentious city of the East, a model of luxury and culture for all other countries."[23] It is true that the licentious life of the capital repels sober students and has continued to shock the orthodox Muslim opinion, but it need not be forgotten that the cultural life of Muhammad Shah's Delhi had something more than riotous living also. This was the first Golden Age of Urdu poetry, and as Goetz says, "The reign of Muhammad Shah was the zenith of later Indian pictorial art of a new and original sweet style, which is closely connected with the rise of Urdu literature".[24] Indian astronmy, also reached its peak in this reign—thanks, mainly to Jai Singh, but with Muhammad Shah's full support. Nadir Shah paid an unconscious compliment to the cultural standards of Delhi when he "wished to take with him a number of artists, scholars and musicians to Persia". He also took with him physicians from Delhi[24]. It was this period which saw the rise of Shah Waliullah, the greatest Islamic scholar produced by the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Originally Shah Waliullah was staying in his small family-house in the suburbs of Delhi, but when, the number of his students grew, Muhammad Shah placed a large-sized building at his disposal, and induced him to move inside the city.[25]

To Muhammad Shah's reign belongs the first translation of the Holy Quran which gained currency. It also saw the first real broad-based synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures. A detailed study of the cultural life during Muhammad Shah's reign has not been made, but it will show that his Principal courtiers, who objected to Nizam-ul-Mulk's puritanism and are rightly condemned for keeping Muhammad Shah away from the path of stern duty, have something to show in the cultural field. Principal amongst the emperor's favourites was Amir Khan II, the son of Amir Khan, the famous governor of Kabul and the grandson of Khalil Ullah, who played such an important part in Aurangzeb's accession to the

throne. He wrote good Urdu poetry (under the surname Anjum), generously patronised poets, scholars and artists, and had a large number of Urdu poets attached to his household. He played an important part in the encouragement of the new language. The other important royal favourite was Ishaq Khan whose daughter was married, by the emperor's command, to Shuja-ud-Daula, and became the mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula of Oudh. Muhammad Ishaq and his son were the patrons of Arzu, the greatest Persian poet and scholar of the Eighteenth Century. They also patronized at Delhi and later at Lucknow, Mir, the foremost Urdu poet of the times.

Cultural activities of the reign are impressive, but they represent a period of adjustment and compromise, indeed of lowering standards. Even the cultivation of Urdu meant that it was no longer possible to uphold Persian, the repository of the literary and intellectual heritage of Muslim India. In music *Khayal* meant less arduous artistic standards than *Dhrupad*, and by revolving round the legends of Krishna and his Gopis, only provided an artistic pretext and mode of expression to a pleasure-loving age. One has only to compare the fraudulent Sufis like Namud-wa-Namud who swayed Muhammad Shah and his nobles, with Hazrat Mian Mir, Shah Abdul Haq Muhaddis, and Gosian Jadrup, who were honoured by Jahangir and Shah Jahan, to appreciate the fall in moral and spiritual values. Even Hazrat Mazhar Jan-i-Janan, the greatest Sufi of the period, and a truly gifted person was not uninfluenced by the prevalent atmosphere.

In Muhammad Shah good was mixed with much that was rotten, but he was not a cipher even in the administrative sphere. There is no doubt that an air of cultured ease, relaxation and passivity dominated the Mughul court. It appears that after the dreadful sufferings and vicissitude to which the Mughul royal family was subjected by the Sayyid Brothers, something snapped within Muhammad Shah and he lost the capacity for energetic and sustained action.[e] If, however, the low level to which monarchy had fallen in the previous four reigns is taken into consideration, Muhammad Shah's record appears to show a distinct improvement in those troubled times when it was not easy for a ruler to maintain his position on the throne for twenty-nine long years. The ability of

(e) This is the view expressed in Bayan-i-Waqi by the Secretary of Hakim Alvi Khan, who was forced to accompany Nadir Shah after the sack of Delhi.

Muhammad Shah and his friends to get rid of the powerful Sayyid brothers also betokens a certain resourcefulness and initiative. The way Muhammad Shah got rid of his three undesirable favourites (Koki Ji, Raushan-ud-Daula of Panipat and Shah Abdul Ghafoor) also shows a certain capacity for resolute action. The Turkish archives show that after Nadir's return from India, Muhammad Shah sent an Embassy[f] to the Ottoman ruler (1744) urging the Turks to maintain their pressure against the Persian ruler, and it was not entirely without merit that Muhammad Shah lived to see his armies victorious against a foreign invader, Ahmed Shah Abdali.

In Muhammad Shah's reign more energetic of the nobles—like Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad, Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal, and Zakariya Khan of Lahore—were in charge of distant provinces, and the affairs at Delhi were handled by persons who were courtiers rather than administrators, but till the end of his day, the outward dignity of the central government was maintained. Perhaps the fairest judgment on Muhammad Shah is that of the author of Siyar-ul-Mutakharin. "In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundations of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhammad Shah by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it." (Siyar, iii, 25.)

(f) For an account of the Embassy, led by Sayyid Ataullah Bukhari and the return Embassy led by Selim Efendi, see Bernard Lewis, Article on "The Mughuls and the Ottomans" in Pakistan Quarterly for Summer 1958.

CHAPTER XX III

FALL OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE, 1748-1803.

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Ahmad Shah ; Safdar Jang becomes Wazir	1748
Punjab and Multan lost to Ahmad Shah Abdali ...	1752
Safdar Jang's revolt at Delhi	1753
Ahmad Shah deposed; Alamgir II enthroned ...	1754
Abdali sacks Delhi; Battle of Plassey ...	1757
Third Battle of Panipat; Shah Alam becomes emperor	1761
Death of Shah Waliullah	1762
Battle of Buxar	1764
Grant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company	1765
Warran Hastings as Governor-General	1774
Birth of Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi	1786
Permanent Settlement of Bengal	1793
Death of Tipu Sultan	1789
British take Delhi	1803

Ahmad Shah 1748-1754

After Muhammad Shah's death, prince Ahmad Shah, the hero of the battle of Sirhind, ascended the throne on April, 29, 1748. He was a well-meaning and active young man, but he could effect no improvement in the affairs of government. Safdar Jang, who had distinguished himself at Sirhind, and was the first person to bring to Ahmad the glad tidings of his kingship, became *wazir*, but this appointment proved singularly unfortunate. Sarkar writes about him:

> "The new imperial *wazir*, Safdar Jang, was the malignant star in the Delhi firmament. Devoid of farsighted statesmanship, patriotism or devotion to the throne, he was destined to ruin the Mughul Empire by pursing a policy of blind self-aggrandisement."[1]

Safdar Jang succeeded Qamar-ud-Din, who had been the Wazir for about twenty-five years and whose father, Muhammad Amin Khan, the organizer of the successful revolt against the Sayyid brothers, had also held this office before his death. The new Wazir did everything possible to uproot and humiliate the relations of his

predecessor, and in this did not shrink from measures likely to bring ruin to the state he was expected to safeguard. Sarkar has described in detail the steps taken by Safdar Jang to hamper and harass Muin-ul-Mulk, the viceroy of the Punjab, because he happened to be the late Wazir's son. The result of Safdar Jang's efforts in this difficult province was that the Sikh power revived—never to be put down again by the Mughuls—and Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had suffered a defeat in 1748 came and captured Lahore.

Safdar Jang's other principal aim was to uproot all Afghans in India. This was hardly a sound policy, especially in view of the danger from the Marathas, and was not in the Mughul tradition, which since Akbar's days had relied on harmonizing different group interests and maintaining a balance between them. In Muhammad Shah's reign Safdar Jang very nearly broke the power of Ali Muhammad Khan, the Rohilla chief, but the Mughul emperor and the Wazir Qamar-ud-Din did not agree with his extremism, and ultimately there was a rapproachment between the Rohillas and the Mughuls. In the reign of Ahmad Shah, Safdar Jang had a freer hand, and with the help of the Marathas and the Jats he destroyed the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad (1751).

Safdar's policy brought him in conflict with the principal Turani family, but his initial difficulties came from the royal favourites headed by the chief eunuch Javed Khan, and the king's mother. Safdar Jang had Javed Khan assassinated in August,1752, but now the king started encouraging Shihab-ud-Din, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who, after his fatheir's death was called Ghazi-ud-Din II, (and later Imad-ul-Mulk), and was a clever, but completely unscrupulous youth of eighteen. Safdar Jang lost the support of the Emperor, and on 4 May, 1753, though still the Wazir of the realm, openly rebelled against his master, and encouraged Suraj Mal Jat to loot Delhi. Ghazi-ud-Din organized the opposition to Safdar Jang, and with his usual lack of scruples whipped up Shia-Sunni controversy and Afghan-Irani differences to gain supporters. Safdar was defeated and forgiven, but realised, like Nizam-ul-Mulk, that the best field for the satisfaction of his high ambitions was away from the capital, and withdrew to Oudh. The king, soon became estranged with Ghazi-ud-Din II, who was now all-powerful at the capital. He was planning some action against his erstwhile favourits, but with the help of the Maratha chiefs, Ghazi-ud-Din became Wazir, and on 2 June, 1754, deposed Ahmad Shah.

Alamgir II 1754-1759

The successor of Ahmad Shah who ascended the throne under the title of Alamgir II was a man of good intentions and placed before himself a pattern of Aurangzeb's life, whose title he adopted. He was, however, an old man of 55 and the situation was completely beyond his control. The Marathas who had grown more powerful owing to their collaboration with Ghazi-ud-Din II, now dominated the whole of northern India. In 1758 they occupied Lahore and drove out Taimur Shah, whom his father, Ahmad Shah Abdali had appointed viceroy of Lahore a year earlier. This was the high-water mark of the Maratha expansion. "Their frontier" says Elphinstone, "extended on the north to the Indus and the Himalya, and in the south nearly to the extremity of the peninsula; all the territory which was not their own, paid tribute. The whole of this great power was wielded by one hand—that of Peshwa, who talked of placing Vishvas Rao on the Mughul throne."[2]

Battle of Panipat (1761)

Maratha dreams, however, received a shattering blow. Expulsion of Taimur Shah provoked the wrath of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was joined in the war against the Marathas by Najib-ud-Daula, Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohilla, and Shuja-ud-Daula, the new *wazir* of Oudh. The Afghan monarch entered India in August, 1759, and took considerable time in preliminary work of scouting and preparation for the struggle against the Marathas. The principal battle, known in history as the Third battle of Panipat, was fought on 14 June, 1761, "This, the most desperate of the three contests fought on the battlefied of Panipat, destroyed the great Maratha confederation." Later, certain Maratha chiefs recovered portions of the Maratha empire but the Peshwa's authority was broken and cohesion was lost. "Maratha alliances and confederacies again vexed India but all hope of a Maratha empire was destroyed at Panipat." The result of this battle made it clear that whoever succeeded the Mughuls on the throne of Delhi, it would not be the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali's own design of building up an Afghan empire in India was frustrated by the impetuosity of his soldiers, who hated the heat of the plains, and clamoured for immediate return to Kabul with their plunder. The Afghan troops, not always easy to discipline, had been away from their homes for a long time and were on the verge of mutiny. Ahmad Shah had, therefore, to abandon his dreams, and returned to his country.

In November, 1759 Ghazi-ud-Din put to death Alamgir II for co-operating with Najib-ud-Daula and placed a puppet on the throne. After the battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali nominated Ali Gauhar, the son of the murdered Alamgir II as emperor of Delhi under the title of Shah Alam. Shuja-ud-Daula was appointed *wazir* and Najib-ud-Daula as Amir-ul-Umra became regent of Delhi. Ghazi-ud-Din disappeared from political life but lingered in obscurity for many years. He first took shelter with Suraj Mal Jat, and was later with the Marathas in Malwa. In 1780 he was accidentally discovered by a British officer at Surat, living in complete obscurity and was given financial help to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but he later returned by the overland route, and finally settled down at Banda (in Bundhelkhand) where he died in 1800. He maintained some interest in literary activity and was the patron of the famous Persian poet, Qatil.

TRAGEDY OF SHAH ALAM (1761-1803)

Najib-ud-Daula

From 1761 to 1771 the capital was without a king. Ahmad Shah Abdali had left the throne of Delhi to Shah Alam, but after his unsuccessful effort against the British at Buxar (1764), he had settled down as their pensioner at Allahabad, and did not return to Delhi till 3 January, 1772. These years were, however, the happiest for the capital and the realm. Najib-ud-Daula, who during this period handled the affairs of the shrunken empire was a most remarkable person, and with the exception of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the ablest Muslim statesman of the Eighteenth Century. Originally called Najib Khan he was born in 1707 in a village near Peshawar, but migrated to *Rohilkhand,* and in course of time was entrusted with the command of 1,000 men by the Rohilla leader, Hafiz Rahmat Khan. His chance came when Safdar Jang rebelled against Ahmad Shah in 1753, and prompted by the exhortations of a preacher, Maulvi Nazr Muhammad, he left with his 1,000 *sawars* to aid the king. On the way he tried to get other Rohillas with him, and was accompanied by about 10,000 men when he reached Delhi. Imad-ul-Mulk recognised his worth, and had the title of Najib-ud-Daula conferred on him along with a *panj hazari monsab.* For the services rendered by him in defeating Safdar Jang, he got the territory between Ganges and Jamuna as his *jagir*, and became a major figure in the empire. His importance increased, when he won the confidence of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and he attained the summit of his diplomatic and military

career, when he organized the Muslim confederacy under Ahmad Shah Abdali which triumphed at Panipat. After this, he was naturally supreme at Delhi, but he was thoroughly loyal to the Mughul King. In the prolonged absence of Shah Alam in the east, he obtained orders from a prince nominated by him who was at Delhi, occasionally visited Shah Alam to consult him on important points, and when things got settled down, sent repeated requests to the King to return to the capital.

Najib-ud-Daula was indeed a remarkable person. He was as bold and skilful in diplomacy as on the battlefield. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar "In the combination of first rate military and administrative capacity, diplomatic skill, and tact in dealing with others, and above all in his instinctive perception of the realities of the politics of his days and concentration on the essentials he had no equal in that age except Ahmad Shah Abdali.[3] As Regent at Delhi, his main task was to restore and maintain order in the Mughul domain around Delhi. After the battle of Panipat the Marathas were quiescent for some time, but the Jats and the Sikhs were a standing problem. He defeated the Jats, killed the redoubtable Suraj Mal in battle, and rendered his son incapable of mischief. He was not so successful against the Sikhs, but the Phulkian Sikhs were detached from the Trans-Sutlej chiefs, and even the Sikh danger was greatly reduced.

Shah Alam's expeditions against Zabita Khan

Najib-ud-Daula died on 31 October, 1770, and on Shah Alam returned to Delhi under the protection of Mahadji Sindhia, who having become lame for life at the battle of Panipat was an inveterate enemy of the house of Najib-ud-Daula, and had his own plans for northern India. Actuated either by his own known love for money or under the influence of Sindhia[(a)] or if the bazar rumours were to be believed, irritated by stories of Zabita Khan's misconduct at Delhi during his absence,[4] Shah Alam embarked on a course of action, which not only extirpated Najib-ud-Daula's house, but ultimately subjected Mughul monarchy to its greatest suffering and humiliation. In March, 1768, Najib-ud-Daula bowed down by ill health and old age, had transferred his government and army to his son Zabita Khan, and himself retired to Najibabad.

(a) The Urdu poet Mir Taqi Mir, who was in Delhi at this time, and had connections with several Hindu and Muslim nobles says in Zikr-i-Mir that Shah Alam was reluctant to go, and "pleaded ill health", but had to accompany the Marathas.

Zabita Khan discharged his duties "very ably and pleased everyone, especially the traders, by his strict justice, suppression of robbery, and sympathy with the people in their distress."[5] On Najib's death more than two and a half years later, Shah Alam sought to reopen the question of Najib's succession and called upon Zabita Khan "to pay the customary fee of succession for his father's estates and office" and "settle the account of the Crown lands and privy purse estates round Delhi and upper Doab held by Najib for so many years."[6]

The young and sensitive Zabita refused, and within eleven days of arrival in Delhi, Shah Alam left the capital to punish him. With the help of the Marathas and the brilliant general Najaf Khan, the Mughul army defeated Zabita Khan, and on March 16, secured the surrender of Pathargarh, the strong fort built outside Najibabad. "The Marathas took their stand at the gate of the fort. At first the poorer people came out ; they were stripped and searched and let off almost naked...Many noble Afghan families, after coming out of the hands of the Marathas sought asylum within the circuit of the imperial halting place. But the plunderers of the camp and the Turani Mughuls robbed them of the clothing on their persons which even the Marathas had spared and they dragged away the women by their hands towards their own tents," Marathas also had their revenge on the co-victor of Panipat. According to Khare the Marathas "demolished" the tomb of Najib-ul-Daula, but Sir Jadunath Sarkar says that they only "defaced the curious workmanship of Najib-ud-Daula's tomb"[7]

After some time there was a patch-up between the Emperor and Zabita Khan, who was appointed Mir Bakhshi, but in 1777, there was another punitive expedition against his stronghold of Ghausgarh, when the entire family of Zabita Khan, other Rohilla leaders and many military officers were captured, and subjected to gross humilitation and ill-treatment. Zabita's son, Ghulam Qadir was among the prisoners, and was, according to tradition castrated and made to serve as a page in the palace at Delhi. This expedition broke the back of Zabita Khan, who went and joined the Sikhs, but ultimately the imperialists came to terms with him, and restored his family and *jagirs*. Zabita Khan died in January, 1785, and his son Ghulam Qadir Rohilla succeeded him.

Affairs at Delhi

Meanwhile, affairs at Delhi continued to follow their puerile and tortuous course. One man, who rose above others and was the last notable statesman-warrior to serve

the Mughuls was Najaf Khan, later known as Zulfiqar-ul-Daula. Born at Isfahan in 1737, he had early migrated to India, and distinguishsd himself in the service of Mir Qasim. Later he got detached from him, joined the British after Buxar, and such were his services and reputation that in the treaty of Allahabad (August, 1765) Clive guaranteed him an annual pension of two lakhs of rupees out of 28 lakhs promised to the emperor at the time of the grant of *Diwani* of Bengal. Najaf Khan accompanied the king to Delhi, and soon became the power behind the throne. Zabita Khan even when not in disgrace, was usually away from the capital, and Najaf Khan was the real Mir Bakhshi of the empire. His great achievement in this capacity was the organization of a small but effective striking force, disciplined on Western lines, with which he defeated the Jats, and captured their stronghold, Dig in April, 1776. Najaf Khan became Regent (Wakil-i-Mutliq) on 19 November, 1779, but in this capacity he proved disappointing. He became a tool in the hands of a wretched eunuch, Latafat Ali Khan, who introduced him to wine and women. He gave himself up to pleasure, developed consumption, and passed away on 6 April, 178', before he had attained the age of 45.

Najaf Khan was succeeded, as regent, by Afrasiab Khan, a slave who claimed to be his adopted son and a little later by his nephew, Mirza Shafi, but neither was a success. In December, 1784, after both Shafi and Afrasiab had been assassinated, and Sindhia had crushed Muhammad Beg Hamdani, another officer of Najaf Khan, the Emperor invited the Maratha leader to take charge of the administration at Delhi. Sindhia accepted the invitation. "He presented himself before the emperor in his camp near Fatehpur Sikri, placed his head on the emperor's feet, and paid a *nazar* of 101 gold *muhars*". He was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Supreme Regent (Wakil-i-Mutliq) of the Empire. Sindhia tried to get the help of Ghulam Qadir in dealing with the Sikhs, but he was noursihing his own grievances, and showed no eagerness to accept the invitation. When in 1787, Sindhia suffered a serious reverse in his war with the Rajputs and was forced to retreat from *Lalsat* (1787), Ghulam Qadir felt that his opportunity had come. He entered Delhi, and in September, 1787' forced the Emperor to appoint him Mir Bakhshi and Regent. Hostilities, however, broke out between the Emperor who got the effective aid of Begum Samru, and the Rohilla chief and he had to leave the capital.

Next year, he entered Delhi again, with more sinister designs. He deposed Shah Alam on 30 July, 1738, and blinded him, with great cruelty, on 10 August. The inmates of the palace, princes and princesses, women and tiny babies were subjected to great hardships and humiliation. The drunken, degenerate ruffian acted with a brutality, which has made him the ugliest character in Indo-Pak history. He killed three valets and two water-carriers, who tried to go near the bleeding king with a view to relieve his suffering. He would pull the beard of the old monarch, and say, "Serves you right. This is the return for your action at Ghausgarh". Servants and maid-servants were tortured to point out the hidden treasures, and the entire palace was dug up to trace the buried wealth.

After ten horrible weeks (18 July to 2 October, 1788) during which the honour of the royal family and prestige of the Mughul empire reached its lowest ebb, Ghulam Qadir left with the booty for his stronghold, but the officers whom Sindhia had deputed hunted him down. He was captured on 19 December and was done to death, with tortures which equalled his own fiendish cruelties.

When Sindhia's officers occupied Delhi, the blind Shah Alam was enthroned again. Ghulam Qadir had claimed that he would free the Mughul king from the control of the Marathas, but his actions only strengthened the position of Sindhia. The steps taken by the Maratha chief to avenge the sufferings of Shah Alam reconciled the people to him, and though Shah Nizam-ud-Din. his representative at Delhi subjected the helpless Emperor and the inmates of the fort to want and humiliation, Sindhia continued to be the overlord of Delhi till he was defeated by Lord Lake in 1803, and Shah Alam came under the protection of the British.

The blinding of Shah Alam and looting of the fort increased the helplessness of the Emperor, and there was real poverty in the royal residence. This situation inevitably led to bickerings amongst the princes, intrigues and general degradation, but the usual impression of moral and intellectual decay in the Red Fort is not confirmed by those, who are well-qualified to speak. A French Engineer, Pollier, was at Delhi from 1771 to 1779, and has left an account of the elder sons of Shah Alam and the Emperor himself, and although his personal knowledge extended to the time prior to the atrocities of Ghulam Qadir, his remarks are very compliment-ray about the court, which even then was afficted with poverty and

wrangling amongst the nobles. After describing various princes, Pollier says "I believe it may be affirmed, that few or no prince of India can vie with any of the royal persons above named, not only in acquired qualifications, but also in those qualities of mind, generally the gift of nature, and consequent to a good and virtuous education". Some time after the atrocities of 1788, Mirza Zahir-ud-Din Azfari, a prince of the royal family fled from the Fort and after wanderings in Northern India, made his way to Madras. His autobiography Waqiat-i-Azfari has been published by the Madras University, and shows a mind remarkably well-informed, objective and alert.

The physical handicaps of Shah Alam did not completely destroy his political influence or ambitions. As a matter of fact, his suffering evoked general sympathy, and provided a link between the Mughul Emperor and the general population, including the Marathas. As late as 1798 an attempt was made, to which the contemporary Afghan king Zaman Shah, Wazir Ali the ruler of Oudh, and certain Marhata chiefs were a party, to strengthen the position of the Mughul emperor. The attempt was taken so seriously by Lord Wellesley that he initiated action both within and outside the borders of Indo-Pak subcontinent, and defeated the scheme. Writing about this, Professor H.W.C. Davis said in the course of the Raleigh Lecture on History, delivered at Oxford on 10th November, 1926, "Warned both by rumour and by open threats to expect Afghan invasion, the objective of which would be the restoration of Mughul empire, Wellesley employed Mehdi Ali Khan, a Persian subject, who was then our acting Resident at Bushire to foment a quarrel between Persian Court and Zaman Shah, and to stir up a civil war in Afghanistan (1798). The novel experiment succeeded".[8]

Sir Percy Sykes throws more light on the methods adopted by Mehdi Ali Khan. He wrote "letters from Bushire to the Court at Tehran in which he excited the indignation of the Shah by an account of atrocities committed by the Sunni Afghans on the Shias of Lahore, thousands of whom, he declared, had fled for refuge to the territories ruled by the East India Company, and at the same time urged that if Zaman Shah were checked a service would be rendered to God and man".[9] Mehdi Ali Khan was received in person by the Shah and by "spending large sums in presents he succeeded in persuading the Persian monarch to continue hostility against Afghanistan". In course of time Mehdi Ali Khan's efforts

were supported by Captain (later) Sir John Malcolm. The success of these measures compelled Shah Zaman to withdraw from Lahore and remain confined to his Afghan kingdom, Wellesley took more drastic action against the Indian parties to the scheme. He removed Wazir Ali from his *Gaddi* at Lucknow and interned him in Benaras where the furious Nawab later shot dead the British Resident and was removed to Calcutta. Wellesley also initiated action against the Marhata chiefs, which ended in the capture of Delhi by Lord Lake in 1803.

Change-over in Bengal (1757).

In the meanwhile far-reaching developments had taken place outside the capital. Alivardi Khan, the able governor of Bengal died on 10 April, 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Mirza Muhammad, better known as Siraj-ud-Daula. Soon, those disruptive forces which were kept under check by the resourceful Alivardi, got out of hand and overwhelmed the government. Alivardi's commanders-in-chief Mir Jafar, to whom his half-sister was married, started plotting against his brother-in-law and had for a short time to be removed from the command. Another source of weakness was the East India Company which had established at Calcutta not only a commercial, but a political centre (a state within a state). The third source of weakness was the attitude of the Hindu *zamindars*, bankers, and officials who, always influential in Bengal, had grown very powerful since the days of Murshid Quli Khan. Alivardi Khan, made no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims. He had gained his *masnad* with the support of the Hindu notables, and they shared the government with him. The position of the Hindu officers under Alivardi Khan was so strong that, in the words of Orme, "nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge". This, however, had not reconciled them to the Muslim Nawab. Two years before the death of Alivardi, Col. Scott., the Chief Engineer of the East India Company, wrote to a friend, "Gentu (Hindu) rajas and inhabitants were disaffected of the Moor (Muhammadan) government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their yoke."[10]

These three forces sealed the fate of Siraj ud-Daula. The role of the treacherous Mir Jafar generally held responsible for the fate of Siraj, was comparatively a minor one. It was the "alliance of the Hindu merchants with the Company which gave Bengal to the British" and brought an end to Muslim rule in

that province.[11] On this point it would be useful to quote at length from Pannikar, "When Siraj-ud-Daula became Nawab Nazim, he had succeeded to a situation which would have taken a far acuter mind to grasp and deal with. That situation was that while the Mughul viceroyalty conferred only the title to power the actual authority had passed to the great Hindu merchant princes and their allies in the fort that dominated the Hooghly. The quarrel arose between the Company and the Nawab about the fortifications they were erecting. In fighting that ensued Calcutta was captured and the English who had remained back imprisoned. This is the story of the Black Hoel, evidence in regard to which is conflicting and scanty. Holwell, an early expert in war propaganda through horror stories, was a born liar and clearly the incident was exaggerated out of all proportion, though, no doubt, the Nawab was not particularly kind in the treatment of the prisoners. A British force under Watson and Clive, whom the defence of Arcot had made famous, arrived soon after in Bengal as war had broken out with the French. There was as yet no quarrel with the Nawab, whose neutrality the English were anxious to secure. But the Hindu merchants in Calcutta and Murshidabad had made up their minds to engineer a change. Jagat Seth, the first of the great succession of Marwari millionaires whose wealth is still legendary, had been insulted by Siraj-ud-Daula and he offerd through Ami Chand, another Marwari in close relation with the Company, to have the Nawab replaced. An alliance was struck between the head of European *baniadom*, the English Company, and the Marwari Banias who commanded the wealth of Bengal. The Nawab's fate was sealed."[12]

Dr. Pannikar has utilised new material available from contemporary French sources, but his analysis should not lead to the inference that the British were merely passive instruments of the Jagat Seth's policy. A major role was played by him at this juncture, but he succeeded because the British had long cast coveteous eyes on Indian territories, and only waited for a favourable opportunity. The accounts of Bernier and other travellers, with their detailed analysis of the military weakness of the Mughuls, had already appeared in Europe. The example of the Portuguese, who had acquired a firm foothold on several key-points on the subcontinent was before all European nations. As early as !688 the Directors of East India Company had formally adopted a

resolution expressing "the determination of the Company to guard their commercial supermacy on the basis of their territorial sovereignty". The Company had actually been at war with Aurangzeb for seven years, and it was only its failure in active warfare, which led to the postponement of the realization of its aims.

Aurangzeb's firm handling of the East India Company delayed the European bid for political influence by half a century. In the meanwhile the initial probing into the weak spots of the empire, away from the centre of Mughul authority, was carried on by the European adventurers. Dupleix, the Governor of French possessions of Pondichery, was the first to realise that the European intervention in the local affairs could best be accomplished by sponsoring the cause of a local potentate, amenable to European influence. He got an opportunity when the aged Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748, and the succession was disputed. A similar situation existed in the Carnatic where Chanda Sahib was disputing the claims of Anwar-ud-Din Khan, the local governor of Arcot. Dupleix interfered in both these disputes, and though owing to Anglo-French rivalry, in which Clive of the East India Company emerged successful, his efforts were frustrated, and he was recalled in 1754, the pattern for successful European interference in the political affairs of the subcontinent had been laid. When, therefore, Clive weighed the pros and cons of action against Siraj-ud-Daula, he was influenced not only by the promptings of the Hindu merchants and Mir Jafar but must have also been guided by the long standing policy of the East India Company and the example of successful intervention in the affairs of South India.

The resultant battle which was fought at Plassey, a few miles outside Murshidabad, has been called by a modern British writer, "the most miserable skirmish ever to be called a decisive battle".[13] An army, of which the Commander-in-chief had been won over and took no part in the battle can hardly offer spirited contest. Siraj-ud-Daula's Hindu Bukhshi, Mir Madan, however, was loyal to the Nawab, and fell in action. Clive's spirited leadership and British organization, coupled with the help they received from the powerful local elements resulted in the rout and flight of Siraj-ud-Daula. On the June 28, 1757, Clive installed Mir Jafar on the Masnad of Murshidabad and four days later Siraj-ud-Daula who was captured by the new Nawab's son was executed.

Mir Qasim

Many forces were at work at Plassey but inevitably Clive and the East India Company emerged as dominant factors in the affairs of Bengal. The legal position had not changed materially. Nawab Nazim continued to hold nominal sway, but real power was with the officers of the East India Company who appointed and removed Nawabs at their pleasure—often only for the sake of so-called "presents" from the new nominee. The administration of Bengal from 1757 to 1774 i.e. from the battle of Plassey to the application of the Regulating Act, has been universally condemned. Pannikar calls the regime a "robber state" and adds: "It is to be emphasized that at no period in the long history of India, including the reigns of Toromana and Muhammad Tughluq, did the people of any province suffer so great a misery as the people of Bengal did in the era of Clive."[14] The misfortune of the people was not only due to the extortions of the king-makers, but to the fact that there was really no "state". What existed was even worse than an administrative vacum Separation of power and responsibility inevitably breeds abuses in administration, but in this case,—perhaps the first instance of such division in history, in which power lay with an alien group of adventurers, not even organized as a government, there were special features which made this division particularly harmful. A major instrument of oppression and economic ruin of Bengal was the so-called "internal trade," often on the Company's account but more often on behalf of the Company's servants or even "the servants of the Company's servants, or anyone who could show the pass with an Englishman's signature." No duty was to be levied on these transactions, while native merchants had to pay duty to the Nawab and could not poissibly compete with the Company's proteges. This ruined the law-abiding traders, but what tne country-side suffered was worse. Villagers were forced to part with their produce at a fraction of their value and purchase things from the agents of the Company at many times their real price.[15]

It was the question of the internal trade which created a rift between the Company and Mir Jaffar's son-in-law, Mir Qasim, who was appointed Nawab Nazim in 1760 by the acting Governor Vansittrat. As the Englishmen refused to pay any duty, Mir Qasim tried to restore balance by abolishing all customs. This also was not acceptable to the Council and they decided to replace Mir

Qasim who now left Bengal to get help from other quarters. On October 23, 1764, was fought the battle of Buxar in which Mir Qasim's army had, to quote Smith, "half-hearted support of the titular Emperor, Shah Alam, and the Nawab Wazir of Oudh". Even then the battle was furiously contested. The Birtish losses were heavy, but the battle ended in a clear victory for them.

The results of the battle of Buxar were more far-reaching than those of Plassey. Even before this battle the British had attempted to facilitate military task by diplomatic means, and the newly crowned Shah Alam was only a fugitive from Delhi, but the East India Company had, after all, gained a victory against what was given out as the combined army of the Emperor and the rulers of Bengal and Oudh. It gave much higher prestige to the British arms than the earlier victory against a provincial Government. It also altered Shuja-ud-Daula's course of action. Henceforth dependence on the British became a cardinal point of his policy, and Oudh was, for all practical purposes, drawn into the orbit of the British influence.

While the military organization and diplomatic skill of the officers of the East India Campany continued to win victories, as at Buxar, the depradations caused by their economic and administrative policy also remained unchecked. Such news about misrule in India was reaching the Directors of the East India Company in London that on April 26, 1764, they averred that they were "at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from this confusion" and in despair sent back Clive (now Baron Clive of Plassey) to handle Indian affairs. Clive arrived at Calcutta in Mav, 1765 and one of his earliest acts was to negotiate with Shah Alam, from whom he obtained the grant of Diwani (civil government) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in return for the districts of Allahabad and Kara and the annual payment of 25 lacs of rupees. This gave a legal basis to what had already been achieved by the force of arms at Plassey, and latter at Buxar.

Clive's last years were very unhappy. In February 1767, he left India for good. He had to face a Committee of the House of Commons with regard to large presents taken by him and the grant of 24-Parganas district to him by the helpless Mir Jaffar. He must also have been distressed by the reports of the devastating famine, which raged in the Company's possessions in 1770 and in which one-third of the inhabitants of the territory perished. The strain

was too much for him, and in the end he lost his reason. In 1774 this brilliant, but unscrupulous soldier and empire-builder cut his own throat.

FROM BUXAR (1764) TO DEHLI (1803)

An account of the British expansion is outside the scope of this book, but a few words may be said about the modus operandi adopted in this process. The British conquest of the subcontinent was achieved in a very deliberate, cautious and skilful manner. Before action with regard to an area was undertaken, long preparations would be made and information on all important points collected. Periods of rapid expansion alternated with long periods of consolidation. Military action was effectively aided by diplomatic activity. The local differences and jealousies were most skilfully exploited. Not only did this facilitate victory, but also reduced the cost of the military operations. The commander of the Company's forces was normally able to depend on the direct or indirect co-operation of the commander or at least some major leaders of the troops confronting him. At Plassey it was Mir Jafar ; at Buxar the differences between Shuja-ud-Daula and Mir Qasim were fully exploited, and though no figure like that of Mir Jafar emerged out of this battle, Najaf Khan, an important commander of Mir Qasim, must have rendered signal services to Clive to have earned an annual pension of three lakhs. Simlar pattern is visible in other battles (e.g. during the Sikh Wars). In fact the British success owed more to their diplomatic skill (and the demoralised state of the Indian society) than to their valour and military organization.

After victories the British acted with moderation and circumspection. At Buxar they had defeated the forces of Shuja-ud-Daula, and could have annexed Oudh, but they were finding it difficult to manage the affairs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and wisely restrained their ambitious projects. This was, however, a temporary affair. After they had consolidated their position—mainly during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-85) and Cornwallis (1786-94),—a period of rapid expansion was initiated under Wellesley (1798-1805). He overthrew Tipu Sultan (1799) and broke the power of the Marathas. As a result of his defeat of Sindia, control of Delhi passed to the British (1803).

Nawab Wazir of Oudh

The founder of the principality of Oudh, was Burhan-ul-Mulk Sa'adat Khan, who sided with the Turani nobles in the overthrow of the Sayyid brothers in 1719, and was rewarded with the viceroyalty of the eastern provinces in 1724. He died fifteen years later and was succeeded by his son-in-law and nephew, Safdar Jang. The disastrous role which Safdar played as *wazir* at Delhi has already been described, but he had the good sense to patch up relations with the Mughul court, abandon his ambitious role at the capital and withdraw to Oudh, where he died on 5 October, 1754. He was succeeded by Shuja-ud-Daula, who followed a more sensible policy and has been described by Sir Henry Lawrence as "an able, energetic and intelligent prince." Before the third battle of Panipat both sides tried hard to win his support. On behalf of Ahmed Shah Abdali, Malika-i-Zamani, the widow of the late Emperor Muhammad Shah visited him, and the Maratha leader, Bhau, also sent to him special messengers, assuring him "that it was the duty of both of them to bring about the restoration of the Timurid dynasty at Delhi and that the Maratha's sole aim was to administer the empire in concert with him in the way best for all." Shuja joined the Afghan king, who proved victorious, and as a result of the arrangement approved by Abdali, the Emperor Shah Alam named Shuja-ud-Daula as hls *wazir*, (1761). Shuja looked after Shah Alam when he reached the eastern provinces after his escape from Delhi, and espoused the cause of Mir Qasim, the Nazim of Bengal, who had fled from his erstwhile British patrons. Shah Alam, Shuja-ud-Daula and Mir Qasim jointly fought the battle of Buxar, where there forces were routed on 3 May, 1764. The unpleasantness which occurred between the allies before and during the battle, the ease with which the British were able to corrupt commanders and generals on the royal side, (including possibly Mirza Najaf Khan who later became the Regent at Delhi), and the irresistibility of the disciplined British forces marked a turning point in Shuja-ud-Daula's life. He came to terms with the British, and thereafter his career was that of an ally or an instrument of British policy. The most important and controversial measure in which Shuja-ud-Daula and his British allies joined hands, after signing a special treaty, was the famous "Rohilla war," which formed an important item of indictment against Warren Hastigs, and which led to the extinction of the Rohilla

power. On 23 April, 1774, the battle of Katra Miranpore was fought, in which the Rohilla chief Hafiz Rahmat Khan fell bravely fighting, and Rohilkhand was incorporated in the Oudh territory. Shuja-ud-Daula did not live long to enjoy his victory. And soon Oudh had to surrender Rohilkhand to the East India Company. but the object for which Safdar Jang had worked all his life was achieved by his son.

Shuja-ud-Daula is better remembered for the tradition of patronage of literature and fine arts (mainly poetry and music), for which the rulers of his family were to achieve fame. Faizabad was the first capital of the *Nawab Wazirs* of Oudh and owing to disorderly conditions at Delhi many men of note took refuge there. Sauda, Jafar Ali Hasrat and Ashraf Ali Khan Fughan adorned the court of Shuja-ud-Daula, while the eminent Persian poet Siraj-ud-Din Ali Khan Arzu (1689-1756) was patronized by his uncle, Salar Jang.

Shuja-ud-Daula was succeeded in 1775 by Asaf-ud-Daula whose regime was marked by a much tighter British control over the affairs of Oudh. "The Oudh ruler had become a vassal, in name and in fact, of the East India Company." Immediately on Asaf-ud-Daula's appointment he was compelled to cede the *zamindari* of Benares and to contribute increased funds for the maintenance of the British brigade. The financial demands increased so much that the net annual revenue of Oudh in 1779 was only one-half of what it was four years earlier, and two years later Asaf-ud-Daula entered into a secret treaty with Warren Hastings to rob his mother and grandmother, known in Indian history as the Begums of Oudh, of their treasures and jagirs, and to deliver the proceeds to the Governor-General.

With all his faults Asaf-ud-Daula's name is revered at Lucknow. For one thing, he was the real founder of Lucknow, as he shifted the capital there from Faizabad, partly to be away from his masterly mother and grandmother. He was also lavish in personal charity and was interested in architecture. His famous Imambara at Lucknow is one of the principal monuments of the city. On the literary side, he maintained the traditions of his father, and his court was adorned by principal Urdu poets of the day—Sauda, Mir, Soz, Insha, Juraat and Mushaifi.

Asaf-ud-Daula was succeeded after his death on September, 21, 1797, by his son Nawab Wazir Ali Khan, who had soon to face the opposition of the British. He was deposed and

his uncle Sa'adat Ali Khan became the Nawab on 21 January, 1798.

Kalhoras replaced by Talpurs.

After Nadir Shah's assassination in 1747, Nur Muhammad Kalhora became a tributary of Ahmed Shah Abdali who conferred on him the title of Shah Nawaz Khan. His death in 1754 was followed by anarchy and civil war, out of which his younger son Ghulam Shah, who had spent some years as a hostage at the court of Nadir Shah, emerged successful in 1757. He held power till his death in 1772 and has been considered the most capable member of his dynasty. He extended the Kalhora rule to the south as for as the sea, and founded the sea-port of Shah Bandar. He repeatedly invaded Cutch and captured a small seaport situated on the Indus. In March 1769, he laid the foundation of the city of Hyderabad which became the provincial capital in place of Thatta[c]. Ghulam Shah died in 1771, and the Kalhora nobles chose his son Sarfraz Khan to succeed him. He was a man of culture and literary gifts, but his reign was marked by sanguinary conflicts with the Talpurs, which ended after his death in the defeat of Abdul Nabi Kalhora by Mir Fath Ali Khan Talpur, who procured a *firman* from Zaman Shah, the contemporary Afghan king, for the government of the province of Sind.

The Kalhora period was marked by constant warfare and Dr. Sorley, the biographer of Shah Abdul Latif says, "The whole episode of the Kalhora supremacy makes very sad reading. It was certainly unfortunate for the masses that a dynasty of their own people, which drew its original driving force from the appeal it made to the religious predilictions of the common man proved so poor a substitute for the gorvernment of the Mughul."[16] In spite of the unsettled conditions, however, Kalhoras have much to show in the cultural and civic field. Their history has not been properly studied but the importance they attached to irrigation, the foundation of Hyderabad, the patronage of Persian and Sindhi literature and above all the emergence of Shah Abdul Latif, "incomparably the greatest man whom Sind has produced in the realm of imaginative art", make their era a memorable one,

In 1783 Mir Fath Ali Khan Talpur established himself as the "rais" or the ruler of Sind. He had to face two Afghan expeditions for the recovery of the arrears of tribute but he was able to

(c) The original Kalhora capital was Khudabad (in Larkana District) in Upper Sind.

settle the disputes amicably and before his death in 1801, the Talpur ruler was firmly established in Sind. The Talpurs, who were originally from Baluchishtan and did not claim any saintly descent were not so popular as the Kalhoras but "they did succeed in giving a distracted land peace for forty years and within the limitsof their administrative ideals their government was neither inefficient nor contemptible[17]." Mir Fath Ali's rule was mild, and he invited his three younger brothers to share the government at Hyderabad with him. In addition, there were two other sections of the Talpurs, ruling at Khairpur and Mirpur Khas. The Mirs extended and consolidated the Sind Government. In 1795, they recovcred Karachi, which had been given by the Kalhoras to the Khan of Kalat. In course of time, they established friendly relations with the East India Company but ultimately their territory was annexed by the British.

Chaos in the Punjab (1753-1793)

Abdul Samad Khan and after him, his son, Zakariya Khan, had ruled Punjab with a firm hand, and kept the Sikhs in check, but the disorganisation caused by invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali, the disastrous role of Adina Beg "the traitor who had for many years been at the bottom of every trouble in the Punjab,"[18] and the "war of succession" between the sons of Zakariya Khan, proved fatal to the orderly government in that province and made things easy for the Sikhs. The imperial Wazir's son Muin-ul-Mulk (Mir Mannu), who had been appointed viceroy early in 1748, tried hard to restore peace and order in the province, but he was hampered by extraordinary difficulties. For a long time, he had to struggle against the intrigues of his father's successor, Safdar Jang, who deputed one man after another to create difficulties for the Turani governor. Even more disastrous to the peace of the province were the repeated incursions of Ahmed Shah Abdali. He was defeated near Sirhind in 1748, but returned to the Punjab next year, and Muin-ul-Mulk, who on account of hostile intrigues of Safdar Jang received no help from Delhi, had to accept his demand, as successor to Nadir Shah, to the annual revenue of 14 lakhs due from the four *mahals*, which Muhammad Shah had assigned to the Persian king by treaty. This amount could not be paid, and Abdali returned within a year and besieged Lahore. Muin-ul-Mulk vialiantly defended the city for several months, but in spite of pressing requests and the Emperor's repeated instructions to Safdar Jang,

received no reinforcement, and was ultimately forced to surrender. Abdali now became the overlord of the *subahs* of Lahore and Multan, but he acted with moderation, conferrd the two subahs on Muin, accepted his advice not to strike coins at Lahore. agreed that the letters of the appointment of governors of Lahore and Multan (selected by Abdali) should be issued from Delhi. He introduced no change in the administration, but, in effect, confined his claims to the surplus revenue of the two *subahs*. These terms were confirmed by the Emperor in April, 1752.

While grappling with these problems Muin-ul-Mulk had striven hard to deal with the Sikh freebooters, who taking advantage of the unsettled conditions were again very active. He had already captured and destroyed the fort of Ram Raoni, which the Sikhs had erected to guard the approaches to Amritser. He organized a "flying column" to chase, capture, and destroy the Sikhs, who as Zakariya Khan told Nadir Shah, "lived in their saddles" and had proved elusive. He stationed detachments of troops in areas infested by the Sikhs, with instructions to deal ruthlessly with the insurgents and gave rewards for the capture and destruction of the Sikh horsemen. Hundreds of Sikhs were brought to Lahore, and put to death in the *Nakhas* (later known as Shahid-Ganj) outside Delhi Gate. After Abdali's departure, Muin personally took the field against the Sikhs, but as usual they dispersed on his arrival.

Mir Mannu's name is execrated by the Sikhs, but "the influence of his minister, Kaura Mal, who was himself a Sikh of the Khalsa Sect" and Adina Beg Khan "who saw in the turbulent tribe a means of advancing his own interests", conld not have been conducive to a prolonged policy of repression. In any case, the stern measures soon came to an end with the death of Muin-ul-Mulk on 2 November, 1753.

Muin-ul-Mulk was the last effective Mughul viceroy of the Punjab, and the confusion in the administration which prevailed after his death facilitated the task of the Sikhs. His office was conferred on his infant son with an able deputy, but his headstrong widow, Mughlani Begum insisted on running the administration herself. The resultant confusion which in three years completely destroyed the fabric of Government in the Punjab, attracted Abdali again, and in May, 1757, he appointed his son, Taimur Shah, as governor with Sardar Jahan Khan as *wazir*. Taimur Shah began well, but in 1758, at the invitation of Adina Beg Khan, the Mara-

thas invaded the province, occupied Lahore, and appointed Adina Beg Khan as governor. The expulsion of the Afghan officers brought back Ahmed Shah Abdali, who after the reconquest of Lahore and Sirhind severed the links with Delhi which had continued under Muin-ul-Mulk and comlpetely took over the administration of the area. In 1760 and 1761, Abdali was busy with all his forces round Delhi and Panipat, which left the field free for the Sikhs. They rose everywhere and in November, 1760, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia the founder of the Kapurthala state, came right up to Lahore and plundered its suburbs. After the battle of Panipat, Abdali turned his attention to the affairs in the Punjab. He realized that for Cis-Sutlaj areas special arrangements were desirable, and granted Ala Singh Jat a rescript confirming the possession of the Patiala principality, in return for a tribute of five lakhs. At Lahore he appointed his own *subadar*, but on his departure for Qandhar the Sikhs again came out, defeated the Afghan governor, who had gone to Gujranwala to destroy a fort built up by the Sikhs, blocked the road to Peshawar, and inflicted severe defeats on Afghan *faujdars* of the Jullundur Doab. Abdali's ire was now aroused, and he resolved to completely exterminate the Sikhs. He returned to the Punjab and in February, 1762, inflicted such heavy casualties on the enemy in a running fight that some ten thousand Sikhs were slain and the day is still remembered as that of the *Gallaghara*, or the great scrimmage. Full of anger and hoping to stir terror amongst the Sikhs, Abdali razed to the ground the Sikh temple, Harmandar at Amritsar and stayed in Lahore for the rest of the year to make arrangements ensuring a general peace in the area, but these sporadic attempts to deal with a deep-rooted problem by flying visits from across the border could hardly succeed. Abdali had probably the example of Abdul Samad Khan before him, but the Turani governor of the Punjab had avoided unnecessarily wounding religious sentiments, and had done a lot of detailed work to sustain and consolidate the military operations. Abdali's policy dictated by anger had actually the opposite effect, and aroused the Sikhs to unprecedented frenzy. They assembled at Amritsar, held a *gurumata*, (a council) and vowed to have their revenge. They first turned against the strong Afghan colony at Qasur, and then attacked Sirhind in a body of forty thousand strong. Zain Khan, the Afghan faujdar of Sirhind was defeated and slain. The Sikhs entered Sirhind and "looted and totally devastated it, turning the city upside down".

Worse cruelties took place than were perpetrated by Banda. In February, 1764, the Sikhs attacked and entered Lahore but were kept out by Kabuli Mal, the Deputy Governor, by cutting of the noses of the butchers of cows, and payment of a large contribution. Ahmed Shah rushed to Lahore next month, but after a fortnight's stay, he had to return to his own country, to deal with a local uprising there. Immediately after his departure three Sikh leaders attacked and entered Lahore, dividing the city between them and each ruled and administered a portion till the city was taken over by Ranjit Singh some thirty years later.

Ahmed Shah's last invasion took place in 1767, when he tried to make arrangement for the future administration of the territories held in the Punjab. He was old and ill, and was realizing the impossibility of administering the Punjab from Qandhar. In the eastern parts of the province, says Sarkar : "The Durrani king was at first asked to make Zabita the Faujdar of Sirhind, but he was induced by his grand *wazir*, who had been heavily bribed by Fattu, the widow of Ala Singh, to entrust the district to Amar Singh, the grandson of Ala, with the superlative title of the Raja-i-Rajgan, as the only man capable of keeping the trans-Sutlej Sikhs out, on his agreeing to an annual tribute."[19] He probably wanted to come to a similar arrangement with Lahna Singh, one of the three Sikh chiefs of Lahore, who was considered impartial and sympathetic, but Lahna Sing politely declined this offer as likely to affect his standing in the eyes of the Sikhs.[20]

Ahmad Shah Abdali died in June, 1773. His successor, Taimur Shah took steps for the realisation of tribute from the Kalhora rulers of Sind, but did not interfere with the Sikhs. For a quarter of a century, the three Sikh chiefs and their successors ruled over Lahore, without any interruption from outside. In 1793, Shah Zaman, the son of Taimur Shah ascended the throne of Kabul. He wished to revive the glories of his grandfather and in the beginning of 1797 entered Lahore, but the insurrection of his brother in Afghanistan forced him to return. He repeated his invasion next year. As usual the three Sikh chiefs left Lahore, and Shah Zaman entered the city without opposition. For one month he remained at Lahore discussing with his *wazir* and local Muslims the policy towards the Sikhs and plans for the future. He was advised to hand over the government of Lahore to Nizam-ud-Din Khan, a reputed Pathan chief of Qasur, but before this could be done, the

Afghan king was again forced to withdraw to face trouble from his brother, Mahmud Shah.

During his return journey Ranjit Singh was of assistance to Shah Zaman and as a reward got the royal investiture of the capital of Punjab. This was, however, a formality, as the city had to be forcibly taken from the three Sardars who controlled it. Ranjit Singh was able to do this with the help of the *arains* of Lahore, who had some trouble with the local Sardars and approached Ranjit Singh, then resident at Rasulnagar (Gujranwala District), to come and capture Lahore.

Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan

The second half of the Eighteenth Century is a depressing period in the history of Muslim India, but gallant efforts were being made by some individuals like Najib-ud-Daulah to revitalise the government of the country. In the south we come across the remarkable figures of Hyder Ali Khan and his son Tipu, who by dint of personal ability carved out a large dominion, but whose efforts did not prove fruitful, owing to their clash with the rising power of the British.

Hyder Ali Khan rose from poverty, and came to the notice of the ruler of Mysore as a brave soldier. In 1755, he became Faujdar of a fort in Madura Mistrict. Two years later, when Mysore was attacked by the Marathas and the internal situation in the state was chaotic, the charge of the entire army was entrusted to him. He rose to the occasion and the Marathas were forced to withdraw. In course of time the authority of the Government came into his hands, although the Raja coutinued to occupy the throne. He discharged his responsibilities with great ability and not only overcame the chaos within the state, but took advantage of the prevailing anarchy in the south to add fresh territories to Mysore and greatly enlarged its areas. The rise of Mysore was viewed with anxiety by the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad, and a pact was concluded between them and the British for a joint attack on Mysore. Hyder Ali was initially defeated by the Marathas, but he entered into friendly relations with the French, tried to secure the alliance of the Nizam, and concentrated against the British whom he considered to be a real danger. In the first Mysore War, he marched on triumphantly against the British forces, and defeating them time and again, reached the walls of Madras (in the beginning of 1769.) The Government of Madras was forced

to lay down arms, this being the first occasion when the East India Comyany was obilged to sue to an Indo-Pakistan power for peace. Hyder Ali acted with great forbearance and in March 1769, a treaty was arranged between him and the English, which provided, among other things, for mutual military assistance in case of attack.

After this Hyder felt secure, but soon a large Maratha army arrived near Serangapetam. The British gave no help, and Hyder Ali was forced to cede a part of his territory to the invaders. The failure of the British to honour their commitments embittered Hyder Ali, but he acted with moderation, and continued negotiations with the Government of Madras. They, however, formed an alliance against him with the Nizam and the Marathas, and the Second Mysore War began in 1780. Hyder Ali fought bravely and skilfully, and captured Arcot. The struggle was, on the whole, evenly balanced, each party winning and losing battles in turn. In December, 1781, Hyder Ali died of a carbuncle and was succeeded by his son Tipu Sultan. He was a brave fighter and maintained hostilities till they were terminated by the treaty of Bangalore, signed in March, 1784, under which the opposing parties agreed to restore the conquered territories.

The Treaty of Bangalore was nothing but a temporary truce, and this was realised by both the parties. Tipu sent envoys to foreign Muslim rulers to secure their assistance and started negotiations with the French. The Ottoman Government replied that they considered the French worse than the British, while Tipu received no real help from the French either. He, however, tried to organise his army on modern, efficient lines and introduced many reforms in his administration and military organisation. Side by side with the reorganisation of the army he tried to build up new indigenous industries, gave new impetus to trade and invited European craftsmen to Mysore. The third Mysore War for which both sides were preparing, commenced in June 1790, and as usual the British tried to isolate the enemy, and build up a front in conjunction with other powers. They had on their side the Nizam, the Marathas and the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore. They were, however, so much afraid of Tipu's army and generalship that Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, himself took over the command of the campaign. Tipu secured many successes, but by February, 1792, the British were able to reach Seringapatam and surrounded it. Tipu was forced to open negotia-

tions and had to cede half of his territory. He, however, did not give up the struggle. He strengthened the defences of his capital and reorganised his infantry and cavalry. He sent envoys to Arabia, Kabul and Constantinople. He also sent agents to Paris to secure French help. By now Napoleon had risen to power, and the Anglo-French relations were strained. The French in the Deccanpromised support and the French Governor of Mauritius sent a hundred recruits. The new Governor-General Wellesley, who was only too painfully aware of the danger, especially after Nepoleon's arrival in Egypt, decided to finish off with Tipu at all costs. The British joined forces with the Nizam and the Fourth Mysore War started in February, 1799. Tipu's army fought with great bravery, but without success. Seringapatam was surrounded in March, and in April the idvading forces breached a portion of the city wall by heavy bombardment. The Sultan came to the breach, and fought bravely till the end, but he received two bullet wounds in the chest and met his end fighting.

With Tipu's death Muslim rule in Mysore came to an end. As admitted by Vincent Smith, Tipu "was, of course, brilliant in tactics and fertile in expedience" and was "regarded, until the day of his death, as the most formidable power with which the Company had to deal with. Against his personal defects, his intolerance[(d)] and his maltreatment of prisoners must be mentioned his incessant activity, his military genius which frequently baffled British generalship by the speed of his movements and the rapidity of his changes of front, and his skill as an administrator which kept his territories loyal under the severest tests and was acknowledged by the British invaders. His name dominates the writings of the time; his destruction gave to Wellesley a resounding prestige."[21]

(d) Tipu Sultan has been the subject of a detailed study by Mr. Muhibbul Hassan, who has exonerated him of the charges of intolerance. See also Dr. Saletone on Tipu's policy towards non-Muslims, Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. 1, Part 2.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHULS

CHRONOLOGY

Death of Shah Alam; Akbar Shah II enthroned	1806
Birth of (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad Khan	1817
Battle of Balakot; Death of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi	1831
Persian replaced by English as official language	
Bahadur Shah II replaced Akbar Shah	1837
British Annexation of Sind	1843
British Annexation of Punjab, Kashmir & N.W.F.P.	1849
Beginnings of railways, telegraph line and cheap postal arrangements	1853
Annexation of Oudh	1856
The Great Struggle	1857-58
Trial and Exile of Bahadur Shah	1858

The "Twilight of the Mughuls." (1803-1858)

We have concluded our account of the Muslim civilisation in Indo-Pak subcontinent with the exile of the last Mughul emperor from Delhi in 1858, and not with the British assumption of overlordship of Delhi in 1803. This is partly in view of the fact that even in 1803 very large areas of the subcontinent were outside the control of East India Company, and partly as the Company retained at any rate, the legal fiction of the Mughul sovereignty till 1857. At Delhi the Mughul ruler received all the courtesies of a king. The Company paid him large sums which have been designated as a pension, but it was consistently claimed on his behalf that they were the "tribute paid by the Company by virtue of past arrangements and treaties; that the Company was administering territories for him, as the Marathas had in constitutional theory done before the Company; that the Company's authority was derived from his *farmans* in so far as it was covered by the *farmans*, and was mere illegal usurpation in so far as it was not so covered." Of course, these claims were against the background of actual military situation, mere "pretensions", but legally and constitutionally the Delhi house had never been set aside from the position they had occupied when they granted the Diwani to the Company in 1765. The Mughul ruler was designated

Shahinshah and later, Padshah in official correspondence. He continued to bestow titles of honour until 1828, when the Company ceased to recognise such titles except when bestowed on the immediate descendants of the Mughul king. Coins continued to be issued in his name until 1835.

The British attitude towards the Mughuls was the result of a careful and cool appreciation of the prevailing political conditions. Commenting on this, Sir William Hunter wrote in 1872, "The admirable moderation of the East India Company's servants, and their determination to let the Mohammadan power expire by slownatural decay without hastening its death at a single moment, averted this danger. India passed from a Country of Islam into a Country of the Enemy by absolutely imperceptible gradations. After many year's study of the Imperial and District Archives, I find myself unable to place my finger on any given year or decade of years as that in which the change was effected."[1] The policy underlying this process can be understood, but it also underlines the difficulty of determining the date for closing the Mughul period in 1803. Many careful historians have, therefore, terminated it with the exile of Bahadur Shah from Delhi and have called the period of the weakness of royal authority as the "Twilight of the Mughuls."

Akbar Shah II 1806-1837 and Bahadur Shah II 1837-1858

After the defeat of Sindia by Lord Lake, the blind king, Shah Alam, came under British protection. Outwardly, there was no change in his status. The arrangements made by Lake and the attitude adopted by him towards the Mughul king may be judged by the tenor of his communications to Shah Alam, "I am cordially disposed to render Your Majesty every demonstration of my loyalty and attachment and I consider it to be a distinguished honour, as it is a peculiar privilege to execute Your Majesty's commands"[2]. A high title was conferred on Lord Lake by the Mughul Emperor, and to all appearance the British representative was stepping into the shoes of Sindia. Special arrangements were made for the adminis. tration of Delhi, where Muslim law was to be administered in criminal matters. "Within the walls of the Red Fort the king retained his ruling powers. The inhabitants of the Fort *bazar* were his direct subjects, and the members of the imperial family or *saltatin*, who lived within, enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The etiquette of the court was maintained, the sonorous titles and

the language of the Great Mughuls continued, and the Resident attended the *Durbar* in the *Diwan i-Khas* regularly as a suitor. He dismounted like any other courtier at the *Naqar Khana*, and was conducted on foot through the *Lal Purdah* to the imperial presence where he stood respectfully like the rest"[3].

The arrangements introduced by Lake were maintained during Shah Alam's lifetime. The first British agent, Sir David Ochterlony, was a courteous and courtly diplomat and was succeeded by the equally considerate Setton. Shah Alam died on 18 November, 1806, and difficulties arose with his successor, Akbar II. With the consolidation of the British power, a tendency grew to treat the Mughul king more and more as a pensioner of the East India Company, while he insisted on the privileges accorded at the time of the conquest of Delhi. The diffierences between Akbar Shah and the Company came to a head when a meeting between Lord Hastings, the Governor-General and the king could not be held because "Akbar insisted that Hastings should appear as a subject and present the usual *nazr*". The king also would not agree to allow the Governor General a chair on the same level as his own at the time of the interview. Hastings refused to have a meeting on these terms, and soon thereafter, an attempt was made to curtail the Mughul king's privileges. The ruler of Oudh (hitherto called *Wazir*) and the Nizam of Hyderabad were encouraged to to adopt royal titles. While the Nizam declined to do so out of regard for the Mughul king, the Nawab *Wazir* of Oudh accepted the suggestion. To present his case in London, Akbar Shah appointed the celebrated Bengali reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, who was planning a visit to England, as the Mughul envoy to the court of St. James', and conferred on him the title of Raja. This visit took place in 1829, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy submitted an ably drafted memorial on behalf of the Mughul ruler, but he died soon thereafter, and nothing came out of his mission.

Akbar Shah died in 1837, and was succeeded by Bahadur Shah, who also refused to give up the claims put forward by his father. The East India Company, however, gradually curtailed his powers and privileges, and in 1856 when his heir-apparent died, the claims of the next surviving son were recognised on the condition that the title of Bahadur Shah's successor would only be Prince or Shahzada and not king.

Whatever may have been the disputes between the king and the Company, there is no doubt that materially the position of the Mughul ruler improved with the British occupation of Delhi. For one thing, there was peace and order, and the royal family was not exposed to those vicissitudes, and uncertainties which it had suffered prior to the reoccupation of Delhi by Sindia in 1788. There was an improvement in the financial position also. Income from the *khalsa* lands increased owing to greater general security. Even with all this, the king's income did not exceed six lakhs a year, and he had to feed a horde of dependents. The respect and the position which the king enjoyed was, however, out of all proportion to his material resources. The Mughuls had learnt the art of maintaining dignity and winning respect in most unpropitious circumstances and the tawdry Mughul court became the cultural centre of Muslim India. The court benefited by the return of peace and prosperity to Delhi, which once again began to attract the most distinguished Muslim noblemen, *ulama*, and men of letters. The Mughul kings also found out new, peaceful pursuits, in which they could maintain their privileged position. Bahadur Shah, for example, started accepting selected disciples. Even more important was his success in making the Red Fort the centre of a distinguished literary life. Already the Urdu spoken within the four walls of the *Qila-i-Mu'alla* (the Sublime Fort) was the touchstone of purity and distinction of language. Bahadur Shah made the Fort the meeting place for the most eminent poets and writers. In particular the great Ghalib, who epitomised in his personality and works the splendour, richness, humanity and wisdom of the Mughul culture adorned his court, sang verses in his praise and on the age-old themes of love and life, which easily surpassed anything written by the court poets of Akbar and Jahangir.

The importance of the Mughul court, even at this stage, in the cultural life of the country has been summed by Dr. Percival Spear:

> "The Mughul Court, so long as it lasted, was the school of manners for Hindustan. From the time of Akbar it had much the same influence upon Indian manners as the Court of Versailles upon European Sorely pressed as it was in the Eighteenth Century by the rough Afghans, the uncouth Marathas and the rustic Jats, its influence revived with the new tranquillity of the early Nineteenth Century. *Nawabi* Lucknow was an offshoot which maintained and

spread its influence farther down country. Another was Hyderabad in the Deccan. From Bengal to the Punjab, and as far as Madura in the south, Mughul etiquette was accepted as the standard of conduct and Persian was the language of diplomats and the polite. Forms of address, the conventions of behaviour and to a large extent ceremonial dress, approximated to the standards of Delhi. Even the Marathas felt its subtle and all-pervading influence, and the Jats were proud to decorate a replica of a Mughul palace at Dig with the plunder they had carried from Delhi. At a time when English cultural influence had hardly begun to spread beyond the Presidency towns, such an influence was an invaluable cement to society. The fall of the dynasty was a serious cultural loss, and inaugurated that period of nondescript manners and indefinite conduct from which India suffers to day".

Dr Spear goes on to say :—

"Thirdly, the Court under Bahadur Shah was a cultural influence of great value. With the royal patronage it became the centre of the second Delhi period of Urdu literature, whose brightest star was the great Ghalib. By its patronage it kept alive the Delhi school of painting which produced at least two painters of merit in Raja Jivan Ram and Husain Nazir. It was the natural centre of all the arts and crafts. By its influence it encouraged all these tastes in the leisured classes. Art in India has always depended upon aristocratic patronage. The end of the Court involved a break in cultural as well as political tradition, and ushered the garish period of utility into Indian life when education came to mean some knowledge of English, and culture foreign imitations. The Court of Delhi, faded though it was, had more in it that the tinsel of *Khillaats* or the honorifics of *shuqus*. It was the last refuge of traditional culture whose tragedy it was largely to perish at the hands of political passion and misplaced alien benevolence."[4]

Such was the respect enjoyed by the Mughul king amongst the native population, that there was no dissenting voice when in 1857 the soldiers of the Bengal army rose in rebellion against the East India Company in the name of the titular, feeble and aged Bahadur Shah.

The House of Oudh

Sa'adat Ali, who became the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh on 21 January, 1798, had to bear the brunt of Wellesley's expansionist policy and was forced to cede one half of his territory to the East India Company, but he made a grim determination to reorganise administration and effect economies. He was singularly successful in this, and before his death he had paid all the debts he inherited and created a reserve of fourteen crores of rupees in the treasury. Irwin calls him "the friend of the ryot" and considers him the ablest and most enlightened native ruler then living. Sa'adat Ali's tenure of office gave a new lease of life to Oudh, and he adorned Lucknow with many new buildings. He died in 1814, and was succeeded by Ghazi-ud-Din who at the instigation of Lord Hastings took the royal title in 1819. This proved singularly inauspicious. It added little to Ghazi-ud-Din's authority, and, only increased his expenses. He drew heavily on the treasures left by Sa'adat Ali but his son Nasir-ud-Din Haider, who succeeded him in 1827 proved even a bigger spend thrift and is "usually depicted as more debased and disreputable than any of his predecessors". Before he died in 1837 the treasury was almost empty. His successor tried to effect economies but he died in 1842. He was succeeded by Amjad Ali Shah, who was of a deeply religious disposition. From the beginning Oudh rulers were Shia, but until the days of Amjad Ali Shah "in agreement with the empire practice the only *Mufti*, or authority on law, was a Sunni, and all cases were decided by Sunni law. Amjad Ali appointed a Shia Mufti and introduced Shia law in his territory, except in cases where both parties were Sunnis or one was a Sunni and the other a Hindu".[5] This arrangement lasted till the annexation of Oudh—i.e. for less than 15 years. Amjad Ali was fortunate in the choice of his Shia Mufti, who was known for his piety, scholarship and uprightness, but the administrative weakness of the regime continued and was really inherent in the basic position, under which the British Resident had all the real power, but no responsibility. Amjad Ali died in 1847, and was succeeded by Wajid Ali, who filled his idle moments by devotion to music and dancing. Oudh rulers had from the beginning been great patrons of Urdu poetry, and from Amjad Ali's days *Marsiyya* (elegy) attained great perfection. Wajid Ali was forced to abdicate in February, 1856, when Oudh was annexed by the East India Company. He was interned near Calcutta where he maintained a large

establishment including a zoo and troupes of musicians who introduced Oudh music in Bengal. He died in 1887.

Cultural Importance of Lucknow

An important development of the Eighteenth Century, which has left its impress on the course of Muslim civilisation in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, was the rise of Lucknow as a great cultural centre. To some extent it was the heir of the older cultural centres of Budaon and Jaunpur, and could draw on a rich and fertile hinterland, which was the heart af Aryavarta. The influence of the old Hindu centres of religion, music, dancing and philosophy,—like Benaras, Qanauj and Ajodhya,—has also been seen in its cultural pattern, and Dr. Radha Kumud Mukkerji[6] of Lucknow Uuiversity has traced the ancestory of Lucknow culture to the days of Raja Janak of Ajodhya. These were, however, remote and indirect influences. The rise of modern Lucknow was due to its becoming the capital of the *Wazirs* of Oudh, who were patrons of art and letters, and made a sustained effort to turn their capital into another Delhi. The weakening of the Mughul capital and the successive raids of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Marathas in the Eighteenth Century, which drove poets, scholars, and artisans from Delhi to Lucknow greatly facilitated their task.

In course of time Lucknow developed its own style and cultural pattern, but originally it was an offshoot of the Mughul cultural centre of Delhi. The first two Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh, their principal nobles, poets, scholars, artists and artisans had migrated from the Mughul capital, and naturally the basis of the new cultural tradition was that of the Mughul Delhi. The Mughul cultural pattern with which the founders of the Lucknow tradition were familiar were not of the days of Akbar or Aurangzeb, but of Muhammad Shah. The vigour and discipline of earlier days was gone. On the other hand, music and dancing were the rage of Muhammad Shah's Delhi and these arts engaged Wajid Ali Shah and his courtiers even to a greater extent that was the case of the Mughul capital. The growing contacts with the West also encouraged this, and one of the interesting developments at Lucknow was the beginning of Urdu opera with Indra Sabha, in immitation of Western models.

Cultural trends in Lucknow mainly followed Delhi, but there were important and even fundamental differences. Delhi, apart from being the seat of Muslim Government had also remained a

great spiritual centre, and even in the dismal Eighteenth Century was the residence of Shah Wali Ullah and his family. This was not the position in Lucknow. Of course the great Farangi Mahal *madrasa* and the course of studies known as *dars-i-Nizamiya* belong to Lucknow, and many learned and venerable ulama adorned the city, but their influences were scholastic, intellectual and theologian, rather than spiritual. The fact that under *dars-i-Nizamiya* very little attention was paid to *tafsir* and *hadis*, to say nothing of the *ulum-i-batni* (or spiritual sciences), accentuated these trends. More attention was paid to the form than to the substance. At Lucknow concentrated efforts were made to make the student proficient in grammer, logic and *fiqh*, while *tafsir*, *hadis*, and *ulum-i-batni* became the speciality of Shah Wali Ullah's school at Delhi (and later of Deoband). Indifference to Sufism and *ulum-i-batni* at Lucknow may have been due to the fact that here the court followed the tradition of the Safavid Iran, which abhorred Sufism, and in this respect differed from the more catholic Shia tradition of Uchh, Multan etc. in West Pakistan, but it was also due to the local atmosphere. Hindu learning at Qanauj and Benaras, and Muslim learning at Jaunpur, Azamgarh and other centres of *purab* were biased towards formal subjects and *maqulat*, and Lucknow maintained this tradition.

This fundamental approach manifested itself in various forms,[a] but it is most clearly visible in the differing features of the Lucknow and Delhi schools of Urdu literature and language. According to Graham Bailey, "Lucknow poetry reflected the court. It gave itself upto external things, such as outward ornament, rather than beauty of thought. It developed rules for language and idiom, restricted poetic licence and laid down laws for prosody and figures of speech, especially similes and metaphors. Vigour of style and depth of thought counted for little, verbal accurancy and idiomatic use of words were the ideal. Delhi was less careful about words and gave more attention to thought and subject"[7]

With the annexation of Oudh the court patronage came to an end, but the fact that owing to Sir Henry Lawrence's policy, Taluqadars and big zamindars of Oudh, many of whom were Muslims, were maintained in their privileges led to the continuance of the cultural influences of Lucknow long after Wajid Ali Shah

(a) Percy Brown characterises the greatest masterpieces of Lucknow architecture as works of "outward show and tawdry pretence" whose "style has no spiritual values."

had been moved to Calcutta. The emphasis on the formalities of a court etiquette, purity of language and appropriate enunciation became a permanent feature of the Lucknow culture, and added a distinct strand to Indo-Muslim civilization.

Punjab, North West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan

With the weakening of the Mughul empire the Sikhs had become powerful in eastern and central Punjab. Towards the end of the Eigtheenth Century their organisation consisted of a loose federation of 12 Misals or unions, and the chiefs of different Misals were independent of each other. Ranjit Singh, who came into prominence in 1799 during the invasion of Shah Zaman, resolved to reduce the Misals to submission, and establish a monarchy. He was a shrewd ruler. In 1809 he signed a treaty with the British under which he agreed not to interfere with the Sikh states south of Sutlej, which came under British protection, while he was to exercise suzerainty over the area on the other side of the river. He turned his attention westwards, so that by 1824 he was supreme in the Punjab and most of Kashmir, Peshawar and Multan.

There is an impression that, owing to the collapse of the Muslim power in the area, Ranjit Singh was able to extend his sway without much opposition. This is not correct. The disintegration of the Mughul empire in the Punjab had led to the rise of a large number of local principalities, some of which were in Muslim hands and offered stout resistence to the Sikhs. The Chathas of Rasulnagar, the Khweshgi Afghans of Qasur and the Nawabs of Multan were only a few of these. Qasur became an important political and cultural centre in the Eighteenth Century. The famous Punjabi poet Bullhe Shah and Sufi Inayat Shah flourished here during this period, and inspite of the repeated Sikh attacks the city held its own. In 1807, however, Qutbuddin Khan, the last chieftain, was forced to give way before Ranjit Singh and to retire to his property at Mamdot, beyond the Sutlej, which was outside Ranjit Singh's zone. Sikhs first appeared before Multan in 1771, and thereafter the city was constantly threatened, but for long Ranjit Singh's efforts failed and he did not attain his object till 1818, when the aged Nawab Muzaffar Khan fell fighting bravely along with his five sons at the gate of the fort.

Ranjit Singh's conquest of the north-western areas was even more difficult. Timur Shah, son of Ahmed Shah Durrani died

in 1793, leaving twenty sons and thirteen daughters. There was bitter fighting between his sons, Shah Zaman, Shah Shuja and Shah Mahmud. At this time Fath Khan Barakzai, the *Wazir* of the Durrani ruler and his brothers had gained great influence, and ultimately Shah Mahmud ascended the throne with the help of Fath Khan. The latter, however, became, for all practical purposes, the real ruler of Kabul. This was resented by Mahmud. Things came to a head when during Fath Khan's visit to Herat, his younger brother Dost Muhammad Khan, with the help of a Sikh chief forced Shah Mahmud's son Kamran to open the local treasury. They "effected their purpose without a nice regard for the person of a royal lady, on whom hands were laid too eagerly"[8]. In anger, Shah Mahmud and Kamran had Fath Khan assassinated. This led to retaliation by Fath Khan's brothers, Mahmud was driven out, the Durrani dynasty founded by Ahmad Shah Abdali was extinguished and Dost Mahammad Khan became the ruler of Kabul.

Fath Khan, as the Wazir of the Durranis, had placed his brothers in charge of many key areas Mohummad Azam was in charge of Kashmir and Yar Mohummad governed Peshawer. In 1815 Ranjit Singh tried to take Kashmir from Azam but failed. When, after Fath Khan's murder, Azam rushed to Kabul with his best troops from Kashmir, Ranjit Singh got his opportunity and in 1819 secured Kashmir, thus terminating 67 years of Durrani rule in that area. He also went as far as Peshawar, but the Governor successfully resisted him. In the meanwhile Ranjit Singh built a fort at Khairabad, opposite Attock. He also added Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan to his territories In 1822, Yar Mohammad came to an understanding with Ranjit Singh but Azam disapproved of it, and in March 1823 the fateful battle of Nowshera was fought between the Sikhs and the Afghans. Azam had the support of the lashkars of Yusufzai and Khattak tribesmen who had gathered under the leadership of a well known Pir, Sayyid Akbar Shah of the family of Pir Baba of Buner. The *mujahidin* fought bravely and Phula Singh, the principal Akali leader was slain, but Azam took no real part in the battle and soon retired. The *mujahidin* suffered great losses from the Sikh artillery, but next morning they were ready to resume the struggle under Sayyid Akbar. Azam had however, already left, and the victory rested with Ranjit Singh's forces. "Azam,

broken in heart but wit`out a wound, died shortly after the battle. His record in this fight lives after him. No Yusufzai, Afridi or Khattak is anxious to rely on the word of a Muhammadzai Sardar, for it is doubtful if he will be there on the day"[9].

Dost Muhammad succeeded to Azam's position in Kabul, and Yar Mohammad in Peshawer. With Yar Muhammad there were his three brothers, including the eldest Sultan Mohammad who were collectively known as Sardaran-i-Peshawar. After the battle of Nowshera, Ranjit Singh advanced to Peshawar, slaying and plundering as he went. He did terrible damage to property and human life. According to Caroe, the fact. "That Peshawar contains no architectural monuments of any value is due mainly to the devastations of 1823".[10] Ranjit Singh, however, did not stay at Peshawar and after accepting Yar Muhammad's submission returned to Lahore He had now brought Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and the Derajat under his sway, and although no resistence was offered by the Sardaran.i-Peshawar, the tribesmen under Sayyid Akbar Shah, who soon joined hands with Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, decided to fight the Sikhs.

Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi arrived in this area in December, 1826 and the tribesmen, who had suffered grievously from the raids and depredations of Hari Singh Nalwa and the Sikh armies, gathered around him The Sikhs had established a strong force at Akora under the command of Ranjit Singh's cousin General Budh Singh. Sayyid Sahib's first battle with the Sikhs was a well-planned night assault It was a great success, and the Sikhs suffered heavy losses. They were so demoralized that Budh Singh decided to withdraw from Akora. This was very heartening and Sayyid Sahib was now joined by many Pathan Chiefs. He was able to extract an agreement from Yar Muhammad, the governor of Peshawar to respect the territories of Yusufzais and exempt them from revenue-collecting raids. The Sikhs, however, brought pressure on Yar Muhammed, who attempted to have the Sayyid Sahib poisoned. In 1829 Yar Mahammed was killed in an encounter with the *mujahidin*, but a Sikh force under the French General Ventura saved Peshawar, which passed under Sultan Muhammed Khan. Sayyid Sahib now crossed the river into Hazara Hills and attacked the Sikh forces under Hari Singh and another French general Allard, but was repulsed. His assault on Peshawar was, however, successful. The Barakzai governor was defeated and late in the

summer of 1830 Peshawar was occupied for two months by Sayyid Ahmad and his *mujahidin*.

Sayyid Sahib's success was partly due to the cooperation of Sayyid Akbar Shah of Sitana who, in spite of his high position and acknowledged leadership in tribal warfare, had readily enrolled himself under the newcomer's banner. Soon, however, difficulties arose, not between the two respected religious leaders, but between the *ulama* accompanying Sayyid Sahib and the tribal chiefs. After the conquest of Peshawar, Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi tried to introduce an Islamic system of government, which cut across the influence of the tribal chiefs. He also introduced social reforms, which were unpopular in the local population. The extremism of some of his followers enhanced the leader's difficulties, basically due to the hostility of the Sikhs and their Barakzai allies. In November 1830, Sayyid Sahib had to relinquish Peshawar in favour of Sultan Muhammad on the promised payment of a fixed tribute. The biggest blow to him, however, came when his deputies in Yusufzai villages were killed by the tribesmen themselves. Sayyid Sahib, accompanied by a few faithful companions, laft for Hazara, where after a few months of desultory warfare, he was surprised by a Sikh contingent and fell a martyr at Balakot, a small town in the subdivision of Mansehra in the district of Hazara, in May 1831.

Sultan Muhammad Khan had done his utmost to conciliate Ranjit Singh, even at the expense of his brother Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, but Ranjit Singh knew what he wanted. He gave "the crafty Sardar and his brothers considerable jagirs both in Peshawar and Kohat,"[11] but turned his suzerainty over Sultan Muhammad at Peshawar into an actual occupation. In May 1834, Peshawar was formally annexed to the Sikh dominion and Hari Sing Nalwa became the first Sikh governor.

Ranjit Singh was even planning occupation of Afghanistan and for this purpose a strong fort was built at Jamrud at the mouth of the Khyber Pass. Now even Amir Dost Muhammed Khan had to intervene and the famous battle of Jamrud was fought in April 1837. Dost Muhammad had to withdraw, but the Sikh General Hari Singh fell in the battle. He was succeeded at first by Teja Singh and later by the Italian General Avitabile who ruled Peshawar from 1838 to 1842 with unparalleled ruthlessness.

These areas remained under the Sikhs till the British replaced them in 1846. The British took over the area without much trouble

as "the hartred of the Sikhs was accompanied by contempt for Durranis,[(b)] such as Sultan Muhammad Khan and other Peshawar Sardars who had for their own convenience played the Sikh game." Sayyid Akbar Shah and his family, however kept the fire burning. He gave shelter to to those followers of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi who survived the disaster at Balakot or later arrived there at his fort at Sitana, which in later years became the great centre of anti-British struggle.

When the news of the Sikh defeat in the first Sikh War (1845-46) was received on the frontier, there was a general rising against them, and Diwan Mulraj had to evacuate the Sikh troops in April, 1846. After this, the tribesmen assembled together and elected Sayyid Akbar Shah as their ruler and Ghulam Khan Tarin as his Wazir. They revived the old land administration, prevalent before the Sikh occupation. This period is known as "Lundi Musulmani"[12] in the history of Hazara district. Under the treaty of Lahore, Hazara was handed over to Maharaja Gulab Singh, along with Kashmir, but the tribesmen refused to accept his rule and Gulab Singh surrendered the area to Laore Darbar and obtained Jammu in exchange.

Between the first and the second Sikh wars, a British Resident had been appointed at Lahore and picked British officers were posted in Hazara, Kohat and Bannu. In 1849, even the reduced Sikh dominion came to an end and the new British government of Puhjab became directly responsible for the area.

Baluchlstan remained outside the Sikh influence. The Mughul controlled this area from Qandhar, so long as that stronghold remained in their possession. Thereafter, the are was controlled from Sibi, which was under the viceroy of Multan. According to the family history of the former ruling Brohi family of Qalat, their Khanate was established in the Seventeenth Century, but their position must have been that of tribal chiefs, who rendered loyal services to the Mughul viceroys of Multan—e.g. Prince Muizuddin, grandson of Aurangzeb. The Khanate of Qalat was consolidated by Nasir Khan I, who was on the *gaddi* for 40 to 50 years (circa 17-50-94) In 1839 the Brohi principality came under British influence, which steadily increased. In course of time Qutta

(b) Abbot recorded in his diary that at Peshawar, "the Durranis were more detested than the Sikhs". "For their part the Pathan tribes felt it impossible to detect any sense of national fervour or patriotism in a flamily which at that time was notorious for its own short-term interest than the over-riding need" (Caroe, The Pathans P. 311).

became a major cantonment and replaced Qandhar as the second gateway to the Indian subcontinent.

Sind

Mir Fath Ali had firmly established Talpur rule in the former Sind area before his death in 1701. His family continued to rule the area without opposition, from their three headquarters of Khairpur, Hyderabad and Mirpur Khas. In 1824 they obtained peaceful possession of Shikarpur, the last place to remain under Afghan suzerainty. Talpur rule, however, soon came to an end as the British decided that the suitable time had arrived for annexation. The treaties of friendship with the East India Company (concluded in 1809 and 1820) had given no valid excuse for interference, but the Mirs were forced to give way before the expansionist policy of the Company. Hyderabad Mirs had agreed to accept a Resident in 1839, and a British force was sent to Sind and the Mirs were forced to sign a treaty, providing for the location of a British force in Sind, the part of the expenses of which were to be defrayed by the Mirs. The matters might have been pushed further even at this stage but the East India Company was about to embark on the disastrous campaign in Afghanistan,and it was thought inadvisable to bring matters to a head in Sind about the same time. In 1842, the British troops withdraw from Afghanistan and soon thereafter Sir Charles Napier confronted Hyderabad Mirs with new conditions which obviously could not be accepted by them. They were asked to cede to the British in perpetuity "the towns of Karachi, Thatta, Sukhkur, Bhakkar and Rohri, with a strip of land on each side of the Indus" and to transfer to the Bahawalpur chief "the whole track of Khairpur territory, from Rohri to Sabzalkot". The helpless Mirs signed even this treaty, on the 8th February, 1843. Sir Charles Napier, however, continued the march on Hyderabad. Ultimately there were battles between the British troops and Mirs' army at Miani on 17th February, 1843 where the British were victorious. Napier's action was severly criticized even in London, but Sind was annexed by the British.

Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi 1786-1831

Whatever may have been the Muslim sentimental regard for the ancient ruling family at Delhi, and whatever may be the size and the splendour of the principalities of Oudh, Hyderabad and Sind, there is no doubt that the centre of gravity had shifted by the first half of the Nineteenth Century. The political metropolis of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, was Calcutta, and so far as the Muslim

people were concerned, their intellectual and spiritual leadership was in the hands of the family of Shah Wali Ullah. Shah Sahib was no longer alive, and the person to whom Muslims all over the subcontinent turned for guidance in those trying times was Shah Abdul Aziz, his son and successor. It would be interesting to quote Justice O'kinealy about the importance and outlook of Shah Abdul Aziz. He wrote in the course of (an article in Calcultta Review 1870) :

"At this time Shah Abdul Aziz was admitted to be the most learned theologian in India. His fame had spread far beyond Hindustan, and the Arabian writers gave him the title of "The Sun of India". He exercised, and even now exercises, vast influence over the Muhammadans of India. His decisions on abstruse points of theology are still acknowledged as almost infallible and his name, which would be a tower of strength to auy party, has been claimed as that of a supporter of their respective views both by Wahabis and Sunnis. His legal opinions are qouted by both parties to sustain their position, but on the whole, he appears not to have countenanced extreme views on either side, and to have been a liberable conservative (if such a term may be used.) ......Towards the English government, considering the times in which he lived, he was somewhat liberal. He recognized the propriety of learning English and taking service with the conquerors, which is in advance of the opinion of the time prevailing among many Muhammadans of the present day."[13]

Shah Abdul Aziz was a true successor to his father—sound, learned, liberal, realistic and progressive—but he was essentially a scholar and writer, and the most important Islamic movement of the period was headed not by him, but by a disciple of his. Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi, who led this movement was not only a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz, but his two leading lieutenants were a nephew and a son-in-law of Shah Sahib and the contribution of Shah Wali Ullah's family to his efforts was so over-whelming that some writers (for example Maulana Maududi) have considered his movement merely a continuation of Shah Wali Ullah's work.[14] There is considerable force in this and in any case the spiritual basis of the movement was provided by Shah Sahib's writings, but Hazrat Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi made his own characteristic contribution with his great organising ability, practical experience of men and affairs, great mystic powers and knowledge of military matters

without which it would have been impossible to organize such a broad based movement.

Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi was born in Rai Bareli in 1786. He began life as a *sawar* in the service of Nawab Amir Khan, who later founded the state of Tonk. When the Nawab came to terms with the British in 1806 Sayyid Ahmed gave up military service and went to Delhi to study under Shah Abdul Aziz. He did not distinguish himself in book-learning but his spiritual powers and organising ability greatly impressed those in the inner circle of his teacher. Sayyid Ahmed's reputation greatly increased when Shah Abdul Aziz's nephew Shah Ismail and son-in-law, Maulvi Abdul Hai, became his disciples. Both of them were distinguished scholars and their example was followed by many others. In 1818, with the help of his two learned disciples, Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi wrote *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*, which is an authentic expression of his viewpoint, and apart from the mystical portion relating to Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya is largely a summary of the reforms, which Shah Wali Ullah had urged in his numerous writings. About this time Sayyid Ahmed started to preach in public, and although his language was free from rhetoric and he used simple homespun words and images, he was a great success as a preacher.

Sayyid Ahmed's activities were not confined to Delhi. He visited important places in the neighbourhood, and it was during a visit to Rampur that some Afghans complained to him against the Sikh persecution of Muslims, and he expressed a desire to conduct a holy war against them He, however, knew that war required elaborate preparations and in any case he wished to perform Hajj before undertaking the *jihad*. He left Delhi after celebrating *Id-ul-fitr* at Rai Bareli (where in his own family he set an example of unpopular and unusual widow re-marriage). After this he left for Calcutta. In addition to Shah Ismail and Maulvi Abdul Hai, Sayyid Sahib was accompanied by a large number of admirers and his journey was a great success. The party visited Allahabad, Benares, and many other centres on the way. There was a long stay at Patna where so many people became Sayyid Ahmed's disciplies that he nominated four *Khalifas* or spiritual vicegerents and a high priest to look after them. The stay in Calcutta extended over three months, and masses flocked to him in such numbers that at times Sayyid Sahib was unable to go through

the ceremony of initiation by separate laying on of hands, and his turban used to be spread out to be held by prospective disciples at the time of the taking of the oath of initiation. In due course the party left by sea for Jeddah and reached Mecca. Here they performed the *Hajj*, met the *ulama* from other Muslim countries, and got an opportunity to know more about the Wahabis, who were in control of the Holy places, shortly before their arrival.

After an absence of nearly three years the party returned to Delhi—again, via Calcutta—and preparations for the *Jihad* against the Sikhs were started. The *jihad* which was begun towards the end of 1825 was originally successful, as stated elsewhere, and at one time Sayyid Ahmed's supporters were able to occupy Peshawar and enforce the laws of *Shariat* in the conquered territory. This success was, however, shortlived and ultimately Sayyid Sahib lost his life in a battle near Balakot on 7 May, 1831.

Sayyid Ahmed's military efforts ended in a disaster and many of his distinguished companions, including Shah Ismail, died on the battle-field but his meteoric career left a lasting impression in distant corners of the subcontinent. For one thing, the scene of his activities on the Afghan frontier continued to attract *mujahids*, who gave considerable trouble to the Sikhs and later to the British. The effect of his activities in eastern parts was even more far-reaching. During his leisurely trip to Calcutta and his long sojourn in that city, he had enrolled a number of disciples—many of them from distant areas in what is now East Pakistan—who continued his work after him, and themselves became centres of religious activity and enrolled other disciples. Some of them joined him in the *jihad* on the frontier and many continued to send men and money to the *mujahids* who kept up the struggle till the second half of the Nineteenth Century. But perhaps even more important was the extension of Shah Wali Ullah's reform movement, through these disciples, in areas which had been cut off from Delhi for generations, and were now brought closer with the spiritual centres of Muslim India. Even on the frontier the work of the *mujahids* did not come to an end with the disaster of Balakot. After Sayyid Sahib's death his principal disciples met at Delhi and selected Maulvi Nasir-ud-Din, son-in-law of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, the principal successor of Shah Abdul Aziz, to lead the *mujahids.*

He proceeded to the Pathan area via Sind and it was under his leadership that on the invitation of the Sayyids of Sitana, the *mujahdin* moved and settled there. When Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Kabul proclaimed a *jihad* to fight the Triple Alliance of the Sikhs, the British and Shah Shuja, Maulvi Nasir-ud-Din joined him and the *mujahids* suffered heavily in the battle of Ghazni (July 1839). Maulvi Nasir-ud-Din died shortly thereafter, and the leadership of the movement was now taken over by Maulvi Wilayat Ali (d. 1852) and Maulvi Inayat Ali (d. 1858) of Patna. The *mujahids* took advantage of confusion in the Sikh affairs, after the death of Ranjit Singh, and conquered Balakot, but this success was short-lived, as soon the British occupied the territory. A Mujahid colony eontinued near Sitana even after that, but its affairs belong to a later period.

Muslim Revival in Bengal.

Islam had been spread in Bengal by the Sufi missionaries in the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Centuries, but thereafter, there had been a vigorous Hindu revival under the Vaishanavaya leaders which not only infused a new religious life among the Hindus and converted Assam and the neighbouring hill areas to Hinduism, but also, through its literary and other channels of expressio n, influenced the Muslim society. The stream of Muslim missionaries to the area had dried up, and not only was there a general ignorance of Islam amongst the masses, but a local variety of popular religion, thinly veiling Hindu beliefs and practices seemed to be growing up. As the travels of Mirza Itsam-ud-Din Khan show, Bengal Muslims who were informed about religion, were steadfast in their observance of Islamic injunctions, but in distant villages isolated by rivulets and streams, there were serious obstacles to the spread of Islamic knowledge.

The Nineteenth Century, however, saw a new movement of Islamic revival in Bengal and an end of its isolation in the spiritual field. Largely, this was the work of the local reformers and scholars, who took advantage of the new conditions and the facilities of steamship travel to Arabia. "The first person who stirred his countrymen, by resusicating the dormant spirit or their faith" was Haji Shariat Ullah, who was born of poor parents, in the village of Daulatpur (of Madaripur subdivision in Faridpur District) which has long since been washed by the Padma. He received his early education at a religious seminary at Dacca or Faridpur and went on pilgrimage to Mecca sometime around 1802, when he

was about eighteen years of age. He returned in 1820 or so, after a prolonged stay in Hijaz. While he was in Arabia, he was influenced by the doctrines preached by Shaikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab, and he began to teach them on his return to the people of his native district. He denounced the superstitions and corrupt beliefs which had been developed by long contact with the Hindus. He was opposed to the prevalent procedure of the Sufi initiation, and replaced the expressions *piri-muridi*, which suggested a complete submission, by the relationship between *ustad* (teacher) and *shagird* (pupil). He discontinued the laying on of hands customary at the time of initiation, but required from his disciples "*tauba*" or repentance for past sins and a resolution to lead a righteous and godly life in the future. As a matter of fact, although his followers are generally known as "Faraizis" on account of there insistence that everone must perform the *faraiz*—religious obligations or the obligations imposed by God and the Prophet— they prefer to call themselves "*tawbar*" or "*tawbar Muslim*". Haji Shariat Ullah lived a life of piety, and with his sincerity and exemplary life won the confidence of the people "who venerated him as a father able to advise them in seasons of adversity and give consolation in times of affliction".[15] He became the centre of a great spiritual revival, but this did not suit the members of the ruling classes. The local Zamindars (mostly non-Muslim) "were alarmed at the spread of the new creed, which bound the Muhammadan peasantry as one man," and started harrassing Haji Sahib with the usaul lawsuits and disputes. Ultimately he was driven from *najabari*, in the district of Dacca, where he had settled on his return from Arabia, and returned to his birthplace, where he continued his ministry till his death.

Even more influentiai was his son, Haji Muhammad Mohsin, (properly known as Dudhu Miyan) whose name became a household word in the districts of Faridpur, Pabna, Baqarganj, Dacca and Noakhali. He was born about 1819, and visited Arabia at an early age. On his return he took up the leadership of the movement started by his father. He partitioned East Bengal into circles, and appointed a *Khalifa*, to took after his followers in each circle. Under him the movement became the spearhead of the resistance of the Muslim peasantry of East Bengal against Hindu landlords and European indigo planters. 'It was against the levying of illegal cesses by landlords that Dudhu Miyan made his most determined stand. That a Muhammadan ryot should be obliged to contribute

towards the decoration of the image of Durga, or towards the support of any of the idolatrous rites of his Hindu landlord, were intolerable acts of oppression."[16] The landlords and indigo planters retaliated with their usual tactics—false or genuine criminal cases and lawsuits. Dudhu Miyan was harrassed all his life, and was repeatedly in jail on various charges. He died on 24 September, 1860, at Bahadurpur, where he had settled down, but all the traces of his grave have been washed away by the Arial Khal river.

Another important local leader of the peasantry was Mir Nasir Ali, generally known as Titu Mir. He did not belong to the group headed by Haji Shariat Ullah and Dudhu Miyan, but they all had similar religious and socio-economic objectives. He was a well-known wrestler of Calcutta, and came under the influence of Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi either in that city or in Mecca, which he visited as an attendent of a member of the royal family of Delhi. After his return he started to preach to the poorer classes in the districts of Jessore and Nadiya in Central Bengal, "among whom he established the sect known as Maulvis." The chief object of this movement was the rejection of all Hindu rites, and naturally the Hindu landlords had no sympathy with the new organisation. Cases against the "maulvis" were lodged in the Zamindari courts, where fines were levied. A *zamindar* who earned notoriety in this connection was Kishan Rai, *zamindar* of Purnea, who, imposed a tax of Rs. 2 As. 8 upon each of his tenants professing to be a Wahabi. "As a general rule the Wahabis do not shave; hence they called this new impost the Beard Tax."[17] This tax was collected in Purnea proper, but attempts to collect it in a near village caused a riot in which some houses were plundered and a mosque burnt. Ultimately this turned into a conflict between the government and Titu Miyan's followers, against whom a strong military contingent had to be sent, and a pitched action was fought on the November 18, 1831. Titu Mir fell in action; 250 of his followers were jailed, and the movement died down in course of time.

The doctrines which were preached by Haji Shariat Ullah and Dudhu Miyan for some forty years brought permanent changes in the spiritual life of Bengal, but the influence of their group gradually declined. Apart from the conflict with landlords and authorities, Dudhu Miyan's policy brought his group in conflict with orther Muslims. "He tried to compel all Muhammadan ryots

to join his sect, and on refusal caused them to be beaten, excommunicated from the society of the faithful and their crops destroyed."

The main dispute between the Faraizis and the ordinary Muslims was about the Friday prayers. The ordinary Muslims attach great importance to the ceremonial observance of these prayers, while the Faraizis held that India, having come under the rule of the Christians was a *Dar-ul-Harb*, and Friday prayers were unlawful here. This led to acrimonious controversies, and the Faraizis started treating Muslims who did not share their beliefs as *kafirs*. "They do not salute persons of another sect, and do not go to their mosques, but have even defiled many belonging to the Sunnis, by throwing impurities upon rhe pulpit, so that neither preaching nor Friday prayers can be held in them." [18] The Faraizis usually prayed in their own "Jama'at Ghar,"[(c)] and not in the Muslim mosques. This opened up great schismatic possibilities, which were countered by the orthodox religious leaders, especially by Maulvi Karamat Ali, who called them "Kharijis", and now the "Faraizis" have gradually merged into the main Muslim community.

The religious leaders whose influence, besides that of the Faraizis, was the greatest in what is now East Pakistan and who were mainly responsible for linking up Muslim Bengal with the main spiritual centres of the subcontinent were four disciples of Hazrat Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi. Amongst them Maulvi Imam-ud-Din was born at Hajipur in Sudaram subdivision of Bengal, and completed his education under Shah Abdul Aziz at Delhi. He became a disciple of Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi at Lucknow in 1824 and thereafter never left him till his last day. He was with him at Calcutta (where he brought a large number of people from his own village for initiation at the hands of the Sayyid), during the journey to Arabia, and later during the *jihad* on the frontier. Sayyid Sahib thought very highly of him, and used to send his new disciples for further spiritual training to him. He studied *Sirat-ul-Mustqim* under Sayyid Sahib himself, and many admirers of his *murshid* (including Nawab Wazir-ud-Daula of Tonk and Maulvi Karamat Ali Jaunpuri) studied the book under him.

(c) Mr. Muin-ud-Din Ahmed Khan, M.A. (Mc Gill) Research Scholar in Appendix B to his (unpublished) Report No. 1 addressed to the Secretary, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca says, "Special stress was put on the regular performance of daily prayers preferably at Jama'at Ghar."

Maulvi Imam-ud-Din's brother lost his life at Balakot, but he himself returned to Bengal, after the disaster, and carried on his work of reform and religious regeneration in Noakhali district. He was so successful in his mission that the auther of the district Gazetteer of Noakhali writes about the Muslims of that district: "Formerly it is said that the Muhammadans kept to many of their old Hindu customs, but about the middle of the last century they came under the influence of a reforming priest, Maulvi Imam-ud-Din, and are now almost to a man,[(d)] Faraizi."[19] According to the tradition in East Pakistan, Maulvi Imam-ud-Din left towards the end of his life for Hijaz, and died during the return journey at sea. According to some other accounts he may have died at Tonk, where the Nawab had collected the family and surviving leading disciples of Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi. Another prominent disciple of Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi who hailed from what is now East Pakistan and ultimately returned there, was Sufi Nur Muhammad, who made Chittagong his centre of work.

There were many features common between the reforms preached by Shah Wali Ullah and the Wahabis, but there were also profound differences. Shah Wali Ullah oppossd extremism of all kinds (even puritanical), practised and permitted *tasaawwaf*, and was more "forward-looking", than a revivalist.

Maulvi Imam-ud-Din and Sufi Nur Mohammad accompanied Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi during his journeys and *jihad* and came back to their native province after the disaster at Balakot. Even before this, prior to leaving for *jihad*, Sayyid Sahib and his co-workers had made pretty thorough arrangements for preaching of his doctrines in different parts of Bengal, and for despatch of men and materials from these areas. According to an article in the Calcutta Review (1870), already quoted, "One Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur travelled through Chittagong, Noakhali, Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Barisal. Inayat Ali of Patna confined his exertions to middle Bengal and preached in Faridpur, Pabna, Rajshahi, Malda and Bogra. His brother, Wilayat Ali assisted him for a short time in Bengal, but his mission lay chiefly among

(d) Early British writers often used the expression *Faraizi* or *Wahabi* to loosely denote what, in the District Gazetteer of Dinajpur, have been designated as "Naya Mussalmans". Actually the preachers, whose work was most fruitful in Bengal—Maulvi Karamat Ali, Maulvi Inayat Ali, Haji Nur Muhammad of Chittagong, Maulvi Imam-ud-Din—were neither "Faraizi" nor "Wahabl", but followers of the tradition of Shah Wali Ullah, through Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi.

the people of Central India, Haiderabad and Bombay."[20] In addition, Maulvi Wilayat Ali, when in Deccan, had sent Maulvi Zain-ul-Abidin to preach in eastern districts of Bengal, "and the number of his followers in Sylhet and Dacca testify to his success as a missionary."

We shall deal separately with Maulvi Karamat Ali, but the work of Maulvi Inayat Ali in Bengal was most important. He spent more than seven years at one time and three years at another, in Central Bengal, and organised many centres of work. He built mosques at a number of places, and appointed qualified Imams in all the mosques. Not only were these Imams responsible for the religious education of the population, but they adjudicated in the disputes of the local Muslim population, and saved them from resort to Government courts. Maulvi Inayat Ali's centre of work was at Rajshahi, or at Hajipur (in Jessore District) where his family resided. It was due to his great organising ability that Bengal became a major source for recruits for the *jihad* against the Sikhs, and later against the British.

Maulvi Inayat Ali was an efficient organiser and his missionary work in Bengal was of great importance, but he was even more deeply interested in the *jihad*, and ultimately the Frontier claimed him. The disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi, whose primary interest was in religious education and reform and who devoted a lifetime to the work in Bengal was Maulvi Karamat Ali. He was born at Jaunpur in June, 1800, became a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi during his tour of Northern India and was selected by him for work in the eastern provinces. Maulvi Karamat Ali, who chose East Bengal as the main field of his activities, was a great organiser and for forty years he moved up and down the elaborate river system of East Bengal with a flotilla of small boats, carrying the message of Islamic regeneration and reform from the Nagas of Assam to the inhabitants of Sandip and other islands in the Bay of Bengal. His flotilla of country craft was often compared to a travelling college ; one boat was for the residence of his family, another was reserved for the students and disciples accompanying him, while the third was for *dars*, lectures and prayers. He repeatedly toured and halted in the districts of Khulna, Jessore, Barisal, Faridpur and Chittagong, but the district in which he worked longest was Noakhali. Through his well-planned and well-organised efforts extending over half a century, Maulvi Karamat Ali was able to revitalise Islamic life in East Bengal, and it has been said

that one has only to contrast the religious fervour, or social life or even the normal dress and appearance of Muslims of East Bengal and West Bengal to realise the revolution which he brought about in the area in which he worked.

Maulvi Karamat Ali "exhibited remarkable power for the regeneration of Islam all his life, so that at the time of his death, there was scarcely a village in Bengal that did not contain some of his disciples."[21] He married in a village in Chittagong District, and except for occasional visits to Jaunpur, spent his entire active life in Bengal. He is buried in the principal mosque of Rangpur (in East Pakistan) where he died in 1873. After his death his work was carried on by his son and his nephew, and in many parts of East Pakistan his influence is alive even today. Comparing him with Keshub Chandar Sen, the founder of Brahmo Samaj, Beveridge in his masterly study of the "District of Bakarganj" (Barisal) says : From all that I have beard, Karamat Ali, who was a native of Jaunpur, was a man of a very pure and disinterested character, and did much good by preaching sound morality. He has certainly exercised much more influence over the common people than Keshab Chandar Sen, and I should think that he was the truer and more modest man of the two" (p. 381).

Maulvi Karamat Ali shared with the Faraizi leaders an abhorrence of un-Islamic practices, but he was violently opposed to their rejection of Id and Friday prayers in British India, and their treatment of other Muslims as *kafirs*. He called them *Kharijiyah* and wrote pamphlets against them. His view was that India was not a *dar-ul-harb*, but he argued that even if India had ceased to be *dar-ul-Islam*, Muslims should do their utmost to carry on, as far as possible, observances which were followed in *dar-ul-Islam*. "If non-Muslims conquer Muslim lands, observances of Friday prayers and the celebration of two *ids* was not only lawful but obligatory". Maulvi Karamat Ali was successful as the *ulama* in Hejaz (where followers of Dudhu Miyan went in such large numbers for the performance of Haj that the group came to be called Hajis) supported his views regarding Id and Friday prayers. Vast majority of Bengal Muslims did not give up Friday prayers or the celebration of *ids* during the British period, but a small group continued to follow Haji Shariat Ullah and they did not offer Friday prayers until after the establishment of Pakistan. Maulvi Karamat Ali's efforts resulted not only in the spread of Islamic knowledge and

a new, vigorous religious life, but if there was any danger of certain practises different from those in vogue in the rest of Muslim India being adopted in Bengal, that was averted.

The significance of the religious revival in Bengal in the Nineteenth Century is not generally recognised, but those who are aware of developments within the province know its importance. Wise wrote in his study of the Mussalmans of Bengal :

"The Muhammadan revival of the nineteenth century is one of the most momentous events in the modern history of India. The seed sown by a few untitled men, has borne abundant fruit, and at the present day overshadows the whole of Eastern Bengal".[22]

About the characteristics and effects of this revival, The District Gazetteer of Dinajpur has the following entry :

"Of recent years there has been a Muhammadan revival under the auspices of itinerant Mullahs. They travel about the country and preach against idolatry and all practices not sanctioned by the Koran. The result has been that a considerable section of the community has joined what is locally called the community of Naya Mussalmans. They are strict in religious observances, avoid participation in Hindu religious festivals, and the extravagance in connection with marriages and other ceremonies...The better classes amongst them are particular in the matter of seclusion of women. In dress they affect the cloth worn like a skirt rather than the Dhoti worn by other Muhammadans of the district."[23]

British Expansion. 1803-1858

The graph of British expansion in Hind-Pakistan follows a zigzag course. The ultimate goal of British policy —territorial sovereignty—had been laid down as early as 1688 but progress towards that goal was slow, cautious, and punctuated by long periods of "masterly inactivity.'' This policy was adopted partly to avoid Europian jealousies or violent local reaction, and also to keep down the cost of territorial expansion. Besides, Britain was a small island and could not initially provide men for the administration of a vast subcontinent, and the long time taken in annexation, provided a suitable opportunity for gradually training up the necessary personnel, gaining an intimats knowledge of the local problems, and evolving a suitable modus operandi.

By the end of Lord Welleley's Governor-Generalship, (1805) there was no doubt about who was master of the subcontinent, and Delhi itself was under British control. But it is typical of the

zigzeg course of British policy and the alternate predominance of expansionist and commercial-cum-economical schools of thought, that after all his conquests Lord Wellesley was recalled and Cornwallis was sent out a second time with clear instructions to adhere to the policy of non-intervention. He died within three months of his arrival, but George Barlough who held the office for two years after him (1805-1807) strictly carried out this policy. He was succeeded by Lord Minto, who also annexed no territory,and whose regime was notable for a treaty of friendship with Ranjit Singh (1809). Under Hastings (1813-23), there was the Gurkha war and the more important Third Maratha War (1816-19). There was the First Burmese war under Amherst, but the long tenure of William Bentick (1828 to 1835) was devoted, almost entirely, to administrative reforms and consolidation. Thereafter the pace of expansion quickened once again. The First Afghan War of 1837, fought, in cooperation with Ranjit Singh, to restore Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul, ended in disaster and although a year later, large British forces were sent to restore British prestige, the orginal objective i.e. enthronement of Shah Shuja, was abandoned. Failing in Afghanistan, the British annexed Sind (1843). In 1839 Ranjit Sing died, and in 1845 she First Sikh War was fought, resulting in many advantages for the British in the Punjab. The great era of expansion, however, did not begin again till Dalhousie came to the scene in 1848. Soon after his arrival the Second Sikh War was fought, leading to the annexation of the Punjab and the north-western areas (1849). Three years later, the Second Burmese War was fought, and Burma was annexed. Oudh was annexed in1856 and Dalhousie developed the "doctrine of lapse", under which the Hindu widows were refused the right of adoption and the states of the dying rajas without natural heirs lapsed to the paramount power. This doctrine was applied to Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur etc., and these territories were incorporated in the British dominion. Dalhousie also abolished the titles of the Nawab of Karnatak, the Raja of Tanjore and thePeshwa, and announced that on the death of Bahadur Shah, the title of his successor would be Prince and not King. There is evidence to show that but for the happenings 1857, which led to a reversal of the policy regarding native states, Hyderabad would also have been annexed, but overt action taken by Dalhousie was confined to the transference of the administration of Berar from the Nizam to the British (1853).

Cultural and administrative consquences of British Supremacy

Clive, who is regarded as the father of the British rule in the Indo-Pak sub-continent had no interest in cultural matters, or even in real, administrative reforms. The position changed with Warren Hastings who was deeply intested in Oriental culture,and actively patronised Oriental learning. Such was his appreciation of the Muslim literary heritage, as treasured in Hind-Pakistan that he advocated that a study of Persian might be made a part of the liberal education of an Englishman through the University of Oxford.[24] In this he failed, but he was able to attract to the service of the East India Company may gifted people from amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. Amongst the latter may be mentioned the author of the well-known history, Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, who wrote this book for Warren Hastings, Nawab Ali Ibrahim, originally Diwan of Mir Qasim and well-known for many historical and biographical works, who was appointed Magistrate at Benares, and Munshi Sadru-ud-Din, the donor of Buhar library (now incorporated in the National Library, Calcutta). One of Hastings' memorable actions was the foundation of the Culcutta Madrasa in 1786.

Hastings took early steps to make accessible in English the basie principles and text books of Hindu and Muslim law. Learned Pandits were invited to Calcutta from different parts of Bengal to form an authoritative compilation of Hindu laws. The Pandits compiled the Code in Sanskrit. This was translated into Persian, the court language, under the supervision of one of the Pandits and from the Persian translation an English version was prepared.[25] With respect to Mohammadan Law, Warren Hastings wrote to Lord Mansfield: "Your Lordship need not be told that this is as comprehensive and as well-defined, as that of most states in Europe, having been formed at a time in which Prabious were in possession of all the real learning which existed in the western part of this continent. The book which bears the greatest authority among them in India is a digest formed by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and consists of four large folio volumes which are equal to near twelve of ours.[26] This was the famous *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, which except for a few portions published by Neil Baillie has not been translated into English. An English version of an earlier text book *Hedaya* was however, published in 1791 by Hamilton,[f] Being an English translation of a Persian rendering of the Arabic original it

(f) A reprint of Hamilton's Hedaya was published at Lahore, in 1959.

was hardly satisfactory, but for the time being it served its purpose. The copy of this version in the Bodlean Library of Oxford has a note inscribed on it by Edmund Burke: "There is a great power of mind and a very subtle jurisprudence shown in this work." Later Sir William Jones translated *Sirajiya*, a book on Muslim law of inheritance, and added a commentary.

In 1794 Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir Willian Jones. The next important cultural step was the foundation in 1800, by Lord Wellesley, of Fort William College. Its practical object was train the officers of the East India Company in languages and customs of the newly conquered country, but it also played a significant role in the cultural history of the country during its brief existence.

The part played by the Fort William College in the cultural history of Indo-Pak subcontinent has not been fully grasped. It lay partly in the impetus which it gave, under the enthusiastic guidance of its principal, Dr. Gilchrist, to a systematic study of Hindustani, and in the high literary quality of the works, written under its auspices in various Indian languages. Gilchrist himself published an English-Hindustani Dictionary and a Hindustani Grammar, but even more important are the works of the group of competent indigenous writers, whom he was able to attract to his institution. By that time Urdu poetry had reached a high stage of development, but books in Urdu prose were very few, and with rare exceptions (like the far-seeing family of Shah Waliullah) serious scholars ignored it. Even the few works which existed contained the ornate and highly artificial rhyming variety of prose, which came into vogue for the embellishment of imaginative works and display of rhetoric and literary skill, and had become current during the decay of the Mughul Empire. Prose books written at Calcutta were the work of a number of writers, who had their individual styles, but the best amongst them adopted the natural, spoken language of Delhi, and showed that unaffected and without rhymes it could give real aesthetic pleasure. Generally a high standard was maintained, and although the books were written primarily to provide text-books for foreign students, many of them, like Bagh-o-Bahar have become classics of Urdu literature.

It has been claimed that the rise of modern Urdu prose was due to the work done at the Fort William. As A. Yusif Ali has pointed out,[27] this can be true only in a qualified sense. The excellence

many of the works produced at Calcutta need not be denied, and it is also true that the prose style which ultimately gained currency in Urdu was closer to the pattern adopted at Calcutta than to anything else written so far, but the work of Dr. Gilchrist's associates was accomplished at a place far removed from the literary currents of Delhi and Lucknow, and did not affect them. There are practically no contemporary references to the books produced in Calcutta, and for more than half a century literary circles in northern India, which after all was the home of Urdu, either continued to ignore prose or (with the exception of the religious writers, who were not influenced by the Calcutta experiments) cantinued to follow the models rejected by the writers at Fort William College.

Literary and linguistic activity at Calcutta was not an unmixed blessing for the future of Indo-Pak. subcontinent. The splitting of the common spoken language of the Hindus and Muslims of Northern India into two separate languages was the work of the Fort William College. Not only was the polite spoken language of Northern India (Urdu-Hindustani) cultivated at the Calcutta institution, but with the help of Lalu Ji Lal and other Sanskritists practically a new language was created in the form of new Hindi. This was not the literary form of the language spoken by the Hindus or evolution of any regional dialect, but a new, artificial language. As Kaye, the historian of the Hindi literature says, "A literary language for Hindi speaking people, which could commend itself to Hindus was very desirable and the result was produced by taking Urdu and expelling from it words of Persian or Arabic origin, and substituting for it words of Sanskrit or Hindu origin. The Hindi of Lallu Ji Shah was really a new literary dialect."[28] A similar process was adopted in respect of Sanskritization of Bengali, wherein Do-Bhashi form current in the Eighteenth Century[g] was discarded, and a highly Sanskritised form adopted.

Some other aspects of the language policy adopted by the East India Company in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century had serious consequences. In 1829 it was announced in an official communication that it was "the wish and the admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and

(g) Halhed wrote in 1778, "At present those persons are thought to speak the compound idiom (Bengali) with most elegence, who mix with the pure Indian verbs the greatest number of Persian and Arabic nouns". (Vide Preface to his Begali Grammer.)

eventually the language of public business throughout the country". A few years later English replaced Persian. This can be understood, but the British claim for the cultural consolidation of the country would have had a more solid basis if along with English an indigenous language had been given at least a secondary place. Instead, an entire language plethora of vernaculars was encouraged, and instead of one common language Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Sindhi etc. all seemed to get similar attention. Whereas in the past Hindustani was understood in its various forms practically all over the country, and local languages had, apart from ballads and simple verse, no developed literature, now the regional languages began to develop literatures of their own. Thus the cultural unity of the country became totally dependent on English, and the seeds of the present language problem of India and Pakistan were sown.

Muslim Bengal was particularly hit hard by the new turn of events. The combination of the officers of the East India Company and the Hindu merchant princes had sealed their political fate at the battlefield of Plassey.[29] The same alliance continued in other spheres. Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement (1793), put into operation through Hindu intermediaries and accompanied by a ruthless application of the "Sunset" law resulted, in extinguishing the proprietary claims of a large number of Muslim landowners and the creation of Hindu *Zamindars*. Now they were to be ruined culturally. Not only was Persian replaced by English, but in regional affairs Bengali was given the pride of the place. This could have been understood, if the language of the people had been adopted. But Bengali which was made current under the new power was not the language spoken either by the Hindus or the Muslims of Bengal. It was a completely artificial language, containing a nigh preponderance of Sanskrit words, and in many respects was a new language for the Bengali Muslims who formed nearly half the population of the province.

Apart from these controversial developments, the British made important contributions to the social and civic life of the people, particularly of the Hindu community, at this time. In 1829 Lord William Bentinck ordered the abolition of *Sati*. Aurangzeb had issued peremptory orders to stop it, but as the practice was sanctioned by the Hindu religion, stray cases continued to occur, especially after the weakening of the Mughul government. The well-organized and continuous British administration dealt with the

problem more effectively. About the same time successful measures were adopted to root out Thugee, which had assumed serious proportions after the breakup of the Mughul Empire.

An increase in the number of printing presses took place about the same time. Some time before 1778, Charles Wilkins had invented and cast printing types for Persian and Bengali characters. Not only was type printing used for official printing of laws and regulations, and for the work turned out by Fort William College at Calcutta, but also in the great mass of the so-called Wahabi literature, printed in Urdu about 1820-1837, in connection with the movement headed by Sayyid Ahmed Brelvi. But the Muslims preferred caligraphy to convenience and instead of developing type printing and making such modifications in letters as would cheapen its cost, they have preferred lithography which was introduced by 1837, within less than forty years of its invention in Germany. The first lithographic press was set up in Delhi, soon followed by the establishment of another at Lucknow. Lithography proved very popular and soon many printing presses were set up, bringing out a stream of newspapers, pamphlets, government notices and serious literary work.

Improvement in communications was largely the work of Lord Dalhousie. In 1853 a railway line, set up between Bombay and Thana, marked the beginning of the vast railway system of the subcontinent. The telegraph system was introduced in the same year, and coupled with the reduction in postal charges effected about the same time, provided easy and inexpensive means of communication.

Muslim Law Under the British.

When after the battle of Buxar, the fugitive Mughul Empror, Shah Alam conferred the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the East India Company, the *firman*, in its original form bound the Company to decide causes "agreeably to the rules of Mahomet and the Laws of the Empire".[30] This clause disappeared from the later version of the treaty, but it continued for a long time to influence the policy of the Company and the expectations of the people. Till 1857 the Company was administering vast areas in the name of the titular Mughul sovereign and had begun by administering Islamic law, except where the practice of the Muslims themselves had been to leave disputes between Hindus to be determined

according to their Shastras as interpreted by Hindu Pandits. Under Regulations of 1772 it was laid down that "in all suits regarding inheritance, successions, marriage, and caste and other religious usages or institutions, the law of the Quran with respect to Muhammadans and those of Shastra with respect to Gentoos (Hindus) shall be invariably adhered to. Even in case of courts under in Company's control, dealing with other categories of cases Muhammadan law officers were attached to all of them, original and appellate, civil and criminal, to advise on question of law." Sir Roland Wilson on whom we have relied for this paragraph continues to say, "Criminal proceedings in particular were assumed to be governed by the Shariat (irrespective of the religion of the offender) unless and until the Company's Government should think fit to order otherwise. Not till 1790 was this jurisdiction withdrawn from the Nazim; and although from that date the system was gradually Anglicized by successive Regulations, the Muhammadan element did not entirely diappear until 1862, when the Penal Code and the first Code of Criminal Procedure came into force, nor as regards rules of evidence till the passing of the Indian Evidence Act in 1872."[31]

Struggle for Independence 1857-1858

In 1857 started a great national rising which convulsed the subcontinent for over two years, and completely changed the course of its history. It has been variously described as the Mutiny or the War of Independence. Both designations are open to objections. It started as a "mutiny" of the troops, but large sections of the civil population participated in it and it had the willing or unwilling support of the titular but the lawful Mughul monarch. On the other hand, it can hardly be called the War of Independence in the accepted sense as it failed and did not lead to the independence of the subcontinent.

The causes of this great upheaval were many—political, social, economic, and religious. The expansion of the area under the the direct control of the East India Company, especially during administration of Lord Dalhousie, had created a general feeling of unrest. The annexation of Ouda, the absorption of Satara and Nagpur, and the possibility of the application of Dalhousie's policy to all the remaining native states disturbed the old ruling classes. The economic consequences of this policy were also far-

reaching. All the principal civil and military appointments under the East India Company come to be reserved for the Europeans, and a large number of well-placed people in the old native administration were thrown out of employment. On the other hand a large scale confiscation of estates, hitherto held free, had been going on for various reasons, in the territory under the East India Company.

The political, economic and social factors had engendered popular discontent, but the spark that kindled the conflagration was religious. The British government was universally suspected of designs to convert people to Christianity. The question of the future religion of the subcontinent was freely discussed in English magazines and other publications, and missionaries occupied a position of privilege, especially in the educational structure of the new government. As Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan later pointed out in his brilliant *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, the British officers would invite their servants and subordinates and make them listen to the preachings of the Christian missionaries. Canning, the new viceroy, was particularly friendly to the Christian religious leaders. In this atmosphere of tension, discontent and distrust, were introduced the new, greased cartridges, which had been recently imported from Europe. The rumour spread that the grease used in these catridges came from animal fat—of cows and pigs—which Hindus and Muslims could not touch for various reasons. At Meerut some troopers of a regiment refused to use these cartridges, and were severely dealt with by the British officers. This brought to a head the pent-up feeling of distrust and hostility. On May, 10, 1857, the third Cavalry regiment at Meerut took the lead, raided the jail, released their comrades who had been imprisoned for refusal to accept the greased cartridges and raised the standard of revolt. They killed their European officers, and reaching Delhi next morning, and proclaimed Bahadur Shah as the emperor. They attacked the Delhi magazine, but it was blown up by the dutiful British officer in charge and only a small quantity of ammunition fell into their hands. The disturbance now spread over the greater part of the subcontinent. In the Punjab the native soldiers were quickly disarmed and the British officers were not only able to keep the area quiet but by whipping up Sikh animosity against the Muslims and promising unlimited loot, were able to enlist a number of enthusiastic Sikh soldiers. In Haiderabad, Sir Salar Jang had prevented any disturbance. Bengal was also quiet, but

there were serious disturbances at Kanpur, where Nana Sahib, the displaced son of the last Peshwa took charge of affairs, Lucknow, where the British officers had to face a prolonged siege, Jhansi, where Lakshmi Bai,the famousRani of Jhansi was the leader of the revolt, and also at Kolhapur, Bombay, and in Southern Maratha territory. The British ceased to be in control of affairs over very large areas, but the well-armed and well-organized British troops in the country gradually brought the situation under control. A siege train arrived before Delhi on September 6 and a week later the Kashmiri gate was stormed and after six days of well contested fighting the city and the fort were captured. Bahadur Shah was arrested, and his three sons were shot by Major Hodson to whom they had surrendered.

Perhaps the most contested fight was at Lucknow, which was relieved by the British troops on September 26, but was lost again, reconquered and after another loss had to be finally relieved a third time, (March, 1858).

The struggle at Lucknow was led by Maulvi Ahmad Ullah, and the Begum of Oudh. Amongst the Marathas, Nana Sahib, Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi were the principal leaders.

The Fate of Mughul Delhi

The British re-entered Delhi on the September 20, 1857, but it was not the end of the agony and uncertainties of the people of the Mughul metropolis.[g] The cruel massacre of the British women and children had enraged the British officers, and perhaps partly to inspire terror and thereby facilitate reconquest of the unsubdued parts of the subcontinent, a ganeral massacre of the civil population was ordered. According to Mrs. Saunders, the wife of the contemporary Commissioner of Delhi, "for several days after the assault every native that could be found was killed by the soldiers."[30]

(g) The manner in which this reprehensible act of the mutineers had affected even the most responsible people may be judged from a communication addressed to Sir Herbert Edwards by Sir John Nicholson, often referred to as the "Hero of Delhi" in British histories of the conflict. He wrote, "Let us propose a bill for the flaying alive, impalement or burning of the murderers of the women and children at Delhi. The idea of simple hanging for the perpetrators of such atrocities is maddening. I wish I were in that part of the world that if necessary, I might take the law into my own hands......If I had in my power today and knew that I were to die tomorrow, I would inflict the most excruciating tortures I could think of on them with a perfectly easy conscience." See Nicholson's letter to Edwards, quoted in *Delhi in 1857*, Nigam, P. 152-153.



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Women and children were spared but according to native accounts many women, who did not flee from the city drowned themselves by jumping into wells, to escape a worse fate at the hands of the soldiers. Commissioner Saunders himself wrote, "The troops were completely disorganized and demoralized by the immense amount of plunder which fell into their hands and the quantity of liquor which they managed to discover in the shops of the European merchants of Delhi."[31] The initial massacre, which lasted for some days, was followed by a "systematic reign of terror," which according to a modern British historian "lasted for several weeks," but in reality seems to have continued for several months.

The entire population of Delhi, which survived the early massacre was driven out of the city. Mrs. Saunders wrote on October 25, "Every house in the city was desolated and many of them injured.......the inhabitants of this huge place seven miles round are dying daily of starvation and want of shelter. The Prize Agents are digging for treasure in houses where rich natives are said to have hoards."[32] The entire population of Delhi had to spend this winter either in the open or in hastily prepared shelters, far out of the city. In December a European observer reported that the search and plunder still continued. "He visited the outlying bands of fugitives from the city and found a very serious share of misery and sickness among the lower orders, the infirm and those with large families." During these months the city was subjected to a loot and plunder which it had not suffered in its dismal history during the Eighteenth Century. The massacre of Nadir Shah and plunder by the Marathas, Jats or Afghans continued, at the utmost, for a few days. Their loot was in the presence of the owners, who could offer some protection or conceal some property. Now the entire civil population had been driven out of the city, and in the absence of the owners, the houses were broken into, their floors and contents were dug up, removed or destroyed. Responsible, thoughtful Englishmen, who had not caught the "vengeance" fever, were greatly distressed at what was happening. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay wrote to Lawrence, the future Governor-General : "After the siege was over, the outrages, committed by our troops are simply heart-rending. Wholesale vengeance is being taken without distinction of friend or foe. *As regards looting, we have indeed surpassed Nadir Shah* "[33]

Next to suffer were the city buildings. The principal mosques were occupied by the British troops, and there was a general discussion in the Anglo-Indian press regarding their fate. There was a proposal to sell the Grand Mosque of Shah Jahan. Another

was to use it as a "barrack for the main guard of European troops," as in the opinion of some officers at Delhi it could "never be allowed to remain in the hands of the Muslim population." Muslims were allowed to use the mospue only after five years. Some parts of the Fatehpuri Masjid, the second largest in the city, remained in non-Muslim hands till 1875. The beautiful Zinat-ul-Masajid, built by Aurangzeb's daughter was only given back to Muslims by Lord Curzon in the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

What the royal palace and the Fort suffered was even worse. The palace proper, i.e., the residence of the royal family and the other connected buildings were completely razed to the ground. Fergusson, the historian of Indian architecture says that "the harem and the private apartments of the palace, covering more than twice the area of Escurial, or in fact, of any palace in Europe" and containing gardens,courts and buildings which to judge by the corresponding structures in the Agra Fort, built by the same monarch "must have vied with public apartments in richness and beauty" were completely destroyed. "Not one vestige of them now remains. The whole of the *harem* courts of the palace were swept off the face of the earth to make way for a hideous British barrack without those who carried out this fearful piece of vandalism, thinking it even worthwhile to make a plan of what they were destroying or preserving any record of the most splendid palace in the world."[34]

There was considerable damage to the public buildings also. The more important ones were retained, but "without the courts and corridors connecting them they lose all their meaning and more than half their beauty." The contents of the palace were of course, looted, and even structural decorations were dug out. Fergusson continues, "When we took possession of the palace, every one seems to have looted after the most independent fashion. Among others, a Captain (afterwards Sir John) Jones tore up a great part of platform, but had the happy idea to get his loot set in marble as table-tops." Some of these table-tops he again sold to the government, presumably to the India Office. "Two of these he brought home and sold to Government for £500, and were placed in the India Museum. No one can doubt that the one with the birds was executed by Florentine, or at least Italian artists," while the other was a copy from Raphael's picture of Orpheus charming the beasts.

Perhaps an even bigger loss was the destruction and dispersal of the royal library, where rare and illuminated works had collected since the days of Babur and Akbar. It must have suffered

during the ravages of the Eighteenth Century, but there is evidence to show that it was in existence in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, and was being used by certain scholars of the capital.[35] Its contents were so varied and comprehesive that religious teachers like Shah Abdul Aziz and Maulana Nazir Husain Muhaddis are stated to have utilized it for rare religious works. This library was looted and scattered to all corners of the earth so that we find some leaves of one royal album at Patna, a few in Berlin, some more in the National Library of Paris, though of course, the major portion found its way to the public and private libraries of England.

What happened to the royal library is a matter of conjecture, but there is clear, contemporary evidence about the looting and destruction of other big libraries built up by rich nobles, interested in arts and sciences. For example, those who have seen the papers of Sir Henry Elliot in the British Museum are aware of the use, which he made of Nawab Zia-ud-Din's extensive library. Nawab Sahib was a brother of the Nawab of Loharu and had spent a fortune in building up a library of rare historical and literary works. About this library (and another) Ghalib, who for some time suffered the nightmare of having lost his own works, wrote in a letter: "I have a brother-in-law, Nawab Zia-ud-Din Khan. He used to collect my prose and poetry, and his library contained complete manuscripts of my prose and poetical works. This library, which at a very modest estimate was worth Rs 20,000/- has been looted. Not a sheet has been left". Ghalib has the same tale of woe about the library of another friend, Husain Mirza, the Nazir of the Mughul King. Ghalib also wrote about his and Zia-ud-Din's houses. Both these houses were swept clean. Neither a book was left, nor any chattel".[36] Another major library, whose plunder has been recorded was that of Maulana Sadr-ud-Din Azurda, the famous scholar and *Sadr-us-Sadur*.

The Hindu population was allowed to return to the city in January 1858, and Muslims were allowed a few months later, but the destruction of buildings continued for long thereafter. The large areas between the Jama Masjid and the Fort, which are now covered by an extensive park were originally the principal residential quarters of the Mughul nobility, and contained the large Akbarabadi Mosque, where Shah Waliullah used to teach. All these buildings were ploughed up and the entire area cleared, so that there should be a suitable field of fire beyond the walls of the Fort, which was to house the British garrison.

Perhaps the biggest loss was cultural. In this the most vital loss was that of the libraries, but human beings also suffered griev-

ously. Many scholars, poets and men of letters (like Sahbai, and Maikash and Maulana Muhammad Baqir) perished in the massacres. Others like Dagh, Hali and Azad, had to seek refuge at Rampur, Hyderabad, and Lahore, and other distant places where they could keep body and soul together. The cultural importance of Delhi came, of course, to end with the Mughul court, but it also ceased to be a place of learning.

In course of time peace and order returned. The civil authorities, many of whom were all along unhappy at what was going, on, were at last able to arrest themselves. Canning, the Governor-General, who was nicknamed "Clemency Canning," was of a kindly disposition, and the extracts, we have quoted from the writings of Commissioner Saunders and his wife, would indicate their humane and gentle outlook. The Anglo-Indian press was, yet preaching vengeance, and the tradition of the bloodthirsty Hodson did not die easily, but gradually good sense prevailed, and by slow stages a return to civil administration was effected. Even some arrangements for a partial payment of compensation for losses suffered by citizens were made. Delhi recovered but it was now a small appendage of the "non-regulated" province of the Punjab. The grand edifices built by a succession of the Mughul monarchs remained as a reminder of what had existed once, but they were an empty shell. Delhi of the Mughuls had perished for ever.

FRUITS OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE.

Sack of Delhi in 1857-58 was a human and cultural tragedy, but every cloud has a silver lining. Even the enforced dispersal of scholars and writers of the Mughul capital had its value. Lahore now replaced Delhi as the cultural centre of Muslim India, and this was possible—and Urdu got firmly rooted in the land of the five rivers—because of the work of Hali and Azad. Similarly, although Delhi ceased to be a place of learning, those who had drunk at this fountainhead and had imbibed the spirit of Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz established two great centres of learning at Deoband and Aligarh, not far from the old capital.

Ghalib, sheltered behind the protecting walls of the court physician of the Sikh Maharaja of Patiala, saw the whole tragedy of Delhi enacted before his eyes. His letters contain a poignant account of these happenings, but he was too much of a robust Mughul to be permanently downcast. He had long foreseen the break-up of the old system, and his "message" was :—

"They gave me the glad tidings of the dawn in the dark night. They extinguished the candle and showed me the rising sun. The fire-temple got burnt; they gave me the breath of fire. The idol-temple crumbled down and they gave me the lamentation of the temple-

gong. They plucked away the jewels from the banners of the kings of Ajam. In its place they gave me the jewel-scattering pen. They removed the pearl from the crown, and fastened it to wisdom. Whatever thy took away openly, they returned to me in secret."

To all appearances the nation-wide uprising was a dismal failure, bringing suffering and misery to the subcontinent and in particular to the leaders of the movement and its participants. In reality, however, the struggle had far-reaching results. It led to a complete administrative overhaul, a reorientation of the British policy in religious and other matters, and developments in the political field, which were to pave the way for the later political struggle and the final independence. For one thing, the control of the subcontinent was transferred form the East India Company to the British Government, which now for the first time took direct responsibility for the administration of the area. This meant the replacement of an indirect and even irresponsible rule by direct government administration. The old expansionist policy at the expense of the native administered territory was totally abandoned. No Indian state was later annexed, and Hyderabad which was marked for an early annexation in the days of Dalhousie, escaped that fate. In religious matters also, the British learned a bitter lesson and adopted a policy of tolerance and respect for the local sentiments, which was not visible in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

In the political field a beginning was made, which was to have far-reaching consequences. Even before the members of the Great Revolt had died down, and while Martial Law was yet in force, (Sir) Sayyid Ahmed Khan, a sincere friend and fervent admirer of the British, whose loyalty had been tested in the Great Struggle itself, sat down to analyse the "Causes of the Indian Revolt". With his sturdy commonsense and characteristic fearlessness he pointed out that the basic cause of the revolt was that the government had no means of knowing the views of the vast population, which was directly affected by its legislative and administrative measures. This criticism, coming from a well-tried friend was reinforced by the observations of many Englishmen who wrote books, pamphlets and articles analysing the causes of the revolt, and the British with their characteristic ability to learn from experience took remedial measures. In 1861 the Indian Councils Act was brought into operation, which provided for the appointment of Indians to the Governor-General's Council for the first time. It marked the beginning of the association of the native population with the upper administrative councils of the subcontinent, which gradually expanded under the pressure of public opinion, and ultimately led to the complete transfer of political control to India and Pakistan, in 1947.

held high positions in the state even before Jahangir's marriage to Nur Jahan. In the next reign, Asaf Khan maintained his position until his death, but his successors were selected on the basis of their scholarship and technical efficiency. Allami Afzal Khan remained Shah Jahan's *diwan* for ten years, and the office was held from the nineteenth to the thirtieth years of Shah Jahan's reign by the celebrated Saadulla Khan, who like his predecessor had risen from the ranks on the strength of his learning, wisdom, character and resourcefulness.

The Diwan, who can perhaps well be called the Finance Minister, had under him two principal officers, called Diwan-i-Tan and Diwan-i-Khalsa, who were in charge of salaries and state lands respectively. It is interesting to note that all the assistants of the Diwan-i-Khalsa under Shah Jahan's reign were Hindus, and five out of the seven Heads of Diwan-i-Tan (salaries) Division belonged to the same community. Raja Raghunath Rai, who had been Diwan-i-Khalsa for some years, became sole Diwan in the thirty-first year of Shah Jahan's reign, and maintained this position until his death, during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb's principal *wazir*, who held this office for 31 years, was Asad Khan, originally his Mir Bakhshi. Apart from him, the most famous Mir Bakhshi of the Mughul period was Shaikh Farid, who played a decisive role in the enthronement of Jahangir.

Organization of Public Services

The organization of public services was perfected during Akbar's reign, and was based on the *mansabdari* system, borrowed originally from Persia. Every important officer of state held a *mansab* or an official appointment of rank and emoluments. In 1573-74 Akber classified the office holders in thirty three grades, ranging from commanders of ten to commanders of ten thousand. The principal categories of Mughul *mansabdars* were, however, three; those in command of ten to four hundred were commonly styled *mansabdars*; those in command of five hundred to two thousand and five hundrad were *amirs*, and those in higher ranks belonged to the category of *umara-i-kibar* or *umara-i-izam*. The highest *amir* in the third category was honoured with the title of *Amir-ul-umara*. Till the middle of Akbar's reign, the highest rank which any ordinary officer could hold was that of a commander of five thousand; the more exalted grades between commanders of seven thousand and ten thousand were reserved

for princes of royal blood. Towards the end of his reign and under his successors these limits were relaxed.

Originally each grade carried a definite rate of pay, out of which the holders were required to maintain a quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts etc. But even in Akbar's days and in spite of safeguards introduced by him, the number of men actually supplied by the *mansabdars* rarely corresponded to the number indicated by his rank, and under Akbar's successors greater latitude was allowed. The mansabdars were paid either in cash or by temporary grant of *jagirs*. Theoretically, the *mansabdars* received fabulous salaries, which appear all the more excessive when it is realised that they were not normally maintaining all the troops they were expected to keep. The salaries of the *mansabdars* in the highest grade, for example, ranged from Rs. 12,000 a month to Rs. 30,000. As against this the highest salary of a provincial Governor in British India till 1947 was Rs. 10,000 a month. But as pointed out by Sri Ram Sharma, the comparison is misleading. "The salaries of the Mughul governors represented their total cost to the State and a part of it returned to the State in the excess of the value of the presents governors made to the emperor over the gifts which they received from him. No extra travelling allowances and no entertainment money were sanctioned, no extra staff provided for and no amusement arranged for. Further, out of his salary the governor was expected to maintain a certain number of beasts of burden and carts[a]...This was only a part of the monthly charge. The whole staff of the provincial governor was to be maintained by him. The governor had a *diwan*, a bakhshi, sometimes a wazir, a chief-secretary, a news-writer, a personal assistant, a reader and a mir-i-saman; besides a host of minor officials of his own whom he paid out of his own pocket. He maintained a vakil at the imperial court."[2]

Even with all the expenditure which *mansabdars* had to incur, their emoluments were very high, and it was also known that by their failure to maintain the proper number of horses, etc. the *mansabdars* defrauded the government. During the days of Shah Jahan, the practice was introduced of paying salaries for a period less than the full twelve months of the year. In some cases only four months' pay was allowed, with a view to neutralise the

(a) Thus a *panj-hazari*, who received Rs. 30,000 a month had to pay Rs. 10,796 for the maintenance of elephants, horses, camels, mules and carts (S. R. Sharma, Mughul Administration, p. 108).

unauthorised profits of the *mansabdars.* Even with these safeguards, and allowing for the fact that the income from *jagirs* did not often correspond to expectations, the *mansabdars* were very highly paid. This led to an extravagant style of living, especially as on the death of a *mansabdar* all his property was taken over and sealed by the state, pending the satisfaction of the claims of the state, and there was reduced incentive to economy. The high scale of salaries, howerer, enabled the state to attract the ablest and the most ambitious individuals, almost from the whole of southern and western Asia.

Recruitment to the ranks of *mansabdars* was made by the emperor, who "usually acted on the recommendation of the leaders of the military expeditions, the governors of the provinces and high officials of the court". In addition to the *mansabdars,* who may be treated as gazetted officers, there was a class of *ahadis,* who though holding no official rank, were employed in posts in proximity to the royal court or palace or important offices. They were usually young men of position and good families, who were not fortunate enough to secure a mansab on their first application, but were given an opportunity to show their worth, and in case of good work were promoted to the ranks of *mansabdars.*

Provincial Administration

Provincial administration was greatly improved by Akbar and in this respect Mughul period differs substantially from the Sultanate. The boundaries of the provincial units were more definitely fixed and a uniform administrative pattern, with minor modifications to suit local conditions was developed for all parts ef the Empire. Further, drawing upon the experiments introduced by Sher Shah, the provincial administration was strengthened, and each province was provided with a set of officials representing all branches of the state activities. By the introduction of an all-India cadre of *mansabdars,* liable to be transferred anywhere at the behests of the central government and by the introduction of other checks, the control of the centre over the provinces was made more effective.

The principal officer was the governor, who was called *sipahsalar* under Akbar and *nazim* under his successors, but was popularly known as *subahdar* and later only as *subah.* Next to him in official rank, but not in any way under his control, was the provincial *diwan,* who was in independent charge of the revenues of the province. He was usually a *mansabdar* of much lower

status than the governor, but he was independent of the governor's control and was directly under the imperial *diwan*.

Next important functionary was the *bakhshi*, or the paymaster. He performed a number of duties, including occasionally the functions of the provincial newswriter. The *diwan-i-buyutat* was the provincial representative of the Khan-i-Saman, and looked after roads and government buildings, supervised imperial stores and ran state workshops. The *sadr* and the *qazi* were entrusted with religious, educational and judicial duties.

The *faujdar* and the *kotwal* were the two other important officials. The *faujdar* who was the administrative head of the *sarkar*, was appointed by the emperor but was under the supervision and guidance of the governor. He also worked as the *kotwal* of the rural area which had no *kotwal* of their own. The kotwals were not provincial officers, but were appointed by the central government in the provincial capitals and other important cities, and performed a number of executive and ministerial duties similar to the Police Commissioners in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The important ports were in charge of Mir Bahr, corresponding to modern Port Commissioner but with powers over customs also.

The Mughuls, like their predecessors, did not interfere with the local life of the village communities. These functioned practically like small village republics, and as pointed out by Sir John Malcolm were "an establishement which had formed the basis of all Indian Governments". The Mughuls had no resident functionary of their own in the villages. The *Muqqadam* was normally the *sarpanch* (head of the village panchayat) and these Panchayats, or village councils, continued to deal with local disputes, arrange for watch and ward, and perform many functions now entrusted to the local bodies.

Fiscal System

The Mughul fiscal system was based on a division of revenue and expenditure on imperial or central and provincial or local basis. The principal heads of central revenue were land revenue, customs, mint, inheritance of unclaimed property, presents, monopolies, and indemnities. Land revenue was the principal source of income and was estimated during Akbar's reign at 363 crores of *dams*. It rose to 880 crores of *dams* during Shah Jahan's reign. The principal items of expenditure were the expense on the defence services, the cost of general administration, including all grades of the civil service, expenditure

of the court and the royal palace, and the outlay on buildings and other public works. The provincial sources of income were the assignments of land revenue granted to the provincial governor and his officials as a remuneration for their services, miscellaneous taxes and cesses, transit dues and duties, fines and presents.

Land Revenue

The Mughul revenue system was based on the division of the empire into *subas* or governorships, *sarkars* or districts, and *parganas*, consisting of number of villages which were sometimes styled *mahals*. The revenue staff had also to perform miscellaneous administrative duties. The revenue officials in the rural area were also entrusted with the task of keeping the public peace, recruitment of the military forces and performing every kind of miscellaneous and emergent work. The *suba* was a miniature replica of the *faujdar* or the military commander, who combined in himself the functions of the modern District Magistrate and Superindendent of Police. The revenue work in the *sarkar* was looked after by the *amalguzar*, who would correspond to the modern Afsar-i-Mal (Revenue Officer).

The levy of land revenue was based on "survey settlement" calculated after a detailed measurement of the cultivated area and classification of the soil. The nature of the crops grown and the mean prevailing market prices were taken into consideration in fixing the final assessment. This assessment system, which was evolved after many experiments, became the basis of the survey settlement of the British period. Akbar's revenue system in most of the areas was *rayatwari*, the revenue being collected directly as far as possible from the individual cultivator, and was payable in cash. Akbar introduced the system in the greater part of Northern India, while during the viceroyalty of Aurangzeb, it was extended to the Deccan. The revenue system, as evolved under Akbar was thoroughly sound, but the government demand was heavy and amounted to one-third of the produce. Abul Fazl tried to justify it by referring to the abolition of many miscellaneous cesses and taxes, but it is not certain whether all the cesses abolished by the royal order were given up by the subordinate officials. In the settlement of the Deccan during Aurangzeb's viceroyalty, the state share was reduced to one fourth.[3]

Mughul kings, particularly Akbar and Aurangzeb, continued to make cautious experiments and improvements in the land revenue system. The basic data was collected by detailed measure-

ment of land and assessment of the yield and estimates of productivity of each *pargana* or assessment circle. When sufficient data had been collected the system of Group assessment was introduced, with the alternatives of measurement and sharing being held in reserve; "Measurement being practised for a period long enough to furnish adequate data of productive capacity and being then replaced by Group assessment based on those data, and continued until such time as economic changes should render them obsolete"[4] was the usual practice.

Mughul rulers wanted the revenue system to operate with great fairness. "One has only to read the rules for the guidance of Collectors of revenue included in the Ain-i-Akbari to realise that fact. The Collector was directed to be the friend of the agriculturist ; to give remissions in order to stimulate cultivation ; to grant every facility to the ryot, and never to charge him on more than the actual area under tillages to receive the assessment direct from the cultivator and so avoid intermediaries ; to recover arrears without undue force ; and to submit a monthly statement describing the condition of the people, the state of public security, the rate of market prices and rents, the conditions of the poor and all other contingencies."[5]

In a predominantly agricultural area like Indo-Pak. subcontinent the land revenue system is the touch-stone of a government's efficiency and benevolence. The Mughul system has been studied in detail, and even critics like Edwardes and Garrett have had to admit "without hesitation that the principles of the land revenue system were thoroughly sound, and were conveyed to the officials in a series of instructions which were all that could be desired".

The state demand—at least on paper—was high, but anyone who studies the procedure for giving relief to the royts in case of hardships, the general instructions to the collectors and the details of the system of assessment and mode of recovery is bound to be struck not only by the professional competence of men like Todar Mal, Shah Mansur, and Amir Fathullah Shirazi, but the statesmanlike benevolence motivating the basic policy of the state. The British paid special attention to revenue administration, and introduced many improvements, but it can be said without injustice that on certain important points the Mughul system was superior to what was evolved over a long period in British India. As an example, one may take the assessment of lands newly brought under culti-

vation or reclaimed after having fallen out of cultivation. "Some additional light is thrown on the policy of development by the chapters in the Ain dealing with the assessment of land which had fallen out of cultivation, and then been broken up afresh. Three scales of assessment were recognised, to be applied according to circumstances. In the first of these, the assessment began at two-fifths of the ordinary rates, and rose to the full amount in the fifth year. In the second, and more favourable scale, a very low charge in grain was made for the first year, rising by degrees until the full demand was taken in the fifth; while under the third scale, applicable to land which had been uncultivated for five years or more, the initial charge was normal, rising to one-sixth, one-fourth, and finally one third of the produce. A collector was thus in a position to contribute materially to the recovery of villages which had been impoverished by the calamities." (b)

These well-considered concessions applied also to "the improvement in the class of the crops". The Collector was " authorised to reduce the standard rates on the more remunerative crops, when this was necessary in order to secure an increase in the area under them ; he could make temporary reduction in the schedules of rates in case of land which had gone out of cultivation, so as to stimulate its reclamation ; for extension of tillage in waste land he could agree to almost whatever terms the peasants offered ; and when the village headmen exerted themselves successfully with this object he could allow them a substantial commission by way of reward."(c) It is very doubtful whether the corresponding provisions under the British system were half as liberal or flexible.

The British revenue organisation was assentially based on the Mughul system, but with one important difference. "The village accountant (*i.e* , patwari) who throughout the Mughul period was a servant of the village and not of the state"(d) became now a servant of the Government. Those who are acquainted with the conditions in the villages know the far-reaching consequences of this sane measure. Not only did it nullify much of the gain accruing to the agriculturists owing to the reduced Government demand in modern times, but it destroyed at one stroke the autonomy of the ancient small self-contained village republics.

(b) The Agrarian System of Muslim India, Moreland, P. 113.

(c) Cambridge Hisrory of India, Vol. II, P. 463.

(d) Edwardes and Garrett, P. 205.

Military Organization

Mughul rulers did not maintain a large standing army. They depended for the purposes of war and defence upon four different classes of troops : (a) soldiers serving under the *mansabdars*, who were expected to bring to the field a certain number of soldiers indicated by their *sawar* rank or otherwise specified in their warrant of appointment. (b) contingents raised and commanded by autonomous but tributary chiefs; (c) *dakhili* or supplementary troops paid by the state and placed under the command of the *mansabdars*; (d) *ahadis*, or a body of gentlemen troopers. The pay of an *ahadi* was higher than that of an ordinary trooper. According to *Ain-i-Akbari* several *ahadis* drew more than Rs. 500 a month, while an ordinary trooper drew nominally Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 a month after deduction of the maintenance charges for his horse and equipment.[6]

The cavalry was the mainstay of the Mughul army. The infantry numbered very high on paper but its only effective section consisted of the musketeers. The artillery was wholly paid out of the imperial treasury. Akbar gave it special attention, but his efforts to secure from the Portuguese some of their better pieces were unsuccessful. Later on European gunners were employed in appreciable numbers, but no permanent improvement was effected, and during the Eighteenth Century the Mughul army, considerably weakened during the period of decline, was outclassed by the *jazair* or swivel-guns manned by Nadir Shah's disciplined gunners.

The exact strength of the Mughul army cannot be correctly ascertained. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar estimates Shah Jahan's army in 1648 at 440,000 infantry, musketeers and artillery men, and 185,000 cavalry commanded by princes and nobles. The effectiveness of the army depended on the personal vigour and martial qualities of the commander of the individual contingent, but pitted against the disciplined European soldiers, or hardy, resourceful Maratha horsemen, it did not prove effective. The Italian writer and adventurer, Manucci, who himself was a gunner in the Mughul army for some time, wrote during the reign of Aurangzeb that 30,000 good European soldiers could easily sweep away the authority of the Mughuls and occupy the whole empire. A similar opinion had been expressed by Bernier during the last days of Shah Jahan. This may be an exaggeration, but basically it was

true. The loose organization of the army, the paucity of the officers, the failure to build up a well-knit and active pyramidical organization reduced the efficiency of the army There were no uniforms, and discipline was poor, particularly in lower ranks. The cavalry was the only branch which was considered respectable and fit for a gentleman to join, while the ordinary Indian foot soldier "was little more than a night watchman and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march." The Mughul practice of taking a huge number of camp followers, including occasionally the families of the soldiers and the royal harem, made the army a very cumbersome, slow-moving, orgaization.

The Navy

The Mughuls coming from the land-locked Turkistan were even less effective on the sea. They had no large fighting vessels and the ships that they maintained were primarily for the furtherance of the commercial operations of the state. After the conquest of Gujarat, the Mughul army reached the shores of the Indian Ocean, but Akbar failed to build a navy and tacitly acquiesced in the Portuguese supremacy by making no effort to challenge their authority, and by taking out licences from them for the ships which he sent to the Red Sea.

There was not much of a Mughul navy, but to deal with the pirates in the Bay of Bengal and also for the purpose of communication over the vast river system of Bengal, a river flotilla was maintained at Dacca. Under Akbar it consisted of 768 small armed vessels and boats, and was estimated to cost about Rs. 29,000 a month. It was not effective against the Magh and Portuguese pirates, but under the efficient administration of Mir Jumla and Shayista Khan, it was reorganised, and in 1664 the latter was able to inflict a decisive blow on piracy in these regions.

Shortly thereafter, an opportunity offered itself to Aurangzeb to make some naval arrangements on the West Coast. The Sidi of Janjira, who was originally in the service of the Sultan of Bijapur guarding the course of shipping with his fleet, found that the Sultan was either unable or indisposed to assist him when he was attacked by Shivaji, and in 1670 offered his services to the Mughul emperor. Aurangzeb welcomed the proposal. The Sidi was placed under the Mughul governor of Surat and was subsidised out of the imperial exchequer. In 1682 an additional fleet was fitted at Surat to cooperate with the Sidi against the Marathas. The Mughul

Government treated him as part and parcel of its organization, but owing to its limited control on the sea, the Sidi was very much of an independent power and in course of time his descendents founded the modern state of Janjira near Bombay.

Judiciary

The judicial system of the Mughuls was practically on the same lines as that of the Sultanate. It became more systematic, particularly under Aurangzeb, but as compared with the judicial structure of British India, it was very simple, being based on a different approach to many categories of disputes and even the judicial procedure. Normally no lawyers were allowed to appear.[e] The disputes were speedily settled, often on the basis of equity and natural justice, though of course, in the case of Muslims the injunctions and precedents of Islamic Law applied, where they existed. Many crimes—including murder—were treated as individual grievances rather than crimes against the society. The complaint in such cases were initiated by the individuals aggrieved, rather than by the police, and could be compounded on payment of compensation. The aim of the judicial system was primarily to settle individual complaints and disputes—the criminal court was normally called the *diwan-i-mazalim, i.e.*, the court of complaints—rather than enforcement of a legal code.

All foreign travellers have commented on the speedy justice of the Mughul courts and the comparative paucity of cases coming before them. The latter position was due partly to the general prejudice against litigation, but even more to the fact that a large number of disputes, particularly those affecting the Hindus, were settled by the village and caste *panchayats*, and did not come before the official courts. The Hindus were not debarred from taking cases before the *qazi* or the governor—and frequently did

(e) Moreland and some other British writers consider this a great deficiency. The share of an efficient bar in building up a sound judicial system is obvious, but if the number of the new statutes, from which, for good reasons, lawyers are now being excluded, is taken into consideration, the omission would not appear to have been necessarily harmful. Modern judicial system is one of the great gifts of Britain to this subcontinent; but it has its darker side. At least, in its initial stages it proved ruinous to the simple peasantry. A modern writer, Maurice Zinkin formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service writes, "It was not without reason that the peasants of Allahabad, who had faced with equanimity the Marathas and the Mughuls and the Englishmen fled in panic when they heard that the High Court was coming" (Asia and the West, p. 81).

so where other arrangements did no prove effective—but normally had their own arrangements for settling their disputes. Badauni has recorded that according to Akbar's orders the cases of Hindus were to be decided by the Hindu judges and not by the *qazis*. The Jesuit Father, Monserrate, says that " Brachmane (Brahmans) governed liberally through a senate and a council of the common people"—referring presumably to the administration of justice by these agencies.(f)

The judicial courts provided by the Mughuls were principally of two types—the secular and the ecclesiastical. Except during the reign of Aurangzeb, the principal courts for settlement of disputes were presided over by the king, the governors, and other executive officers. Akbar used " to spend several hours of the day in the disposal of judicial cases and appeals and sometimes would order the transfer to his own tribunal of original civil suits of importance." Terry speaks of Jahangir " moderating (*i.e.* mediating) in all matters of consequence which happened near his court, for the most part judging *secundum allegata et probata*. Shah Jahan held his court every Wednesday in the Diwan-i Khas, and after hearing the plaints reported by his judicial officers in the presence of the parties, and ascertaining the law from the *ulama* (canon lawyers), pronounced judgment on the facts submitted to him. Aurangzeb likewise dispensed justice daily in his private chamber."[7] Mannuci and others have eulogised Shah Jahan's justice and commented on the admirable character of his judicial administration.[8] The governors followed the same procedure in provinces and in the Ain-i-Akbari we find the instructions issued to the governor of a province detailing the judicial procedure he should follow.

Apart from the secular courts and the *panchayats*, the principal agency for the settlement of disputes was the *qazi's* court. The *qazi*, being the repository of Muslim Law, attended ehe hearing of cases by the executive authority, whether governor, *faujdar* or *kotwal*, and assisted the latter in arriving at a decision consonant with the Quranic precepts. Presumably the civil disputes of Muslims were, as a rule, left to the *qazis* to be settled according

(f) The local usage or " the custom " ruied in most rural areas. When the Puujab Customary Law was under discussion in 1872, it was said about the pre-British period, " Not one out of ten—perhaps not one out of a hundred—persons in the Punjab was governed by the strict provisions of the Hindu or Muhammadan law." Quoted in Rankin's *Background to Indian Law. p. 16.*

to the canon law. Where both the disputing parties were Hindus "the point was referred to the judgement of the pandits or Hindu lawyers."[9] According to Baille's Digest of Muhammadan Law, "Non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state are not subject to the *laws* of Islam" and their legal relations are to be regulated, "according to the principles of their own faith."[10] This principle is supported by the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, the authoritative digest of Islamic Law prepared under the instructions of Emperor Aurangzeb. The great latitude given to non-Muslims under Islamic system can be seen by the relevant enty in this authoritative work. "Dhimmis do not subject themselves to the laws of Islam either with respect to things which are of religious nature such as fasting or prayers or with regard to such temporal acts, as though contrary to Muhammadan religion, may be legally their own, such as sale of wine or of swine's flesh, because we (Muslim jursits) have been commanded to leave them at liberty in all things, which may be deemed by them to be proper according to the precepts of their own religion." These provisions presumably related to religious matters. In case of Muslims, the secular types of criminal suits went to the *kotwal*, while the religious and civil cases, such as concerning inheritance, marriage, divorce and civil disputes went to the Qazis' courts.[12]

The death punishment had normally to be confirmed by the emperor, but there seem to have been departures from this rule. A Dutch resident of India states that fines represented the normal mode of settling all disputes in Mughul India. Capital punishments and mutilations were, however, not rare and were occasionally enforced with cruelty. There are even records of impaling, dismemberment and other cruel punishments, but they were limited in their incidence, as they were inflicted only under the royal orders, and were confined to those cases where an example was to be made of the individual concerned. Imprisonment was not a method of punishment that appealed to the Mughuls. It was seldom used as a sentence in private cases, though it was sometimes resorted to for preventive purposes. Whipping was more largely used. The Muslim punishment of parading the offender in an ignominious condition (*tashhir*) seems to have been frequently resorted to as it coincided with the Hindu tradition as well.

Aurangzeb had a Digest of Islamic Law, covering several volumes, prepared to facilitate the task of the *qazis*. He was also

the first ruler to appoint a separate Chief Qazi, the previous practice having been generally to treat the Sadr, in charge of religious endowments, as the Qazi of the Realm. Under Aurangzeb the number of *qazis* was greatly increased. Previous to him many cities were without *qazis*. In the early days of Jahangir, even a big city like Sirhind remained without a qazi. Aurangzeb, however, believing that the appointment of *qazis* to administer Islamic law in all towns was a major responsibility of a Muslim king, took steps to carry this out. There were, however, frequent complaints of the corruption of the *qazis* under Aurangzeb and the later rulers. This was probably due, as pointed out by Ibn Hasan, to the fact that the *qazis* were paid inadequately. The *qazi* for example, of the capital, was in the grade of only five hundred *zat*.[13] The presumption with regard to *qazis* and teachers in Muslim society has been that, although they should be provided with subsistence, they perform their functions out of a sense of religious duty. In the atmosphere of luxury and high living, which developed in the later Mughul society, this presumption was rarely fulfilled and very few *qazis* maintained the high standards of integrity expected of them.

ESTIMATE OF MUGHUL GOVENMENT

The government of "the Grand Mogol", as it was often called, enjoyed a high reputation in contemporary Europe. For a long time afterwards, when memories were still fresh, the same impression continued. Warren Hastings spoke warmly of the work done by the Mughuls and called on the officers of the East India Company to keep their example before them. Sir John Shore, who was Governor-General of India from 1793 to 1798 also spoke appreciatively of the Mughul system of Government "in which the rights and privileges of different orders of the people were acknowledged and secured by institutions derived from the Hindus, which while faithfully and vigorously administered, seemed calculated to to promote the prosperity of the natives, and to secure a due realisation of the revenues of the state."[14] Scrafton, who was British Resident in Murshidabad in 1758, and published his "Reflections on the Governmemt of Indostan" only six years after the battle of Plassey says about the Mughul system of administration, that till the invasion of Nadir Shah "there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt

the hand of the oppression but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power."[15]

Recently, however, the administrative system of the Mughuls has been the subject of very adverse comments by Vincent A. Smith[g] and W. H. Moreland, which now appear in a concentrated form in *The Mughul Rule in India* by Edwardes and Garrett. These comments have led to spirited rejoinders, among others, by Faruki, Sri Ram, Saran, and Beni Prasad. Moreland, relying mainly on the accounts of the European travellers and in particular on the complaints made by the English and the Dutch traders against the Mughul officials in charge of ports and customs, has painted a very grim picture of the Mughul administration. His "*Akbar to Aurnangzeb*", though ostensibly a study of the social and economic conditions of the Mughul period is, apart from sections dealing with the foreign trade, designed solely to bring out the deterioration in the condition of the country at the hands of the Mughul officials from the death of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb, and has very little to say about the principal matters with which historians usually deal in relation to social and economic conditions. In paragraphs more reminiscent of Hyde Park oratory than sober history, Moreland sums up: "Weavers naked themselves, toiled to clothe others. Peasants themselves hungry, toiled to feed the towns and cities. India, taken as a unit, parted with useful commodities in exchange with gold or silver, or, in other words, gave bread for stones. Men and women, living from season to season on the verge of hunger, could be contented so long as the supply of food held out ; when it failed, as it often did, their hope of salvation was the slave trader, and the alternatives were cannibalism, suicide or starvation."[16]

To make out his case for the miseries of the peasants, Moreland has relied on Auranzeb's order that in order to bring more land under cultivation, every method should be employed, and if by use of concessions, grant of loans and other reasonable and

(g) For a detailed analysis of Smith's criticism of Mughul administration and of Shah Jahan's failure to deal with the famine of 161-32 see Provincial Administration of the Mughuls (P.Saran)pp. 425-431. He considers Smith's estimate and criticism "not only quite wrong, but also most unfair and unbecoming". Sri Ram has also devoted several pages to deal with Vincent Smith's "undue severity, of biased criticism and the "skillful use of "suggestive disparagement" adopted by Messers Edwardes and Gasrett." See Mughul Empire in India by Sri Ram, pp. 472-476.

favourable treatment, the required results were not obtained, force should be used. Moreland's main line of argument, brought out largely by quotations from the accounts of foreign travellers,[h] is that the condition of the peasantry very much deteriorated under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and became infinitely worse during the reign of Aurangzeb.

There is no doubt that under a personal system of Government there is great scope for administrative oppression, and owing to the prolonged war in the Deccan conditions in certain rural areas must have been abnormally bad during the later days of Aurangzeb. We have dealt elsewhere with the general deterioration in administration which began in Jahangir's reign. Moreland's basic thesis regarding the treatment of peasantry under Aurangzeb is, however, not warranted, either by the data available or by a fair and careful study of Aurangzeb's conscientious and perfectly defensible instructions. Moreland has held that the increase in revenue from the days of Akbar to the days of Aurangzeb in itself is a measure of increased burden which the peasantry had to bear. Faruki has, however, shown that owing to the large-scale addition of new territories, and continuous efforts at increased cultivation, the area under plough had increased by 119%. (i.e. from 1 2,70,440 bighas in 1594, to 27,81,76,156, bighas in 1720), while the revenue assessment by 75%. Further, although standard assessment of revenue was Rs. 33,26,96,241, the actual collections amounted to Rs. 18,99,34,863, i.e. a little above one half of the actual demand.[17] Faruki has dealt at length with various points raised by Moreland. It is not possible to deal with these details here, but even on a superficial study of the subject, it appears a strange misreading of Aurangzeb's fiscal policy to hold that he favoured increase of financial burden over his subjects. The full effect of his remission of early eighty taxes or cesses, has not been worked out, and even if it is accepted that some of these remissions were not given effect to by dishonest officials, these must have brought considerable relief to the general population, So far as the land revenue in northern India is concerned, Aurangzeb made no change in the old

(h) We have strongly urged on extensive but a cautious use of the accounts of these travellers, but their weaknesses need not be overlooked. According to Tara Chand, these accounts are "interesting but not altogether reliable." (A Short history of the Indian People, p. 376.) Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has also dealt at length with the deficiencies of these accounts. (History of Aurangzeb, Vol. 1, pp xxi-ii).

arrangements. He, however, worked out a new revenue system for the Deccan, and here one can clearly see the characteristics of his fiscal policy. He fixed the state demand at one fourth, against one third fixed by Todar Mal during Akbar's days. Even this proportion was high by modern standards, but surely it was lower than Akbar's and shows the direction in which the wind was blowing in Aurangzeb's reign.

The shift from rural areas to the cities was not confined to Aurangzeb's days, and need not have been due merely to causes unflattering to the Mughul administration. The position of the Indian agriculturist with agriculture being a proverbial "gamble in rains", could not have been happy under the Mughuls, as it is not very happy even to day, in spite of a series of measures taken for the agriculturists' benefit. In 1932 the Reserve Bank of India, after a careful survey of agriculture in the subcontinent, came to the conclusion that by and large it was "uneconomic". The position under the Mughuls must have been similar, if not worse, but the development of new cities under the Mughuls, the growth of foreign trade with its economic consequences, and increased scope for employment under the government, must have also made towns and cities more attractive than the rural areas.

According to Smith, "the hired labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir had probably more to eat than he has now".[18] Moreland also admits that in Akbar's days "speaking generally, the masses lived on the same economic plane as now."[19]

So far as official oppression is concerned, there is no doubt that the Mughul system of government was, in the last analysis, despotic and as we have stated earlier, official corruption increased from Jahangir's days. There were cases of oppression and official corruption, but Moreland omits to mention the continuous efforts made by the rulers to deal with them and the large number of cases in which officials against whom complaints were received, were punished. On these points he ignores the evidence not only of Muslim chroniclers, but of Hindu writers like Sujan Rai. Saran has quoted numerous such cases. After examining the entire system he has come to the conclusion: "In view of these agencies of restraint and supervision of the local administration, it would be no exaggeration to say that due allowance being made for stray cases of misgovernment or oppression—cases which occur even under the best of Governments and which no Government can entirely

eliminate—peace and security reigned and the people were on the whole happy and contented."[20]

Dealing with the "European criticism" of the Mughul government, Sri Ram says : "European critics, partly judging by modern standards and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was even more prosperous than in modern times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above (favourable) description.........."[21] It is not necessary to attribute motives, but apparently many modern English writers, by concentrating attention on some facts of the situation, and by ignoring others have painted a picture which is, by and large, misleading. For example, by concentrating on occasional acts of religious discrimination and intolerance they have created an impression that there was systematic and continuous persecution of the Hindus, while the contemporary European travellers and particularly the Jesuites were almost shocked at the state of toleration, which they saw in the country.

Some continental writers have seen things more clearly and fairly. Bartold, the eminent Russian Orientalist says in his survey of "Mussulman Culture : "Only India under the grand Mughuls lived under different conditions, and the Islamic state in that country was superior to contemporary Europe in riches and religious tolerance'" (P. 144).

It is pleasant to turn from Vincent Smith and Edwardes and Garrett to a slightly earlier British historian :

".........the Great Mughul winked at and condoned the misbelief of the bulk of his subjects, and their strange practices ; showed special favour to their more eminent men ; admitted them freely to high posts, both civil and military, and thus, figuring in the capacity of the father of all his people, made it their interest and their pride to serve and sustain a regime so liberal, comprehensive and considerate".[22]

Prof Sydney Owen analysises the principal features of the Mughul government thus :

"Though the Government was despotic, and particular acts of great severity are recorded, its general tone was mild and humane. Taxation was light ; and its most productive source, the land revenue, was moderately assessed, and equitably adjusted. Foreign commerce was protected and favoured ; and the English East India Company throve, and multiplied its factories, under the shadow of the Imperial authority. The judicial system, though

what we should consider crude and capricious, as well as too often corruptly exercised, was not liable like our own to the tedious delay, which have been its reproach, and which have so much tended to obstruct, and even defeat, the course of justice. And the right of appealing to the Emperor from inferior tribunals, though too generally a futile privilege, was sometimes really remedial, and probably was a standing check to judicial iniquity. Much the same may be said as to the provincial Governors." [23]

Owen recalls that "in the middle of the Seventeenth Century, the Empire of the Great Mughul "was renowned both in Asia and in Europe", and sums up the position thus : "Whatever its defects, it was, on the whole, a grandly conceived, well-adjusted, and beneficient structure of dominion." [24]

Causes of the Mughul Downfall

A number of factors were responsible for what appears to be the sudden collapse of the Mughul authority after the death of Aurangzeb, but the basic cause was one. The Mughuls maintained a mighty empire for centuries, and established a government and a social organization, impressive by Asiatic standards but they had not been able to keep pace with the rapid, almost cataclysmic changes which were taking place in intellectual matters, military organisation, instruments of offence and defence, and other factors which make for stability and prosperity of a state. The intellectual revolution in western Europe, the new spirit and the new discoveries, the wide diffusion of knowledge due to introduction of printing had released forces which were bound to result in European domination. "At the same time that Europe has been steadily advancing, the stationery Muhammadans had been relatively falling back, and every year has increased the distance between Europe and Asia in knowledge, organisation, accumulated resourcees and acquired capacity, and made it increasingly difficult for the Asiatics to compete with the Europeans." It was merely a question of time when a mediaval organisation, however, impressive would give way before the modern.

Modern Muslim apologists are never tired of saying that the Muslim Arabs took the torch of learning to Western Europe, and were at one time the intellectual leaders of the world. They, however, fail to point out that while Europe steadily continued to march forward, in the East forces of progress were defeated by the

forces of conservatism and reaction. Partly it was the fault of the "progressives" to which we have referred while dealing with the intellectuals at Akbar's court. Partly it was the result of historical developments The destruction of libraries and seats of learning during the Mongol holocaust and the rigorous methods adopted by the ruling groups, vested interests and champions of conservatism, were other factors responsible for Muslim intellectual stagnation. The political system which came to dominate the Muslim world was not conductive to free intellectual growth. The result was that not only progress stopped, but there was actual regression, resulting in increasing loss of objectivity, moral courage and intellectual curiosity.

The decline of Muslim Government in India as in other lands was basically due to their failure to progress in vital fields in proportion to the progress elsewhere. Most of the causes directly responsible for the Mughul decline stemmed from this root. Even a ruler so open-minded and receptive as Akbar failed to see the possibilities of the introduction of printing. Without general spread of knowledge, unattainable without printing, no great society could be built. The paucity of books resulted in comparative ignorance, lower standards of education, and limitation of the subjects of study. These factors were responsible for the governing classes being ignorant of the affairs of the outside world. The position becomes clear if we only study the list of books on Indo-Pak subcontinent which were printed in Europe during the Seventeenth Century *i.e.*, before the death of Aurangzeb. While the European statesmen had penetrating and up-to-date studies of the conditions in Mughul Empire by Bernier and others before them, there was no real addition to the Mughul knowledge of their own dominion since the days of Ain-i-Akbari.

The stagnation visible in the intellectual field was paralleled in the military sphere. Babur had introduced gun-powder in India but after him there was no real increase in military equipment of the Mughuls. The organisation and discipline of forces had been completely revolutionized in the West. The Portuguese had brought ships on which cannons were mounted and had thus introduced a new element which made them masters of the Indian Ocean. What was a fortified wall round the country became a highway, and opened up the empire to the countries, which had not remained stagnant. Inspite of this, the Mughuls neglected

the navy. Mughul helplessness on the sea was visible from the days of Akbar. Their ships could not sail to Mecca without a 'safe-conduct' permit from the Portuguese. The foreigners knew this weakness and exploited it. Sir Thomas Roe had warned Jahangir that if Prince Shah Jahan as Governor of Gujarat turned the English out, "then he must expect we would do our justice upon the seas." The failure of the Mughuls to develop a powerful navy and control the seas surrounding their dominions was a direct cause of their replacement by an European power having these advantages.

On land no real progress or large-scale training of local personnel in the use of artillery was made in Mughul India and the best they could do was to hire foreigners on a large scale for manning the artillery. The military weakness resulting from this was obvious, and was clearly visible to foreign discerning observers. Writing about the Mughul army Bernier wrote in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign : "I could never see these soldiers, destitute of order, and marching with the irregularity of a herd of animals, without reflecting upon the ease with which five-and-twenty thousand of our veterans from the army in Flanders, commanded by Prince Conde or Marshal Turenne would overcome these armies, however, numerous."[25] With this condition of the Mughul army, of which the alien observers were aware, the downfall of the emrire was only a question of time.

The other important factor which contributed to the fall of the Mughul empire was the moral decay of the ruling classes. This was partly due to the ease and luxury, which was engendered by the peace and prosperity introduced by the Mughul government and became the order of the day under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Good things of life were in such abundance and such high standards of living were maintained by monarchs like Shah Jahan and queens like Nur Jahan that rich ostentatious living became the ambition of everybody who could afford it. The puritanical Aurangzeb tried to arrest the tide but without success. His own *wazir* did not follow his example, and in any case the evil had gone too far and was only driven underground to reappear, within ten years of the Emperor's death, in the uncontrolled orgies of his grandson Jahandar Shah, and a few years later under Muhammad Shah Rangila (the Gay). Perhaps extreme asceticism and self-denial of Aurangzeb only intensified the reaction and the inner

resistance on the part of the spoiled nobility. Aurangzeb was nearly 20 years in the hills of Deccan, while his nobles pined for the pleasures of the capital. Some of them like Nimat Khan Ali had their revenge in verses ridiculing and satirising the fate of the Mughul army. The moral breakdown of others took more reprehensible shape. Mughul commanders were no longer tough, hardy soldiers of the days of Babur and Akbar and they adopted all stratagems to shirk arduous, unpleasant tasks. Many a Maratha hill fortress captured after long and dreary siege were lost because the Mughul commander was unwilling to spend the monsoon months in his lonely perch and came down to the plains, while the hardy Marathas, awaiting for the opportunity moved in. "The demoralisation of the army was one of the principal factors in the disintegration of the empire."[26]

The moral decline of the nobility showed itself not only in loss of spirit, lack of discipline, laziness, evasion of duties or even treacherous conduct, but made them rapacious and heartless in dealing with the public. The extravagant standards, that the Mughul bureaucrats tried to maintain were not possible without corruption, extortion and the enrichment of the officers directly or indirectly at the expense of the State. These evils increased as the Mughul authority weakened, but their seed had been sown in earliar days and they were a natural result of the efforts of the officers to maintain standards beyond their means.

The moral decline deepened with the breakdown of the fabric of government, and later of the society. Even ordinarily society under a despotic regime, largely unregulated by written and enforced civil laws, has many ugly features. It breeds sycophancy and stunts moral growth. The position becomes much worse when there is little to go round, aad everybody is cruel and ruthless and indulges in unscrupulous struggle to grab what he can. In Muslim India of the Eighteenth Century the position was saved for some by spiritual influences. Later the reforms of Shah Walliullah and his sons infused a new life among the Muslims and provided the basis for the efforts of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. In the later half of the Eighteenth Century, however, it appeared, that the political affairs of the community were to quote Keene, in the hands of "an aristocracy without conscience" and were governed by "that base and tortuous

selfishness, which in the East more than elsewhere, usually passed for statecraft."

These were the basic factors responsible for the downfall of the Mughul Empire. Many others were contributary. The fact that after the death of Aurangzeb no ruler of requisite vigour and and resourcefulness sat on the throne made recovery of the lost position impossible. Even the very long life of Aurangzeb was an asset of doubtful value in its last stages. He sat on the throne till the age of ninety and though, till the very end, he drove himself hard and resolutely, and conscientiously performed his duties, he was subject to the laws governing all human machines. When Aurangzeb died, his son and successor Bahadur Shah was already an old man of sixty. He began well but was on the throne for barely six years before death overtook him, and with his death a disastrous chapter opened in the Mughul annals.

An important factor which militated against peaceful continuity of the Muslim government, was the absence of a well-defined rule of succession. Presumably Islam had not visualised monarchy, and Muslim law did not lay down any lines for monarchical succession. The result was that every son of a deceased king felt that he had an equal claim to the crown, and succession to the throne was invariably accompanied by bloody warfare. " Within a little more than a decade after Aurangzeb's death, seven fierce battles for imperial succession occured, in which large numbers of princes, and trained soldiers were slain." One of these wars brought Sayyid brothers to the fore, and released forces, which struck a devastating blow to the prestige of the Mughul monarchy. Apart from this loss of valuable personnel in repeated " wars of succession " there was continuous disorganization of administration. A disastrous development started when the princes, often viceroys governing vast territories, or their supporters started making deals with soldiers, to ensure their support at the time of the fateful struggle. Shuja started this in Bengal with foreign settlers. Later the Marathas were called in and that was the beginning of the end.

Vincent Smith has stated that the basic cause of the decline of the Mughul Empire consisted in its "shallow roots," as it " lacked popular support, the strength based upon patriotic feelings, and stability founded upon ancient traditions."[27] Edwardes and Garrett have endorsed this view, It is, however, totally in-

correct. Mughuls, of course, came as foreigners, but they so completely identified themselves with the population here that they ceased to be treated as such. The aim of the Mughul kingship was, as pointed out by Sydney Owen to be " the father of all the people," both the Hindus and the Muslims, and this aim was normally pursued. The Mughul empire, far from having any " shallow roots," was so deeply embedded in the affection of the people, that long after it ceased to be a major military or political force, it continued to exist mainly on account of its prestige and the affection it inspired. Even when the Marathas, the declared enemies of the Mughuls, secured real power at Delhi, they did not disturb Shah Alam.[(i)] The fact that the Mughuls had never to face any wide-spread rising like the Indian Struggle of 1857, would itself show how strong their hold was.

It has also been stated by Edwardes and Garrett that Aurangzeb's jealous orthodoxy estranged the Shia Muslim population and paved the way for political disintegration. The learned historians of Mughul rule do not seem to be aware that, as pointed out by Hollister, the majority of Aurangzeb's nobles were Shia. In his early youth—especially when referring to the Shia and Iranians who supported the kingdoms of Deccan—he occasionally spoke as a bigoted Sunni, but relaxed after ascending the throne and his principal nobles, like Mir Jumla, Amir Khan, Murshid Quli Khan, were known to be Shias. The view that Shia-Sunni differences amongst nobles led to the downfall of the Empire is not borne out by a close study of history. Of course these differences were there and were occasionally exploited by ambitious adventurers—like Safdar Jang and Imad-ul-mulk—to promote their personal interests, but by and large they remained within manageable limits, and rarely assumed a shape where Muslim interests may have been seriously jeopardized.

As Scrafton says, " The Mohammedans in other parts of the world are enthusiasts to their religion ; but here the sects of Osman

(i) It is true, a Maratha became the Vakil-i-Mutliq, but the relation of Shah Alam with Sindia was no different from that of Raja of Satara with that of Peshawa. It seems very likely that but for the British intervention, a new political pattern, preserving Mughul monarchy might have become stabilised. Dr. Topa says in " Our Cultural Heritage," " The Indo-Muslim kingship had successfully ruled because of its inherent capacity for adjustability to political conditions." (p. 97) This capacity does not seem to have disappeared even in the days of Shah Alam.

and Ali never disagree about who was the lawful successor to the Caliphate, if they agree about succession to the Government they live under."[28] Mir Jumla was a Shia, but he was Aurangzeb's supporter against that of his Shia brother, Shah Shuja. Similarly the Sayyid brothers were Shias, but in the supreme crisis of the day, the leading Shia noble, Burhan-ul-Mulk (and many other Shias) were not on their side, but with the Sunni Turani nobles. Another crucial moment was, when before the third battle of Panipat in 1761, the Marathas tried, by offering every possible bribe and argument, to obtain Shuja-Ud-Daulah's support against his hereditary enemy, Ahmad Shah Abdali, a Sunni Afghan, but failed. It is unnecessary to go into detailed reasons for the situation. But a careful study of the history reveals that although Shia-Sunni differences had ugly possibilities, and at time led to strained relations, they did not alter the course of events.

CHAPTER XXVI

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Trade

The financial and commercial sector of national life was, during the Mughul rule as under the Sultanate, almost exclusively monopolised by Hindus, and was characterised by the same high level of achievement which is noticeable, under the Mughul in the other spheres of national activity. Vera Anstey, a recognised authority on the economic history of India has pointed out that up to the Eighteenth Century, Indian methods of production and of industrial and commercial organisation could challenge comparison with those in any other part of the world.[1]

The accounts of European travellers bear testimony to the vast amount of the wealth which the Indian merchants, mostly the Hindus, accumulated, their organisation, and their ability to control political life through their power of the purse. On this point it would be worth while quoting O'Malley at length :

"Manrique estimated that there were as many as six hundred brokers and middlemen at Patna, most of whom were wealthy men. At Agra he met merchants of immense wealth, and, if he can be believed, saw money piled up like heaps of grain in their houses. There were some merchant princes at the head of firms which had branches in all the main commercial centres of the empire, controlled the wholesale trade, and were advanced enough to use bills of exchange or letters of credit and to engage in insurance business, including marine insurance. One of them, Virji Vora of Surat, who was a banker as well as a merchant, was reputed to be the richest merchant in the world. He was the monoplist of European imports on the west coast, being at the head of the syndicates which bought up cargoes valued at five hundred thousand rupees. In the next century there were, as Burke remarked, merchants and bankers who vied in capital with the Bank of England and whose credit often supported a tottering State. Prominent among them were the Seths of Murshidabad, a Marwari firm of millionaires bankers, who dominated the Indian financial world. They financed

both the farmers of revenue and the government of Bengal to which they gave bills of exchange at sight of a crore of rupees (equivalent to a million sterling), and have been not inaptly called the Rothschilds of India."[2]

In British India not only were the higher posts in the civil services and the army reserved for the British till towards the end of the British rule, but they had also a lion's share of the most lucrative spheres of the country's commerce, banking and industry. In Muslim India the Hindus were supreme in the field of economic activity. If Muslims had advantages in higher posts of administration (excluding revenue) and army, Hindus had practically the monopoly of trade and finance. Bernier, writing in the days of Aurangzeb affirms that the Hindus possessed "almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country."[3] O'Malley, depending on a contemporary Dutch account says, "In the first half of the Seventeenth Century it was noticed that paractically all the industrial workers were Hindus, the Muslims practising scarcely any handicrafts except weaving and dying, while the subordinate operations of trade were carried on by the agency of Hindus, who were responsible for all the book-keeping, buying, selling and general business of brokerage on behalf of the Muslim merchants who employed them. Later the Hindus seem to have improved their position, holding the power of the purse as financiers, bankers, merchants and traders."[4]

It was the normal policy of the Timurid rulers, inside and outside India, to encourage trade. In India Sher Shah Suri had, shortly before Akbar, taken far-reaching steps to encourage internal trade by linking up the various parts of the country through an efficient system of roads and by abolition of inland tolls and duties. The Mughuls more than maintained Sher Shah's policy, but what distinguishes Mughul rule, is the importance which foreign trade attained during this period. It was partly the result of the discovery of the easy sea-route to India, but its progress would have been limited if conditions in the country had not favoured foreign trade. "The growth of European trade was not merely related to the peace and centralisation which followed in the wake of the Mughul rule, but the Mughul Government took active steps to encourage it from the very beginning." Both Akbar and Jahangir interested themselves in the foreign sea-borne trade, and Akbar himself took part in commercial activities for a time. The exten-

sion of foreign trade was primarily due to the fact that the Mughuls welcomed the foreign trader, received him with courtesy and consideration, provided ample protection and security for his transactions, and levied very low custom duty (usually no more than 2½% ad valorem). Even then large-scale foreign trade would not have been possible except for the expansion of handicrafts and industry, resulting in large surplus of exportable goods. It existed because the country had goods and commodities to offer, and it is interesting to note that Indian exports "at that time consisted mostly of manufactured articles, and cotton cloth from India was in great demand in Europe and elsewhere. Indian trade in dye-stuffs centred around indigo, so much sought after by European traders. Saltpetre, pepper, spices, opium, sugar, woollen and silk cloth of various kinds, yarn, asafoetida, (*hing*) salt, beads, borax, turmeric, lac, sealing wax aud drugs of various kinds, figured among the articles of export." The principal imports were bullion, horses, and a certain quantity of luxury goods for the higher classes, like raw silk, coral, amber, precious stones, superior textiles (silk, velvet, brocade, broadcloth), perfumes, drugs, china goods and European wines. By and large, however, in return for their goods Indian merchants insisted on payment in gold or silver. Naturally this was not popular in England and other countries of Europe. Sir Thomes Roe bitterly complained about those operations lamenting that "Europe bleedeth to enrich Asia,"[5] but the demand for articles supplied by India was great, and her requirements of European goods so limited that Europe was obliged to trade with India on her own terms, until the Eighteenth Century, when special measures were taken in England and elsewhere to discourage the demand for Indian goods.

Industry and Handicrafts.

The chief export of India during the Mughul rule consisted of textiles. In particular, the manufacture, of cotton goods had assumed such extensive proportions that in addition to satisfying her own needs India sent cloth to almost half the world. "Besides feeding her own markets, India also supplied the east coast of Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Burma, Malacca, the Straits, and certain minor Asiatic markets."[6] The textile industry which was well established in Akbar's day, continued to flourish under his successors, and soon the operations of Dutch and English traders brought India into direct touch with Western

markets. This resulted in great demand for Indian cotton goods from Europe, which naturally increased production at home. Even silk industry — especially in Bengal — was in flourishing condition. In fact, Bernier wrote, "There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common stockhouse for these two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindustan or the Empire of the Great Mughul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe."[7]

Apart from silk and cotton textiles, other main industries were shawl and carpet weaving, woollen goods, pottery, leather goods and articles made of wood. Chittagong owing to its proximity to sources of suitable timber specialised in shipbuilding, and at one time supplied ships to distant Istanbul. The commercial side of the industry was in the hands of middlemen but the Mughul government, like the earlier Sultans, made its own contribution. The emperor controlled a large number of royal workshops, busily turning out articles for his own use, for his household, for the court and for the imperial army. Akbar took special interest in the development of indigenous industry. He was directly responsible for expansion of silk weaving at Lahore, Agra, Fathpur-Sikri and in Gujarat. He opened a large number of *Karkhanas* at important centres and imported master weavers from Persia, Kashmir and Turkistan to train local artisans. He also sent envoys to foreign countries to bring products of these places which could be copied. Haji Habibullah was sent to Goa and a number of craftsmen were sent along with him to acquire the arts of the Europeans[8]. Akbar took so much interest in indigenous handicrafts and industry that he would frequently visit the workshop near the palace and sit and relax his mind while watching the artisans at work. This naturally encouraged the craftsmen, and their status was raised in the eyes of others. Akbar went further in his efforts to build up various industries, like shawl and carpet weaving. "In order to foster a demand for such goods, Akbar ordered the people of certain ranks to wear particular kinds of locally woven coverings —an order which resulted in the establishment of a large number of shawl manufactories in Lahore ; and inducements were offered to foreign carpet-weavers to settle in Agra, Fathpur-Sikri and Lahore, and manufacture carpets to compete with those imported from Persia."[9]

These efforts resulted in great expansion of industry. In the

course of time, the foreign traders established close contracts with important markets in India and new articles or commodities which were more in demand in Western Europe began to be produced in increasing quantities.

Cities and Towns

All foreign travellers praise the wealth and prosperity of Mughul cities and large towns. The Jesuit missionary, Monserrat, who accompanied Akbar in his journey to Kabul, stated that Lahore in 1581 was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia." Finch, who travelled in the country in the early days of Jahangir, found both Agra and Lahore to be much larger than London, and his testimony is supported by others. Other cities like Surat—" a city of good quantity, with many fair merchants and houses therein,"—Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Benares and Patna similarly excited the admiration of the visitors. The new port towns of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Karachi developed under the British rule, but they had their predecessors in Satgaon,Surat, Cambay, Lari Bunder and other ports.

The prosperity of the cities was due to the peace and order in the country, and expansion of industry and commerce in urban area. The efficient system of city government provided by the Mughuls greatly helped in this. The pivot of urban administation was the Kotwal—the city governor who had sweeping executive and judicial powers, but whose responsibilities were even greater. It was his duty to prevent and detect crime, to perform many of the functions now assigned to the Municipal Boards, to regulate prices, and in general, to be responsible for the peace and prosperity of the city. The efficient discharge of these onerous duties depended on the personality of the individual city governor, but the Mughuls tried to ensure high standards by making the Kotwal personally responsible for the property and the security of the citizens. Akbar had laid down (probably following Sher Shah Suri's example fixing the resposibility of the village chiefs for thefts and robberies on roads passing through their territory), that the *kotwal* was to either recover stolen goods or be responsible for the loss. That this was not only a pious hope is borne out by the testimony of several foriegn travellars, who state that the *kotwal* was personally liable to make good the value of any stolen property which he was unable to recover. Of course, the *kotwals* often found pretexts to evade the ultimate responsibility, but these regulations kept them on their toes and the foreign travellers have recorded the elaborate measures

which they took to prevent thefts. These efforts were generally successful. Thefts in the cities were few and the foreign visitors have recorded that their property was well protected. The extent of the security which prevailed in the large cities made them "reasonably comfortable places for residence and business', and naturally contributed to the prosperity of these areas.

The well-protected urban life provided easy scope for display of talent and business skill by the local commercial classes. The business acumen of the hereditary trading classes of India has been highly praised in the past. According to one traveller they were "as subtle as the devil", and their organisation on the basis of caste guilds increased their powers. Not only were their ditputes settled by their *panchayats*, but they would frequently impose pressure on the government by organised action. Foreign vistitors record that ths all-powerful governors and *kotwals* were very sensitive to this, and in spite of hardships inseparable from a despotic system of administration, the business communities had their own means of obtaining redress and were in a flourishing condition.

Rural Area

The conditions in the rural areas during the Mughul period were very much the same as at present, with one important difference—the Muslim rulers had not disturbed the old organisation of the villages and the state activity in the rural areas was almost exclusively connected with the collection of the land revenue. As O'Malley says, "The administrative machinery can scarcely be said to have extended to the villages. The villages had their own *panchayats* to settle their disputes. and existed as small, autonomous, village republics as they had done in ancient times. So long as the land revenue "was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace, endangering the genenral security or outbreaks of the crime preventing the safety of travellers and merchants, the villagers were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases, and village watchmen to prevent crime."[10] The state impinged very little on village life, except for the collection of land revenue, but the land revenue was also very often recovered on a village basis rather than from individuals, and the age old arrangements were preserved. The incidence of land revenue (at least theoretically) was substantially higher under the Mughuls and in Hindu states (like Vijaynagar) than in British India, but the state undertook concerted measures to improve the condition of the

peasantry. Apart from remission or reduction of land revenue when crops failed, there was reduction in government demand even when, on account of bumper crops, prices fell. For example between 1585 and 1590 very large sums had to be written off because a series of exceptionally good harvests had resulted in surplus and peasants could not sell their crops. The state also advanced loans to the cultivators and occasionally provided seeds and implements for digging wells.

The collectors were required to follow an active "policy of agricultural development—to bring waste lands under the plough and to increase the area of more valuable crops. For these purposes they could reduce the rates ordinarily charged and they could also advance the capital required.[11] Loans advanced to the cultivators for seeds, implements, bullocks, or digging of wells were called *Taqavi*—an expression which has continued in modern land revenue administration.

As Moreland and Chatterjee say, "The absence of agrarian trouble suggests that the peasants, as a whole were contented," but their lot as of the present day cultivators, dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon, must have been a hard one.

General Health and Medical Services

One remarkable feature of the times noticed by many foreign travellers, was the good health of the local inhabitants. Fryer, writing of the mortality among the English at Bombay and the adjacent parts says, "—— the country people lived to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance." Bernier also speaks of "general habits of sobriety among the people," though this did not apply to a few cases amongst the upper classes or the royal family. The European travellers found "less vigour among the people than in the colder climates, but greater enjoyment of health." From their accounts, even climate would appear to have been healthy. "Gout, stone complaints in the kidneys, catarrh,...are nearly unknown ; and persons who arrive in the country afflicted with any of these disorders soon experience a complete cure." The Mughul emphasis on physical fitness and encouragement of out of door manly games also raised the general standard of health. Everyone was trained to be a soldier, and was expected to be a good rider, a keen *shikari* and able to distinguish himself in indigenous games. Ovington found that the English at Surat were "much less vigorous and athletic

in their bodies than Indians." Of course, in the seventeenth century there was excessive drinking amongst the Europeans, which made them an easy prey to ill-health in the tropics.

Public hospitals had been provided in Muslim India, at least since the days of Firuz Tughluq and though it would be ridiculous to compare them with the arrangements introduced during the British period, the system seems to have extended during the Mughul period. Jahangir states in his Autobiography that on his accession to the throne, he ordered the establishment, at government expense, of hospitals in large cities.

"That this was not merely a vainglorious and hypocritical order not intended to be translated into practice is fully borne out by the evidence of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. We are told that hospitals were established by the Imperial Government for the treatment of the sick and those who could not maintain themselves or bear the expenses of treatment. There was a physician-in-chief, and several others under him, of both the Ayurvedic and the Yunani systems. They were paid by the government and 2,000 rupees annually was granted for the distribution of medicines. It is unfortunate that the contemporary Muslim chroniclers never thought of including such matters of social importance in their records." [12]

Social Conditions

A comparison of the social conditions under the Mughuls with the modern times would show that there has been a slow but visible change, particularly among the upper and the educated classes. In the Mughul period early marriage was very much in vogue amongst the Hindus. "For girls, seven was considered to be the ideal age for marriage and the age-limit of twelve could be crossed only at the cost of grave social opprobrium. [13] Monogamy was the norm but polygamy was by no means rare—especially amongst the rich. Marriage negotiations were undertaken by the professional broker or the friends of either party. The marriage ceremonies were more or less the same as observed at present and the character of the average Indo-Pakistani home and the socio-ethical ideas which influenced it have not undergone any fundamental change. The son's duty to his parents and the wife's duty to her husband were viewed almost as religious obligations. The household of the polygamist was a proverbial home of troubles. Superstitions played a prominent part in the daily life of the people. Charms were used not merely to ensnare a restive husband

but also to secure such other ends as the birth of a son or the cure of a disease. The fear of the evil eye was ever present, and the young child was considered particularly susceptible. People believed in all sorts of omens, and astrologers were very much in demand, even at the Mughul court

The well-to-do Hindu city dwellers wore tussore *dhoties* and *khwasa* cloth. 'On festive occasions men wore trousers called *ijars* and *qaba* or long tunic of muslin after the Mughul style. The *ijars* were worn very narrow and long with plenty of lines and creases. The richer classes (among the Hindus) had actually adopted *ijar*, shirt (*jama*) and *cabava* with a turban as their habitual outfit. But most of them put on white stuffs and their turbans were smaller and their breeches shorter than those of Muslims. They also wore stockings under Muslim influence, but these stockings, it seems, were of leather." [14]

The Muslim aristocrats and officers lived in grand style [(a)] and almost made a cult of display. "Even in the God-forsaken corners of the country, their houses had *hamams* or bathrooms, a rare luxury in Bengal, while in the houses of the Mirzas there were even audience-halls decorated with rich cushions and canopies. The houses of the Muslim gentry were big and spacious with beautiful apartments and halls. Many of these were flat-roofed and had beautiful gardens, green arbours and even covered walks. Some even had bathing pools and fish ponds. Rich Persian carpets and fine mats covered the floor in the houses of the rich. The Muslims had benches and stools as well, but they preferred to sit cross-legged on the mat and carpets. The Muslims generally shaved their heads and kept beards. The well-to-do amongst them put silver on large *kabas* made of finest cotton cloth, silk stuffs or gold and of all the costliest things. These dresses came down to the knee, were folded around the neck and were attached in front from top to bottom. Red and white silken sashes with tasseles, from which would hang beautiful scimitars, were also used."[15]

(*a*) This section is based on *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir* but foreign travellers note that Muslims made a great display outside, but often niggardliness prevailed inside the house. For example, Mannuci refers to those Pathans who came to the court "well-clad and well-armed, carrolling on fine horses richly caparisoned and followed by several servants" but when they reached home, "they divested themselves of all this finery, and tying a scanty clouth round thier loins and wrapping a rag sound their head, they take their seat on mat, and live on *Khichri* or badly cooked cow's flesh of low quality, which is very abundant and cheap". (VII P. 453)

The grave manners and the elaborate etiquette of the Muslim upper classes impressed the foreign visitors. In social gatherings they spoke "in a very low voice with much order, moderation, gravity and sweetness." Betel and betelnut were presented to the visitors, and they were escorted with much civility at the time of departure. Rigid forms were observed at meals. Dice was the favoured indoor game, while polo or *chaugan*—for which there was a special playground even at Dacca—elephant fights, hunting excursions and picnics, were the popular outdoor pastimes. The grandees rode in *Palkis*, preceeded by uniformed mounted servants. Many "drove in fine, two-wheeled carts, carved with gilt and gold, covered in silk, and drawn by two little bulls which could race with the fastest horses."

The Muslims betrothed their chilren between the ages of six and eight, but the marriage was generally not solemnised before they had attained the age of puberty. Among the richer classes both polygamy and divorce are said to have been very common. Schoutan notes that if a wife could prove before the *Qazi* that she had been ill-treated by her husband, or that he did not provide her with maintainance, she could secure dissolution of her marriage. In such cases the female children went with their mother while the boys stayed withthe divorced husband. Purdah was observed very strictly.

Position of the Hindus

In spite of the systematic efforts made by Aurangzeb to apply Muslim law to the affairs of the state, the position of the Hindus greatly improved. Islamic law had been evolved in Muslim lands and was primarily intended to regulate the affairs of a predominantly Muslim society. Its effective application to a country like India, with a predominantly non-Muslim population occasionally raised difficult problems and even involved conflicts, but from Akbar's days most of its provisions concerning the non-Muslims remained in abeyance except under Aurangzeb. The Mughul administration was more systematically organised than the Sultanate, but the position of Hindus during this period was decidedly better than during the earlier reign. The position of the Hindus in state services in the reign of Shah Jahan was much better than the position of Indians, till the formation of caretaker-Government on the eve of the independence of India.[(b)] Of course, they practically monopolised trade and

(b) Writing in 1940 in Religious Policy of the Mughuls, p.102 Sharma said, "Thus under Shah Jahan Hindus occupied a higher status in the government than that occupied by the Indians today. They counted among them the mightiest subject and the highest public servant, the imperial finance minister and several provincial ministers of finance besides several military commanders of great fame."

finance[(c)]. Even in less material affairs we see a new vigour and vitality amongst the Hindus. The widespread religious movements engendered by contact between Islam and Hinduism, had produced a new religious zeal amongst the masses, not possible under the older Brahminism which was exclusive in outlook.

The Muslim historians ignore all signs of religious revival amongst the Hindus, but there is enough evidence about its vigour and extent. The new regional literature, e.g. of Bengal and Maharashtra, which owed not a little to the new movement, is a clear mirror of what was taking place in the Hindu society. Hindu activities in Bengal, which have been more thoroughly studied elsewhere indicate not only the rise of a new literature, but an era of extensive temple-building and a vigorous intellectual life. According to Raychaudhuri, "following the organisation of Bengal Vaishnavism into a well ordered sect and the simultaneous consolidation of Mughul rule, a large number of temples were built during the compartively peaceful and prosperous years of the later seventeenth century."[16] The significance of this phenomenon becomes clear, if it is remembered that practically throughout the second half of the seventeenthcentury, Aurangzeb remained on the throne of Delhi and is stated to have followed a ceaseless campaign of temple destruction. The developments in intellectual life were even more marked. The rise of Navadipa as "a great centre of Sanskritic learning" and the vogue of Navyanyaya (New logic) belong to this period.

Even in relation to Islam, Hinduism was exhibiting a new vigour, greater self-confidence and even a spirit of defiance. Hinduism is not a missionary religion, and it is often thought that during Muslim rule coversions were only from Hinduism to Islam. This is, however, not true. Hinduism was by now very much on the offensive and was absorbing a number of Muslims. When Shah Jahan was

(c) The rich Hindu bankers even financed the rival claimants for the throne. The role of Jagat Seth of Murshidabad in the history of Bengal is well-known. Even the "war of succession" out of which Aurangzeb emerged victorious was financed by Jain bankers of Ahmadabad. For details of a loan of 5½ Lakhs of rupees advanced by a Jain banker, and farmans issued by Murad and Emperor Aurangzeb to repay it see Commissiariat's Studies in the History of Gujarat pp. 69-76.

returning from Kashmir, in the sixth year of his reign, he discovered ealier, that Hindus of Bhadauri and Bhimbar forcibly married Muslim girls and converted them to their own faith. They were cremated at their death according to the Hindu rites. Jahangir had tried to stop this practice but with no success. Shah Iahan also issued orders declaring such marriages unlawful. "So widespread was this practice of converting Muslim girls to Hinduism that these orders discovered more than four thousand such women."[17] Many such cases were found in Gujarat, (W. Pakistan), and other parts of the former Punjab. Partly to deal with such cases, and partly to conform to his early notions of an orthodox Muslim king, Shah Jahan opened a department to deal with conversions. According to Sri Ram Sharma, after the tenth year of his reign, Shah Jahan seems to have left the proselytizing activities of the Hindus alone, but they continued. Even later, we come accross several cases of the conversion of the Muslims, not recorded by the court historians. A large number of Muslims—including at least two Muslim nobles, Mirza Salih and Mirza Haider—were converted to Hinduism by the Vairagis.[18] When the Sikh Guru Hargobind took up his residence at Kiratpur, in the Punjab some time before 1645, he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims. According to the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan.[19] His predeessor, Guru Arjun, "had incurred Jahangir's displeasure on account of his proselytizing activities. Some Muslims accepted him as their religious leader and thus came to renounce Islam." Besides, Muslims were paying homage to, Hindu holy places, and as recorded by Jahangir in his Autobiography, Hindu shrines of Kangra and Muttra attracted a number of Muslim pilgrims.

The Hindu position was so strong that at a number of places they defied Aurangzeb's orders for the collection of *jiziya*. For example, on 28 January, 1693, the *Amin-i-Jiziya* for the province of Malwa sent a soldier to collect *jiziya* from the *jagir* of one, Devi Singh, "When he reached the place, Devi Singh's men fell upon him, pulled his beard and hair, and sent him back empty-handed. The Emperor thereupon ordered a reduction in the *jagir* of Devi Singh."[20] Earlier, another Amin had fared much worse. He himself proceeded to the *jagir* of a *mansabdar* to collect the tax, and in these efforts was killed by the Hindu *mansabdar*. Similar opposition was offered to the orders for destruction of

newly-built temples. "In March, 1671, it was reported that a Muslim officer who had been sent to demolish the Hindu temples in and around Ujjain was killed with many of his followers on account of the riot that had followed his attempts at destroying the temples there."[21]

Udaipur was at war with Delhi and during the operations, some temples were destroyed. "Bhim, a younger son of the Rana, retaliated by attacking Ahmednagar and demolishing many mosques big and small, there."[22] At places such incidents occured without any provocation. We have referred to the letters of the Mujaddid indicating how Muslims were hindered in the performance of their religious worship during the reign of Jahangir. During the reign of Aurangzeb "in Gujarat, somewhere near Ahmedabad, *kolis*, seem to have taken possession of a mosque and prevented Friday prayers there. Imperial orders were thereupon issued to the provincial officers in Gujarat, to secure the use of the mosque for Friday prayers."[23]

The Muslim historians, in order to show the extreme orthodoxy of Aurangzeb, have recorded many reports of temple-destruction. On a closer scrutiny, however, there seem to be good grounds for believing that all the reports were not correct, and quite often no action was taken on Imperial orders. For example, we read about the destruction of the same temple at Somnath during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The second destruction took place, Sri Ram thinks, as the temple had been repaired.[24] The greater likelihood is that in this and in many similar cases, in spite of orders, no destruction ever took place. The reports of the Muslim historians are not confirmed by other data relating to Aurangzeb. "If the English Factors are to be believed, his (Aurangzeb's) officers allowed the Hindus to take back their temples from them on payment of large sums of money."[25] In course of time in Hindu areas the old temples were not touched, though the new temples were closed as unauthorised constructions.

As a matter of fact, if the situation is closely examined, it appears that the Mujaddid's complaint that under Muslim rule as it existed in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, Islam was in need of greater protection than other religions does not appear to have been completely unfounded. Aurangzeb, of course, tried to arrest and even reverse this trend, and some other rulers also had

occasional spells of Islamic zeal, whether due to political or to religious causes. But by and large, it is perhaps fair to say that during the Muslim rule, Islam suffered from handicaps and discrimination, which almost ontweighed the advantages it enjoyed as the religion of the ruling dynasty. This paradox becomes intelligible, if the basic Muslim political theory is kept in mind, under which the non-Muslim communities, so long as they paid certain taxes, were left to manage their own affairs. This local and communal autonomy severely circumscribed the sovereignty of the Muslim state, and in most matters the caste guilds and the village *panchayats* exercised real sovereignity, which they naturally utilised to safeguard their creed and way of life. It was this power which enabled them to evade, ignore or even defy unwelcome orders from the capital. A curious light on the situation, as it actually existed in the country is thrown by the penalties and economic losses which a Hindu had to suffer on the adoption of Islam· Practically till the end of Muslim rule, a Hindu who became a Muslim automatically lost all claim to ancestral property. Professor Roy Chaudhary says :

"That in India conversion was not so brisk was partly due to the reluctance of the rulers to permit the enjoyment of all the economic privileges and rights which a convert had before his admission to Islam, though he was at once given all the economic privileges and rights under the Muslim personal law. A *Dhimmi* who turned a Muslim had to surrender his rights to ancestral and family property."[26]

This extraordinary position was a natural result of the application of the Hindu law, which according to the Muslim legal system, governed Hindu society even under Muslim governments, and under which apostacy resulted in disinheritance. In the last days of Muslim rule, Shah Jahan, who began as an orthodox king, tried to redress the balance by issuing orders that "family pressure should not prevent a Hindu from being admitted to Islam" and laid down that a convert should not be disinherited. Whether these orders could overcome except in a few glaring cases, forced upon the attention of the *qazis*, the subtle but solid pressure of "the joint family system" and the power of the caste *panchayats* must remain a matter of speculation.

The question, however, of handicaps or advantages of one community against another is not so basic. It concerns only

unusual and abnormal cases or periods, but the important fact is that during normal times such conditions of harmony and unusual tolerance prevailed in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, as did not exist anywhere else, and were a constant puzzle, even annoyance, to the European visitors. "The Jesuits, unaccustomed to religious liberty, as they had been in Europe, seem to have been as much dazzled by the toleration granted by Jahangir as they had been with Akbar."[27] The comments of contemporary foreign travellers are, indeed most interesting and revealing. Almost every one of them has commented on the general religious tolerance and religious liberty enjoyed by the non-Muslims under Muslim rule. As we shall see, some of them got into difficulties on account of the official ban on the slaughter of animals held sacred by the Hindus. The Jesuit Fathers, of course, bemoaned and criticised this policy of tolerance of all religions. They declared the destruction of Hindu temples by Muslims "a praiseworthy action"[28] and criticised their "carelessness"[29] in allowing public performance of Hindu sacrifices and religious practices. When Akbar granted the followers of the Raushaniya sect "the freedom to follow their religion and to obey and reverence the son of their prophet (as they called him)," they were frankly critical. Monserrat sadly commented: "He (Akbar) cared little that in allowing everyone to follow his own religion he was in reality violating all religions."[30]

Even in Aurangzeb's reign a cow could not be slaughtered even in important places like Surat. Attempts made by some English factors to obtain beef by slaughtering cows often led to riots "In Surat the Hindus paid a fixed sum to the Mohammadans in return for sparing the cows. In 1608 a riot was caused at Surat by a drunken sailor Tom Tucker who killed a calf. Similar occurences at Karwar and Honavar led to outbreaks, in one of which the whole factory was murdered."[31] Della Valle noticed prohibition of cow slaughter in Bombay, but nothing brings out the true nature of the Mughul administration and its solicitude for the susceptibilities of the Hindus than the experience of the Portuguese missionary traveller, Manrique, about whom O'Malley writes.

"In a village where he stopped for the night, one of his followers, a Musalman, killed two peacocks, birds sacred in the eyes of Hindus, and did his best to conceal the traces of his deed by burying their feathers. The sacrilege was, however, detected, the whole party arrested, and the offender sentenced to have a hand amputated, though

this punishment was eventually commuted to a whipping by the local official, who explained that the Emperor had taken an oath that he and his successors would let the Hindus live under their own laws and customs and tolerate no breach of them."[32]

In one important sphere, however, the Mughul government did its best to stop an old Hindu practice. This was *Sati i.e.* "widow burning," The Muslim rulers had been actively discouraging it from the beginning, but according to the European travellers, it was totally suppressed by Aurangzeb. Akbar had issued general orders prohibiting sati and in one noteworthy case personally intervened, by rapid marches, to save a Rajput princess from immolating herself on the bier of her husband. Similar efforts continued to be made in the succeeding reigns. According to Pelsaert, "governors did their best to dissuade widows from immolating themselves, but by Jahangir's orders were not allowed to withhold their sanction if their resolution could not be shaken. Travernier, (writing in the reign of Shah Jahan) observed that widows who had children were not allowed in any circumstances to burn, and that in other cases governors did not readily give permission, but could be bribed to do so." Aurangzeb was most forthright in his efforts to stop *sati*. According to Mannuci, on his return from Kashmir (December. 1663) he "issued an order that in all lands under Mughul control, never again should the officials allow a woman to be burnt." Mannuci adds, "This order endures to this day."[33] As pointed out by Sarkar,[34] "this humanitarian order," though not mentioned in the formal histories is recorded in the official guide-books of the reign. (Dastur-ul--aml, 1030). Of course, the possibility of an evasion of government orders, *e.g.* through payment of bribes, exists—and continues to exist till today—but later European travellers clearly record that for all practical purposes, *sati* had ceased to be practised by the end of Aurangzeb's reign. Ovington says in his *Voyage to Surat* (1689).

"Since the Mahometans became Masters of the Indias, this execrable custom is much abated, and almost laid aside, by the orders which *nobobs* receive for suppressing and extinguishing it in all their provinces. And now it is very rare, except it be some Rajahs' wives, that the Indian women burn at all."[35]

Europe knew the Mughul rulers only as "the Grand Mughuls". They ruled a vast empire and maintained a splendid court. This has tended to obscure those spiritual and humane qualities which characterised the Mughul way of life and have endeared the "*Mughul Tahzib-o-Tamadan*" (Mughul Culture) to the succeeding genenrations of the Hindus and Muslims. The activity round the royal court, though important, represents a limited sphere of national life. The greatness of the Mughuls lay in the fact that their influence permeated the entire society. They exercised a powerful integrating influence, and gave the society harmony, dignity and poise.

Mughul way of life

The human and spiritual traditions of the Mughuls began with Babur, the founder of the dynasty. A hard-bitten realist and a soldier of fortune, Babur had also a tender heart. The story of his death, which he courted to bring his son's sufferings on himself, shows the inner character of the man. He also had a marked spiritual and religious streak, which evinced itself in his translation of the works of the Naqshbandi saint Khwaja Ubaid Ullah Ahrar, and the devotion he displayed to his teachings. His successor Humayun was a weak ruler and a poor general, but the forbearance he showed to his brothers also reflect his gentle nature. Akbar's spiritual interests are well-known. They led him astray, and created many problems. But the spiritual ideals which he placed before himself and the others had an ennobling eflect on the society. He was large-hearted and intensely humane. Indeed it is difficult not to admire the nobility of a mighty ruler who would go and sit among the artisans of the royal workshop and discuss their work with them. Even the hard-drinking Jahangir had great magnanimity of character. As Abul Fazl says this was for the Mughuls an essential qualification for a monarch, and even for the nobility.

These qualities represented the ideals held dearest in Indo-Pak subcontinent. The Mughuls valued and nourished them, till they permeated in some degree, the entire society. Not that there was nothing sordid or selfish. The common people suffered from poverty, superstitions and disease. The court life although distinguished by great politeness and dignity of manners, was also marked by hypocrisy, intrigue and a sickening atmosphere of sycophancy. This was, however, only a part of the picture and a side which came to the fore only in the later days. From the days of Jahangir a

marked demoralisation set in, but it would be unfair to ignore the counteracting influences. The rulers generally accepted high and noble sprired standards which they tried hard to maintain and there were other disciplining forces. Religion may have accounted for supersti-titions but it also helped the maintenance of proper moral standards. Till the increase of foreign trade brought European rarities and novelties to the subcontinent, and exercised a great corrupting influence on the beaureaucracy, life even of the nobility was simple. Their requirments had to be mainly confined to what was pro-duced within the subcontinent, and with the Muslim and Hindu emphasis on the simplicity of life and the transitory nature of the world, living was essentially simple.

This was, of course, true to a greater extent of the general public. The orderliness, dignity and poise of the Mughul court set the tone for the society, and wide-spread spiritual influences gave mental peace and poise. The Sufi emphasis was not on the in-crease of wants but on their reduction and a peaceful philosophical attitude of mind was encouraged. Study of ethical works like Gulistan, Bostan, Akhlaq-i-Jalali, Akhlaq-i-Nasiri, and Anwar Suhaili was common during the period, and had a healthy moral influence. There were ugly scars on the face of the society but by and large a happy and healthy equilibrium had been achieved. People had learnt to live gracefully and usefully, within limited means. Even outsiders could not help "imbibing genuine respect and admiration for the simple dignity of their lives, the quiet courtesy of their their uncomplaining endurance of hardships, their unbounded hos-manners, pitality, and the feeling for spiritual values, which inspite of gross superstitions is unmistakable in the Indian atmosphere".

The greatest exponent of the Mughul life was a Mughul—Ghalib. He was born long after the sun of Mughul glory had set and he lived to see the exile of Bahadur Shah. His basic financial resources were very meagre—sixty-two rupees and eight annas a month. Still, he managed to maintain a dignified existence and enshrine in his works the spirit of the Mughul culture and the beauty and dignity of the Mughul way of life.

CHAPTER XXVII

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The "Grand Mughuls" had raised a noble edifice. Not only did they build up a vast empire and administer it on principles of religious toleration and fairplay rare in those days, but their achievements in the cultural sphere were equally striking. In the field of architecture they have left masterpieces, which continue to excite the wonder and admiration of the world. Their paintings received tributes from Rembrandt aud Sir Joshua Reynolds, two of the greatest artists of the West. In Persian literature Mughul India excelled contemporary Iran itself, and although its ornate prose and poetic conceits are not popular today, the *Sabak-i-Hindi* (the Indian school) exercised powerful influence even in distant Turkey. This was also the period of the growth of Indian regional languages—of Tulsi Das and Sur Das, Khushhal Khan Khattak and Rahman Baba, Shah Latif and Waris Shah, and of the rise and growth of Urdu.

Education.

We have dealt with the changes which took place in the educational curriculum, and the impetus which the *maqulat*, viz. the mental sciences like logic, philosphy and *ilm-ul-kalam* (scholastic theology) received during Akbar's reign. About the same time, we notice a very considerable improvement in the teaching of religious sciences. This was due to Akbar's conquest of Gujarat and the opening up of ports like Cambay and Surat to those scholars from northern India who wished to go to Hejaz for further study of Arabic and Islamic sciences. The standard of learning in these subjects rose and we come across scholars like Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis (1551—1642) in this age. The extensive study of *hadis*, in which Indian scholars were to distinguish themselves in the Eighteenth Century, began about this time and was due to the contact with Arabia. There was vigorous educational and literary activity during the Mughul period at the capital and at other centres like Sialkot, Lahore, Ahmedabad, and Burhanpur ; and as Rawlinson has pointed out, "the high degree of culture in Mughul India was largely the result of the excellent system of education."

Even apart from the educational system, the interest which almost all the Mughul emperors evinced in intellectual and cultural affairs and in the knowledge of books raised the intellectual level of the era. Akbar, owing to the vicissitudes affecting his father during his infancy remained illiterate, but he did all that was humanly possible to make good his deficiency. He built up an excellent library, and engaged qualified people to read out the selected books to him. Abul Fazl says, "Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly Hall." The list which he gives of the Emperor's favourite books is most interesting. "Akhlaq-i-Nasiri, Kimiya-i-Saadat, Qabus Nama, works of Sharafuddin Yahya of Maner, Gulistan, Hadiqa of Hakim Sanai, Masnavi of Rumi, Jam-i-Jam, Bostan, Shah Nama, five Masnavis of Nizami, works of Amir Khusrau and Jami, Diwans of Khaqani and Anwari and several works on history" [1] were continuously read out to Akbar. Scholars were constantly busy translating works of Arabic, Sanskrit and even Greek and Latin into Persian for the benefit of the emperor and others.

Bernier was critical of the educational methods and arrangements in the Mughul empire. He was a pupil of the great French philosopher Colbert and being acquainted with improvements in pedagogy, introduced into Europe after the Renaissance naturally found deficiencies in a system which was becoming stagnant. He deplored the lack of secular universities of the European type, and reproduced at considerable length the reproaches with which Emperor Aurangzeb confronted his tutor for wasting his time on metaphysics and grammer and ignoring practical subjects like geography, history and politics.[2] It has to be admitted that leaving aside the individual scholars, who specialised in certain secular subjects and the general introduction of logic and philosophy in the curriculum, the educational system was primarily religious and there were glaring deficiencies. There was great extension of education particularly during the reign of Aurangzeb, but the content of education remained as it had been left by Fathullah Shirazi in the days of Akbar. Geography had practically no place in the curriculum, with the result that people were ignorant of the geographical facts even about the neighbouring countries. Ain-i-Akbari and Khulasa-tut-Tawarikh gave detailed and accurate information about different parts of the empire, and in the later part of the Mughul rule books appeared giving what may be called

geographical information, but these were not very scientific and generally became current among the educated classes. Cartography was ignored altogether.

Besides, education was not systematised, and although state gave away large sums in rent-free grants to the *ulama* setting up *madrasas* and teaching pupils, there was no separate Department of Education. No regular annual examinations were held, and, of course, there were no " inspections " by higher authorities to ensure maintenance of like standards.

It is generally thought that Muslim education decayed with the decline of the Muslim rule, but the actual position was just the reverse. The reduced calls made by the state employment on Muslim manpower left more men free to devote themselves to academic and literary work. Quite a number of educational institutions and foundations, like the colleges established by Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, Sharaf-ud-daulah and Raushan-ud-Dualah in Delhi, belong to this period. Even the standardisation of the educational curriculum was accomplished in the Eighteenth Century. The *Dars-i-Nizamiyyah*, named after Mulla Nizam-ud-Din (d. 1748) of Farangi Mahal provided instruction in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, *tafsir* (commentary on the Quran), *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *hadis* and mathematics. This curriculum has been criticised for containing too many books on grammar and logic and in general for devoting too much attention to formal subjects and too little to useful secular subjects like history and natural sciences or even religious subjects like *tafsir* and *hadis*. But it provided good mental discipline and its general adoption was responsible for the widespread interest in intellectual and philosophical matters, which Sleeman noticed in the next century. In the period in which it was systematised it was perhaps reasonably adequate for the average student. Those wishing to specialise or pursue a particular branch of knowledge went to the specialists in that subject. Dars-i-Nizamiyya may be considered as "the General Course." The needs of the students specially interested in religious subjects were better served at institutions like *Madrasa-i-Rahimiyya*, the forerunner of the modern seminary of Deoband, where *tafsir* and *hadis* were the principal subjects of study, but for those needing general mental training, and qualifying for the posts of *munshis*, *qazis* or religious preachers, Dars-i-Nizamiyya provided a satisfactory basis and has been replaced only in

modern times. Sleeman has paid high tribute to the quality of Muslim education in India :

> " Perhaps there are few communities in the world among whom education is more generally diffused than among Muhammadans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month commonly gives his sons an education equal to that of a Prime Minister. They learn, through the medium of Arabic and Persian languages, what young men in our colleges learn through those of Greek and Latin—that is, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. After his seven years of study, the young Muhammadan binds his turban upon a head almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these branches of knowledge as the young man raw from Oxford—he will talk as fluently about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna ; (alias Sokrat, Aristotalis, Aflatun, Bukrat, Jalinus and Sina).........."[3]

Sleeman writes elsewhere : " The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencis in conversation with Muhammadans of high rank and educasion, when we are called upon to talk subjects beyond the everyday occurrences of life. A Muhammadan gentleman of education is tolerably acquainted with astronomy, as it was taught by Ptolemy, with the logical ethics of Artistotle, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or, as they call him, Sena ; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science and arts, and very much inclined to do so and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times."[4]

The position is that there was widespresd enthusiasm for education, and so far as ancient and medieval philosophy is concerned, there was much diffusion of knowledge through Arabic and Persian sources, but new subjects like geography did not find their way into the curriculum, and there was no modernisation of the educational system, such as was taking place in Europe.

Education in Muslim India was not confined to men only. In the Mughul period we come across scholarly and cultured princesses, and women saints. " Women, owing to the purdah system, could not attend public institutions, but in nearly every nobleman's establishment a school-mistress or governess was kept. Muhammadan noblemen demanded culture in their wives, and Akbar, always in advance of his age, built a Girls' school at

Fathpur Sikri. Many Muhammadan women were patrons of literature and themselves writers. The memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, Akbar's aunt, are well-known and his foster-mother Maham Anga, endowed a college at Delhi. Akbar's wife Salima Sultana, the famous Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and Aurangzeb's sister, the Princess Jahanara Begum, were poetesses of note. Muhammadan women, despite purdah, governed empires and led armies in the field ; among these, the Sultana Razziya of Delhi, Chand Bibi, the heroic defender of Ahmadnagar, and the masterful Nur Jahan, were the most distinguished."[5] Aurangzeb did not encourage poetry at his court, but his own daughter, Zeb-un-Nissa was a poetess of merit.

The spread of knowledge and intellectual development is linked up with the growth of libraries. Printing was not introduced in northern India till after the end of the Muslim rule, but hundreds of *katibs* (calligraphists) were available in every big city, and no Muslim noble would be considered cultured, unless he possessed a good library. Many had magnificient collections. "The Imperial palaces contained immense libraries. According to Father Manrique, the library of Agra in 1641 contained 24,000 volumes, and was valued at six and a half million rupees, or nearly three-quarters of a million sterling."[6]

Philosophy.

The philosophy which was studied in Muslim India as in other parts of the Muslim world was derived directly from the Persian and the Arabic writers, but was, like the current " Yunani " system of medicine, ultimately Greek, being " little more than a modification of the Neoplatonism of the fifth and sixth centuries which combined Aristotelianism with the mysticism of Iamblichus—the philosophers, while accepting the Aristotelian doctrine of Emanations, gave their chief attention to the Aristotelian aspect of the system ; the Sufis, on the other hand, while acquiescing in the Aristotelian explanations of natural phenomena, devoted themselves almost exclusively to the theosophical side"[7].

The study of philosophy was subdivided into two major subdivisions, namely, " Theoretic or speculative philosophy" (Hikmat-i-Nazariya), which treated of matters beyond human control, and ' Practical Philosophy ' (Hikmat-i-Amaliya), which treats of matters within human control. Each of these has three sub-divisions. Those of theoretic philosophy are : (1) " Metaphysics" or

"theology" (Ilm-i-Ilahi), which treats of beings essentially incorporeal, as the First Cause (Mebda-i-Awwal)[(a)] the Intelligences and the Souls (2) Mathematics (Ilm-i-Riyazi)[1(b)] which treats of things conceivable by the mind as existing apart from the matter, but which can have no objective existence save in matters, such as quantities and magnitudes and geomatrical figures. This subdivision has four departments i.e. astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and music. (3) Physics (Ilm-i-Tabii), which deals with things not to be conceived as existing apart from the matter, as the Four Elements and all composed of them."[(c)]

The three sub-divisions of practical Philosophy are :—(1) Ethics (Ilm-i-Akhlaq), which treats of the duty of man considered as an individual, (2) "Economics" (Ilm-i-Tadbir-ul-Manzil, which treats of duty of man considered as a member of a family or household (3) Politics (Ilm-i-Tadbir-ul-Madina) which treats of the duty of man considered as a member of a community or state."[(d)]

The above system of philosophy was current in most Islamic countries and in Muslim India, even the religious writers like Shah Waliullah were well-acquainted with its concepts. It finds an echo in such standard books as Akhlaq-i-Jalali, and could be traced to very early Arabic or even Greek works. There are, however, indications to show that at least some intellectuals of Mughul India tried to keep themselves abreast of progress of modern philosophy in Europe. Bernier who was very critical of the state of education admits that at least two nobles at Aurangzeb's court were keenly interested in European learning. One of them was Fazil Khan, the Prime Minister whom "he (Bernier) taught the principle languages of Europe, after he had translated for him

(a) The First cause of philosophy is God in the language of religion.

(b) Literally "Disciplinary Science." The Muslim intellectuals used to teach this subject to their disciples to discipline their minds before starting on the more conjectural subjects of Metaphysics and Physics.

(c) Logic (Ilm-i-Mantiq) is not included in this scheme. It was not regarded as in itself a science, but as the instrument by which the sciences were investigated.

(d) This section follows the analysis contained in Glbb's History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I, pp. 39-40.

the whole philosophy of Gassendi in Latin, and whose leave he could not obtain, till he had copied for him a select number of best European books, thereby to supply the loss he should suffer of his person." The other was Danishmand Khan who maintained Bernier over a number of years, and about whom he wrote: "Besides my Nawab, Agha Danishmand Khan, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendy and Descartes."[8]

Medical Science.

Under the Sultanate the study of medicine was confined to the works written in Central Asia or to the Hindu sources. Very few works of the period have survived. We have much larger material available about the Mughul period, which was marked by large-scale Iranian influence At least five books of Yusuf bin Muhammad Yusufi (of Herat) who flourished during the reign of Babur and Humayun have survived He wrote popular works, based on specialist and detailed works in Arabic, Persian and Indian languages. The study of medicine reached a new stage with the arrival of many physicians from Gilan, which had become an important centre of the study of medicine, philosophy and medieval sciences in Iran. Among important works of the period are the voluminous Arabic commentary on Qanun by Akbar's court physician Ali Gilani, a commentary on Qanuncha by Hakim Abdul Fath Gilani, and a Persian commentary on Qanun by Hakim Fath Ullah Gilani. Shams-ud-Din was Akbar's chief physician in the early part of his reign, and was given the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk (Physician of the realm). He was a great admirer of philosophers like Avicenna, but disliked Akbar's religious innovations, and ultimately left the country for Hejaz. His son, Abul Qasim achieved fame in the days of Akbar's successors, and was given the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk by Shah Jahan.

In the Deccan States of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar, which were attracting able scholars from Iran by the sea-route, composition of medical works was proceeding even more vigorously. Some of the Persian physicians of Akbar's court, including, Hakim Abdul Fath Gilani and Hakim Ali Gilani were originally

attached to the courts of the Deccan rulers. Amongst important works composed in the Deccan were the Persian translation of Tazkara-tul-Kahhalin, the well-known Arabic book dealing with eye diseases and eye doctors, and many works of Rustum Jurjani. Another interesting work completed in the Deccan was Dastur-ul-Attiba, a compendium of Hindu medicine prepared by the famous historian Firishta. "He says in the preface of his book that after reading the medical works current in Iran, Turan and Arabia, he was desirious of studying the writings of the physicians of Hindustan, and finding them extremely trustworthy and accurate, he was induced to write, for the benefit of his Muslim brethren residing in India, the present summary of their teaching."[9]

By the end of Akbar's reign a number of important works on medical subjects had appeared in Muslim India, and now even the nobility was taking a direct interest in the subject. Hakim Amanullah Khan, son of Jahangir's famous general Mahabat Khan, has left a number of works including, Umm-ul-Ilaj which has been lithographed and Dastur-ul-Hunud, which is a translation of a Sanskrit book. The most important writer on medical subject during Shah Jahan's reign was Hakim Nur-ud-Din, grandson of Ain-ul-Mulk Shirazi and a nephew of Abul Fazl. An important medical work of the period was Ilajat-i-Dara Shukohi, a voluminous medical compendium dedicated to Prince Dara Shukoh.

Indo-Muslim medicine received great attention during Aurangzeb's reign, and many of the Yunani text-books. which are current to-day, date from this period. They are largely the work of Hakim Muhammad Akbar, popularly known as Arzani, who compiled Tibb-ul-Akbar, Mizan-ul-Tibb, Mufarrih-ul-Qaloob, Tarif-ul-Amraz, Mujarrabat-i-Akbari and Tibb-un-Nabi (translated from Jalaluddin Siyuti). They are either translations (with amplifications) or compilations, but are well-arranged and have been deservedly popular. Rieu records about Tibb-ul-Akbar, " It has been repeatedly printed in the East,—Calcutta 1830 ; Delhi A. H. 1265 ; Bombay, A. H. 1264 ; 1275, and 1279 A. H. ; Tehran A. H. 1275 and Lucknow, 1289."

There were other major works composed during Aurangzeb's reign like Riyaz-i-Alamgiri, the comprehensive Materia Medica, completed by Muhammad Riza Shirazi in a period of 10 years (1670—1679) and dedicated to the Emperor. After Arzani the

knowledge of Yunani became wide-spread, and it is neither possible nor necessary to enumerate names. Two leading physicians and writers on medicine, however, deserve to be mentioned. One of them was Hakim Alavi Khan, the personal physician of Muhammad Shah, who treated Nadir Shah during his illness at Delhi and was taken by the Persian invader to Iran. He composed Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Shahi and a number of other works in Persian and Arabic. The next important name is that of Hakim Sharif Khan of Shah Alam's reign. He was not only a successful physician and a writer of numerous works on medicine, but built up very noble traditions of medical practice, which have been maintained in his family—by physicians like Hakim Mahmud Khan during the nineteenth century and Hakim Ajmal Khan during the twentieth century—and have been a beacon of light to the entire profession.

Yunani Tibb as compared to modern allopathic medicine, was of a rudimentary nature. The supply of physicians was not plentiful and judged by the demand for European doctors—particularly surgeons—and the extent to which their services proved valuable to the members of royal family e.g., to Princess Jahan Ara and Emperor Farrukh Siyar, the local talent was apparently unequal to all demands. The general health and longivity of the inhabitants, however, suggests that the medical services were not so inadequate and the local physicians were able to deal with the normal problems. As early as 1616 they were able to know the important characteristics of the bubonic plague and suggest suitable preventive measures. According to a contemporary account in Iqbal Nama, written in Jahangir's reign, " when the disease was about to break up a mouse would rush out of its hole, as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If immediately after this signal the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were safe. If otherwise, the inhabitants of the village would be spirited away by the hands of death." As pointed out by Edwardes and Garrett, the writer may claim the credit of having established 300 years ago two facts about plague which are now widely accepted by modern medical science viz., the association of the rat (or mouse) with the spread of the disease, and the need of evacuating infected area without delay.

A crude form of vaccination against small pox seems to have

been employed by eastern doctors and it was vaguely realised that the introduction of a mild form of cowpox prevented the virulent form of smallpox. " Inocculation against smallpox, i.e., introduction of a mild form of cowpox to prevent virulent form of smallpox was introduced from Turkey in England in 1771, by Lady Mary W. Montague, whose husband had been a British. An article in the Asiatic Register (London) for 1804 contained a translation of a memorandum by Nawab Mirza Mehdi Ali Khan who described from personal observations, the method adopted by a Hindu *chaube* of Benaras to keep a thread drenched in " the matter of postule on the cow " to cause an easy irruption on the two arms of a child to avoid virulent attack of smallpox."

Vedic medicine was well-developed among the Hindus, but as stated by Dr. Chopra " education in surgery was abhorred by the Hindus as the dissecting of limbs was considered to be inhuman. But the Muslims had no such aversion, and they practised inocculation and performed operations." He quotes Elphinston's remarks about Muslims, " Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the feotus from the womb and in their early works enunciate no less than one hundred and twenty-seven surgical works." According to Mannuci *Jarahs* performed some remarkable operations and could provide artificial limbs.

LITERATURE DURING THE MUGHUL PERIOD.

Persian Literature.

Since the Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore in the beginning of the Eleventh Century, Persian had been the official language of the Muslim government and the literary language of the higher classes, but with the advent of the Mughuls it entered a new era. Hitherto Persian had reached this subcontinent mainly from Afghanistan, Turkistan and Khorasan, and had may common features with Tajik, but with the establishment of closer relations between India and Iran after Humayun's visit to that country and arrival of a large number of distinguished Iranis in the reign of Jahangir and later Mughul rulers, the linguistic and literary currents began ro flow from Iran itself. Shiraz and Isphahan now replaced Ghazni and Bukhara in literary inspiration, and there was considerable polishing and refining of the language.

A very large number of prominent Irani poets, like Urfi, Naziri, Talib and Kalim permanently migrated to Indo-Pak sub-continent, and at times level of Persian literature was higher in Mughul India than in the contemporary Safavid Iran. Unluckily the style of poetry, which was popular in both countries at this time, was the subtle and the involved type, made popular by Fughani of Shiraz. It lacked the simplicity and spontaniety of the early poets like Hafiz, Khayyam and Amir Khusrau, and the poets wrote more from the head than from the heart. This school of poetry culminated in Bedil, the best known poet of Aurang-zeb's reign. He is so subtle in his ideas and far-fetched in his similies and metaphors as to be often obscure but his poetry is marked by a great originality and profoundity of thought. From love, the traditional preoccupation of Persian poets, he turned to the problems of life and human behaviour, and in certain circles (particularly in Afghanistan and Tajikistan) he ranks high as a philosophical poet. Two poets, who outshine others in a distin-guished crowd, were Faizi and Ghalib. Faizi, whose genius matured before the large-scale immigration of poets from Iran and the introduction of the " new " school of poetry was Akbar's poet-laureate, and his poetry mirrors a great and triumphant age. Ghalib (1796—1869), who was attached to the court of the last Mughul king, Bahadur Shah, began in the style of Bedil, but soon outgrew it and came under the spell of the immigrant Irani poets—Urfi, Naziri, Zahuri and Hazin. His maturer work epito-mises all that is best in the different schools of Mughul poetry—profoundity and originality of Bedil's thought combined with the polished diction of Urfi and Naziri. He wrote largely of love and life, but the deep, melancholy note in his poetry reflects the sad end to which the Mughul empire was drawing in his day.

Next to poetry, history and biography were most extensively cultivated during the Mughul period. Historians include Abul Fazl, whose comprehensive Akbar Nama has been called by Rawlinson " the most important historical work which India has produced "; Badauni, who had his bias and even venom, but was a consummate artist, a master of the telling phrase and capable of evoking a living picture, with a few, deft strokes ; the intelli-gent and orderly Firishta and Khafi Khan, and last but not the least the author of Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, recognized by foreign

students not to inferior to " the historical memoirs of Europe " and a compilation of which " Lord Clarendon or Bishop Burnett need not have been ashamed to be the outhor." In biographies the palm is borne by Babur's Autobiography, originally written in Turkish, but soon translated into elegant Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. There were several other biographical works, including the comprehensive Ma'asir-ul-umara dealing with the Mughul nobility, and numerous other biographies of saints, poets ann statesmen. A very interesting historical work written during Aurangzeb's reign is Dabistan-i-Mazahib, which has been translated into English under the misleading title, "School of Manners" but which is really a " History of Religions " written by a liberal objective seeker after truth. The author belonged to the band of the writers and thinkers, who had gathered around Dara Shukoh, and contains considerable first-hand information about the non-Muslim sects like the Sikhs and the Yogis.

European writers (like Professor E. G. Browne, who was writing " A Literary History of Persia " and not " History of Persian Literature ") do not rate the Persian literature produced in Indo-Pak subcontinent very high, but the native Persian scholars like Dr. Reza Zada Shafaq are more appreciative and have given it a prominent place in their histories of Persian literature. Persian literature produced in this subcontinent is important not only for its intrinsic worth, but also on account of the influence it has exercised on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by the Muslims. Apart from the influence on vocabulary and the deep invisible influence on thought, Persian contributed a number of literary genres to the regional languages, provided models for the writers and supplied themes for many major literary works. Next to Islam, the Persian literary heritage has been the most important basis of the cultural unity of Muslim India.

Hindi.

It is characteristic of the policy and outlook of the Mughul government, that next to Persian, the language which received great patronage at the Mughul court, was Hindi. From Akbar's days the practice started of having a Hindi Kavi Rai (Poet-laureate) along with the Persian Malik-ul-Shuara. Already Muslim poets like Jaisi and Kabir had enriched the Hindi language. Indeed, a Hindu writer says, "It must not be forgotten that Muslims were the first to employ

Deccani and other languages of the people. This trend was most powerful in the regional kingdoms which grew up after the weakening of the Delhi Sultanate. Persian continued as the court language in these kingdoms but local languages were freely patronised and became respectable vehicles of literary expression.

The literary trend under Mughul rule was not exactly in the same direction. The establishment of a well-organised central government at Delhi, with cohesive control over the outlying regions, resulted in greater linguistic unification, and the influence of Persian became far more dominant. Mughul rule, however, indirectly assisted the regional literatures. Apart from the direct patronage of Hindi at the Delhi court, the conditions in the country helped the regional literatures. The general peace and tranquility, greater prosperity, particularly in urban areas, the more general diffusion of education and the extensive patronage of literature by the Mughul emperors and the nobility, led to extensive literary activity, from which the regional literatures benefitted. By now they had developed so much that they could not wither away by want of direct court patronage, and the general prosperity in the country was enough to sustain them on the basis of public support. The result was that a marked literary activity in the regional languages continued along with the cultivation of Persian, and particularly in the later part of Mughul rule there was a great outburst of literary activity in Bengali, Deccani, Hindi, Sindhi, Pushto, Kashmiri and other regional languages.

ARCHITECTURE

Architecture, which had already achieved a high level of development under the Sultanate, was to reach the pinnacle of glory under the Mughuls. Although Babur's stay in India was brief, and he was pre-occupied with the conquest of the country, he found time to summon from Constantinople pupils of the great Ottoman architect *Sinan*, and entrust to them construction of mosques, and other buildings. He states in *Babur Nama* that everyday 680 Indian stone masons worked on his buildings at Agra and another 1500 were employed at Gwalior, sikri, Biana and other places. Time has dealt harshly with buildings constructed in the reigns of Babur and Humayun and only four of the minor ones have survived. It is, however, interesting to observe that these buildings exhibit no trace of local influence and are distinctly foreign. The most important building belonging to this period-

but owing nothing to the Mughul tradition—is the mausoleum of Humayun's successful rival, Sher Shah, built on an elevated plinth in the midst of a lake at Sahsaram (Bihar). It is a magnificent structure, and has been described as an intermediate link between the "austerity of the Tughluq buildings and the feminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece".

Akbar evinced great interest in architecture. His most ambitious project was his new capital and the numerous buildings at Fathpur Sikri, which was the seat of the imperial court from 1569 to 1584. Some of the buildings at Sikri are dominated by the Hindu style of architecture and reflect the emperor's regard for the Hindu tradition. Persian influences were equally strong in his day and are reflected in the magnificent tomb of Humayun, built early in 1569 at Delhi Akbar's efforts were not confined to tombs, mosques and palaces but covered a wide field. He built fortresses, villas, towers, sarais, schools and tanks. The Buland Darwaza—the magnificient southern gate of the mosque at Sikri—, is for all practical purposes a separate structure, and has been described as "one of the most perfsct architectural achievements in the whole of India". Akbar built two major fortresses at Agra and Lahore. The fort which was built on the banks of Ravi, at about the same time, as that at Agra, was planned and constructed on practically the same grand scale. As a matter of fact, "its lay-out generally indicates an advance on that of the more southernly capital as it is rectangular in plan and the interior arrangements are more regularly aligned". The buildings within the Lahore Fort were greatly altered by Shah Jahan and later, by the Sikhs. The material and the style of the structure at Lahore are different from those of the buildings at Fathpur Sikri. At Lahore there is plenty of carved decoration, representing living things. "Elephants and lions figure in the brackets and peacocks on the friezes, from which it may be inferred that Hindu craftsman predominated, and that the supervision of the Mughul overseers was of a very tolerant order". Perhaps, these features may be more correctly ascribed to Akbar's own taste and predilictions.

Akbar's death in 1605 was followed by a pause in building activities of the Mughuls. His successor Jahangir was less interested in architecture than in painting and gardens. Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and some other buildings were constructed during his reign, but perhaps, in this field Jahangir's greatest contribution

was in laying out of a number of large formal gardens which adorn many cities of Kashmir and the Punjab. The Mughul garden is a regular and formal arrangement of squares, usually in the form of terraces placed on a slope (for easy distribution of water), with pavilions at the centre. Artificial pools with numerous fountains form an important part of the plan and the flagged causeways are shadowed by avenues of trees. Babur and Akbar had made a beginning in this direction, but during Jahangir's reign a number of lovely gardens came into existence, like the Shalamar Bagh and the Nishat, laid out in Kashmir by Jahangir and his wazir Asaf Khan respectively. Later Shahjahan had a larger garden (Shalimar) constructed near Lahore, but his interest was primarily in grand edifices. Jahangir's beautiful mausoleum at Shahdara near Lahore was probably planned by the emperor himself, but it was completed in the next reign, by his widow Nur Jahan. It suffered serious damage in the reign of Ranjit Singh, when amongst other things, the marble pavilion in front of the building, which offered a central point of interest was removed. Jahangir's tomb has been overshadowed by the great Taj Mahal. It cannot be fairly judged after the spoilation by the Sikhs and in any case it lacks many noble features of the later construction, but even now it is a beautiful building, decorated by "lavish application of inlaid marbles, glazed tiles and painted patterns, some of which are remarkably good examples of mural decoration." Not far from Jahangir's resting place Nur Jahan lies buried in a very unpretentious tomb.

Shah Jahan was the greatest builder amongt the Mughuls. One secret of his success was the liberal use of the marble. "Like the Roman emperor who boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble, he could fairly claim that he found Mughul cities of sandstone, and left them of marble." He replaced many sandstone structures of his predecessors in the forts of Agra and Lahore and other places with marble palaces, but the change of the material was not the only thing. This change itself called for and facilitated a corresponding change in architectural treatment. "The building acquired a new sensibility. Instead of the rectangular character of the previous period there arose the curved line and flowing rythm of the style of Shah Jahan while the chisel of the stone carver was replaced by the finer instruments of the marble cutter and the polisher." Even more important than the change of the material and treatment was the grand conception, the bold and the elaborate vision of the great artist, the Emperor himself.

The style of Shah Jahan's principal edifices is basically Persian but it is clearly distinguished from the Irani style by the lavish use of white marble, minute and tasteful decoration. particularly the open-work tracery which ornaments the finest buildings and provides "the apt combination of spacious design with an almost feminine elegance." Amongst the more famous of Shah Jahan's buildings are the Pearl Mosque and the Taj Mahal at Agra, the Red Fort and Jama Masjid at Delhi, palaces and gardens at Lahore, a beautiful mosque at Thatta in Sind, a fort, palace and mosque at Kabul, royal buildings in Kashmir and many edifices at Ajmer and Ahmedabad,

At Agra and Delhi "the while marble style" was in vogue, but a different style was current in the Punjab. It consisted of brick construction, with occasional sandstone additions and its distinctive character lay in the glazed tile decoration which often covered the entire surface. "Brick and tile style of Lahore" was partly due to the fact that the Punjab, an alluvial plain, was away from the sources of the stone material, but artistic traditions also played their part. "Since the days of the Ghazanavid occupation, the Punjab capital has been inclined to cultivate an inpependent architectural tradition, and instinctively to look to the north-west and beyond for its aesthetic inspiration. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Safavid art of Persia had attained its zenith, and for a time Lahore appears to have come under its powerful spell. It was not that the buildings of the Punjab were exact repreudction of those of Shah Abbas the Great ; they displayed a certain individulity, but the brick construction was based on that prevailing in Persia, and the glazed tiles were of the same style as those produced in the famous kilns of Kashan and other places on the Iranian plateau."[111] As a matter of fact, glazed tiles for buildings at Lahore seem to have been "imported in bulk from Kashan," and in Lahore as in Iran, the style is commonly known as Kashi. During Shah Jahan's reign a large number of buildings in this style were errected at Lahore and its neighbourhood, but owing to the impermanent nature of brick construction many of them are in ruins and some have entirely disappeared. The finest example of this style is Wazir Khan's mosque, which was erected in 1634 by the local governor. Other buildings constructed in this style at Lahore were Gulabi Bagh, Chauburji and Ali Mardan Khan's tomb. Many of the constructions were not up

to the great architectural standards of Delhi and Agra, but tile decoration was of the highest order and "the brillianty designed arabesques in variegated hues lit by the eastern sun produce a vitality of effect disarming all criticism."[12] The glazed tile buildings of the Punjab and Sind incidentally reflect" the ardent desire for a display of exuberant colour innate in the East."

Aurangzeb was not a great builder but amongst some buildings of merit erected in his reign is the great Badshahi mosque of Lahore, completed in 1674. Its construction was supervised by Fidai Khan Kuka, Master of Ordnance, whose engineering skill and experience enabled him to design and erect a building of great size on a sound basis. It is one of the biggest mosques in the subcontinent, if not in the world, and there is a certain dignity in its broad quadrangle leading up to the facade of the sanctuary. Its ornamentation is boldly conceived, but perhaps representing Aurangzeb's puritancial taste is sparingly introduced and therein the building suffers in comparison with the Great Mosque at Delhi. It is, however, a grand edifice. "The three bulbous domes are well-proportioned, and rise into a grand mass of white marble above the western wall, which presents an almost unbroken surface masonary of imposing appearance."

Lower Sind had an interesting architectural history, reflecting changes in the political power and artistic traditions. Sind as well as south-western Punjab are alluvial plains, and buildings in bricks are, therefore, characteristic of the area. "Such a monochromatic prospect which this vast plain presents, cries out for colour, so that it became the custom to decorate all buildings with brilliant scheme of glazed tiles. This method of ornamentation was probably first introduced by the Arabs and was revived later by intercourse with Persia". Sind tiles are not, however, copies of the Persian model and are different even from those of the Punjab. The normal Sind tradition is for brick and glaze but surprisingly enough the best-known set of buildings in the area—i.e. those at the Makli hills, nerr Thatta—follow a different pattern. They are constructed entirely of stone and are carved in a style suggesting, the influence of Akbar's buildings at Fathpur Sikri. Some of these buildings were erected when the country was first included within the Mughul empire and some date from the earlier reigns of Sammas, Arghuns and Tarkhans, who had their capital at Thatta. The similarity in the style of

these buildings and those at Fathpur Sikri may either be due to the influences of Akbar's large-scale buildings in a distant part of the subcontinent, or the buildings at Thatta as well as those at Sikri, may both have owed something to common influences —e.g., masons and material from Rajputana. About the tomb of the Samma ruler Jam Nizam-ud-Din (1461-1509) Brown says: "It is possible that some of the stonework of this building is of Brahmanical origin, procured from a neighbouring temple, as there are miniature *shikaras* and Hindu motifs among the carved details".[13] Thatta is also famous for its Jama Masjid, which was built under Shah Jahan's orders in 1647 and is one of the largest buildings in Sind. Although "produced to the order of the Mughul emperor, it was executed according to the brick and tile tradition of the indigenous style". It is decorated with finest type of coloured glaze and is remarkable for the prodigality of decoration. James, a former Commissioner of Sind, said about this building, "The Emperor Shah Jahan's mosque.........possesses the most magnificient fictile adornment, I should say, of any building in the world. Were it a cathederal in England, its history would be known to the minutest detail, and many monographs would be written about it".[14]

Mughul architecture in Bengal has suffered on account of the fact that Rajmahal, which was the capital of Mansingh and Shah Shuja, and contained many beautiful palaces and other buildings has been engulfed by the changes in the course of the adjacent river. In Bengal the main Mughul effect was concentrated on eastward expansion of the dominion and its protection from the raids of the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates. For this purpose the Mughuls moved the capital to Dacca, nearly 170 miles to the east of the old Muslim capital of Gaur. Lack of stone in the new area must have handicapped building activity, and Tavernier who visited Dacca in 1666, says that the residenccs of the Mughuls consisted entirely of wood and "they usually used to reside in tents pitched in a large Court". Even before Tavernier wrote, inside the old Dacca City,the Bara Katrah had been built by Mir Abdul Qasim, Diwan of Shah Shuja, who also built an Idgah outside the city. The more important Mughul buildings of Dacca were constructed under Shaista Khan, who was Viceroy of Bengal for nearly a quarter of a century. They consist of the Lalbagh Fort, the tomb of Shaista Khan's daughter Pari Bibi, and a mosque near the tomb.

Owing to the paucity of building material, they are of a smaller size than the normal Mughul buildings, but are solid and contain interesting architectural details.

After Shahjahan Mughul architecture even at the capital, but some interesting buildings were put up from time to time. The tomb of Safdar Jung at Delhi erected in 1783, is indicative of the decline in the architectual standards, which was to become more manifest in the hybrid structures exhibiting European and Mughul influences at Lucknow.

PAINTING

An account has been given of the development of fine arts under the Timurid princes at Herat and elsewhere. The flowering of Mughul culture, particularly in the realm of painting, was largely an extension of this development. Behzad of Herat, who was a great master of portraiture and hass been etyled the "Raphael of the East", is regarded as the ancestor of the Mughul School of painting. Babur, like his Timurid cousins had some painters in his service but made no efforts to foster the art in his newly-won empire. Humayun may be considered the original founder of the Mughal School. During his wanderings in Persia and what is now Afghanistan he came across painters who had studied under Behzad, and persuaded Mir Sayyid Ali, the pupil of Behzad and Khwaja Abdul Samad to join his court at Kabul in 1550. They accompanied Humayun to Delhi and formed the nucleus of the Mughul School of painting, which was, however, properly developed only under Akbar. He took personal interest in the art and organised the imperial school with his usual zeal for all creative activity. The school was under the emperor's direct control and supervision, and the more prominent of the painters, who numbering more than a hundred,worked in a large state building at Fathpur Sikri, were granted imperial ranks as *mansabdars* or *ahadis*. Abul Fazl states that "the works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerks ; he then confers rewards according to the excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries". Akbar's painting establishment which was headed by Khawaja Abdul Samad, known by the title of Shirin Qalam (or sweet pen) with reference to his skill in calligraphy, and contained a small number of trained Persian artists, came in the course of time to have a preponderance of Hindu artists. They had previous training in wall-painting and

joined with the Persian painters in decorating the walls of Akbar's new capital, between 1570-85. They were quick to learn the principles and techniques of the Persian art, and the joint efforts of Persian and Indian artists soon led to the rise of a distinct school of Mughul painting. Of the eminent 17 royal artists of Akbar's days as many as thirteen were Hindu. The foreign artists included Khwaja Abdul Samad who became the Master of the Mint in 1577 and was subsequently appointed Diwan at Multan, Farrukh Beg, and Khusrau Quli. Amongst the Hindus Basawan Lal and Daswant were pre-eminent. Occasionally many artists colloborated in the painting of a single picture, the leading artists sketching the composition and other painters putting in the parts at which they were expert. Akbar's artists specialised in portraiture and book illustration. The Emperor's album containing likenesses not only of Akbar and the royal family but of "all the grandies of the realm" has been lost, but many examples of the book illustrations of the period e.g., Razm Nama at Jaipur, Babur Nama in the British Museum, and the Akbar Nama in the Victoria and Albert Museum, have survived.

Akbar's traditions were maintained by Jahangir who rightly claimed to be a great connoisseur of the art. In his Memoirs he claims that he was very fond of pictures and had developed such a critical judgment, that by seeing a picture he could tell the name of the painter, whether alive or dead. "If there were similar portraits finished by several artists I can point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait is finished by several painters I can mention the names of those, who had drawn the different portions of the single picture. In fact, I can declare without fail by whom the brow and by whom the eye lashes where drawn and if anyone had touched upon the portrait after it had been drawn by the first painter".[15] The main remnants of Jahangir's principal picture-albums are in the State Library of Berlin, while another album, entitled Murraqqa-i-Gulshan, which was taken away by Nadir Shah during his sack of Delhi, is in the Imperial Library at Tehran.

Under Jahangir's discriminating patronage the art flourished and reached great heights. Indian painters became so skilful that they could faithfully copy any painting, local or foreign. The emperor greatly appreciated gifts of paintings from foreign visitors and Sir Thomas Roe records that once when he presented a painting in the morning, by the evening several likenesses of the same

had been prepared by the native artists. They were such faithful copies that for a short time Roe had some difficulty in spotting the original. The most famous painters of Jahangir were Agha Raza of Herat and his son Abul Hasan, the Kalmuck artist, Farrukh Beg (who succeeded Abdul Samad as the leader of the school), Muhammad Nadir and Muhammad Murad, both of Samarqand, Ustad Mansur, the leading animal painter, Bishan Dass, Manohar and Govardhan. These painters with many others, were constantly in attendance at the Emperor's establishment at the capital and during tours, and were commissioned to paint any incident or scene that struck the emperor's fancy. The artist's brush made up for the absence of the camera and helped not only to preserve likenesses for the future but also brought distant faces nearer home. When a Mughul embasay visited Persia, it was accompanied by the painter Bishan Das who painted for Jahangir the likenesses of the Safavid king and his courtiers.

The debt of the historian to the Mughul painters is, however, greater. "The works of the Indo-Persian draughtsmen and painters furnish a gallery of historical portraits, lifelike and perfectly authentic, which enable the historian to realise the personal appearance of all the Mughul emperors and practically of almost every public man of note in India for more than two centuries. It may be doubted if any other country in the world possesses a better series of portraits of the men who made history"[16]. One can only regret that this invaluable source-material has not been adequately utilised by the historians.

Shah Jahan was interested in architecture but painting, like all other arts continued to flourish in his day. He reduced the number of court painters, keeping only the very best and forcing others to seek the patronage of the princes and the nobles but the art did not suffer by this. Dara Shukoh was a patron of painting and nobles like Zafar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, who had a beautiful anthology of the works of the living poets prepared, illustrated with their paintings, employed many artists, while some set up studios in the bazars.

Smith considers Shahjahan's reign as the heyday of Mughul painting. "All critics, presumably, would admit that Indo-Persian art attained its highest achievements during the reign of the magnificent Shah Jahan (1627-58) when the land enjoyed comparative peace, and a luxurious court offered liberal encouragement to all

artists capable of ministering to its pleasure. The fierce scenes of bloodshed in which earlier artists delighted were replaced by pageants of peaceful splendour, the old aggressive colouring was toned down, or dispensed with, and a general refinement of style and execution was cultivated".[17] An interesting feature of the period, typical of the general predominance of the indigenous elements in various spheres—the secretariat, literature, music—, was that only one Persian artist was employed by Shah Jahan. More prominent painters of the period were Chitarman, Anupchhattar. Rai Anup (possibly the same person) court painter to Prince Dara Shukoh, Manohar, Mohammad Nadir of Samarqand, Mir Hashim and Muhammad Faqirullah Khan. The preponderance of the Hindus amongst leading court painters, while indicative of the emancipation of the local school from dependence on Iran, also reflects the increased Hindu importance under Shahjahan in all spheres of life.

Dara Shukoh's album presented to his wife Nadira Begum is now in the Commonwealth Library, London. Another splendid collection of Shahjahan's period, created as *waqf* by a Mughul nobleman in 1661-62 is in the British Museum and contains a gorgeous picture of Shahjahan's court and the famous picture of Sher Muhammad Qawwal by Mohammad Nadir.

Aurangzeb, the ultra-orthodox Muslim, could not be very fond of painting, but he did not forbid it, and the number of paintings produced during his reign does not seem to have been smaller than in the previous reign. There is no evidence of ambitious book-illustrations like the Razm, which is said to have cost the equivalent of £40,000, but portraiture was popular and many portraits of the emperor himself have survived. In one case he used the artist's skill for a purpose similar to the one for which Bishan Dass was sent to Persia. During the imprisonment of his rebellious son Muhammad Sultan, his portrait was painted at regular intervals by order of the emperor and submitted for royal inspection. Aurangzeb was thus able to keep himself informed of his son's health, without visiting the fort prison of Gwalior.

Mughul paintings have been praised by experts for their artistic qualities and are valuable to the historians for the side-light they throw on the dress, appearance, habits and customs of the courtiers, the religious celebrities and others. The standard of the art, however, depended not only on the taste of individual ruler but on

his prosperity, and with the disintegration of the empire, the artists migrated from the capital to other centres like Oudh and Hyderabed and their standard of work greatly declined.

Efforts have been made by Havell and Anand Coomarswamy to link Rajput painting with Ajanta frescoes, but Goetz and Vincent Smith are of the view that the bulk of Rajput painting was posterior to, rather than contemporary with the Mughul paintings at the court of Akbar and Jahangir, and both schools have a common technique, seemingly derived from the Persian painting.[18]

MUSIC

Mughuls patronised music at a lavish scale, and in this Akbar led the way. Abul Fazl gives the names of nearly forty prominent musicians and instrument-players, who flourished at Akbar's court. The principal artists came from Gwalior, Malwa, Tabriz (in Iran), and Kashmir. The most famous musician of the period was Tansen. He is stated by some Muslim chroniclers to have been brought up in the hospice of Shaikh Mohammad Ghaus of Gwalior, while the Hindu tradition describes him as a disciple of Swami Haridass. It is not certain whether he formally adopted Islam, but his son, Bilas Khan, was certainly a Muslim. "A singer like him," wrote Abul Fazl, "has not been in India for the last two thousand years." Tansen composed and introduced a *Malhar*, a *Todi*, and a *Sarang*, which are known as *Mian-ki-Malhar*, *Mian-ki-Todi*, and *Mian-ki-Sarang* respectively, and retain their popularity. Tansen, though generally considered as one of the greatest musicians this subcontinent has produced, was not very popular with the ultra conservative Hindu musicians. The Hindus hold him principally responsible for the deterioration of the Hindu music. He is said to have falsified the *rags*, and two, *Hindol* and *Megh*, of the original six have disappeared since his time".[19]

Although Tansen made some changes, the variety of music most extensively cultivated at Akbar's court was the ancient Dhrupad. The same tradition was continued by Bilas Khan, the inventor of *Bilas Todi*, but Jahangir's main interest was in painting and music received greater encouragement under his successor Shahjahan. He had nearly thirty prominent musicians and instrument players at his court, generously rewarded for good performance, and the court chroniclers give along notices of the leading musicians

on whom the title of Gun Raj Khan was conferred. At Shah Jahan's court the stately Dhrupad continued its sway, though there was a marked tendency towards beautification and ornamenttion. The *Khiyal* variety of music was also beginning to assert itself.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707) had himself studied the art of music, but with his deepening puritanism started neglecting it on religious ground. In 1688, he disbanded the large band of musicians attached to the royal court. A story is told of how the court musicians, desiring to draw the attention of the Emperor to their distressing conditions came past his balcony, carrying a gaily dressed corpse upon a bier and chanting mournful funeral songs. When the Emperor asked what it was, they told him that music had died from neglect and that they were taking its corpse to the burial ground. He replied at once, "Very well, make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo man issue from it."[20]

During Aurangzeb's reign music ceased to enjoy royal patronage, but of course the popularity of the art with the upper classes was, by now, too firmly established to allow it to languish. Perhaps the art even gained by being cultivated by its true votaries, and a large number of books on the history and theory of Indo-Muslim music were written during Aurangzeb's reign. One of the most famous was the Rag-darpan (The Mirror of Music), written by Fakirullah (Saif Khan), who was at one time Governor of Kashmir. It purports to be a translation of Man-Kauthal written at the court of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, but contains much additional information, derived from other sources.

With the reaction against Aurangzeb's puritanism under his grandson Jahandar Shah and his great-grandson, Muhammad Shah Rangila, music gained unprecedented popularity. In conformity with their tastes music became more decorous, and the Khiyal or the ornate school of music came into its own. The Khiyal developed slowly, and drew from many sources. Literally the term means, "thought," "imagination", "phantasy", and technically stands for "imaginative" or Romantic music. As the Arabic origin of the word signifies, this music developed after the Muslim advent, but traditionally its themes echo the Hindu legends of Krishna and his Gopis. Probably the court musicians catering to the mundane interest of their patrons found it expedient to adapt the legends and treatment which had been developed by

musicians and Bhagats of the Krishna cult. This variety of music did not gain a firm footing at the Delhi court, till the decline of the Mughul empire, and is closely associated with the court of Muhammad Shah Rangila.

The most famous musician of the court of Muhammad Shah was Nimat Khan, who later appears to have taken the nom-de-plume of Sadarang He composed many *Khiyals* in Muhammad Shah's name. "Nearly seventy per cent of the standard *Khiyals* sung today were either composed by Sadarang or Muhammad Shah Piya-Rangila, the names being put to the songs either at the beginning or at the end."

With the weakening of the Mughul empire and the setting up of provincial governments, music was encouraged in provincial capitals, and just as Lucknow became the refuge of Urdu poets, musicians in northern India flocked to the court of the Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh. At Lucknow, music underwent some important changes. With the break-up of the empire and the loss of the patronage of a formal and high brow royal court, the musicians had to take account of the tastes of the middle classes, or even of the man-in-the-street. As a result, the quality and the variety of music underwent a subtle change. Moreover, folk-music which had been completely ignored by serious musicians in the past, but which had been gardually developing after the Muslim conquest, and had by now gained from the general cultural improvements of the Mughul period, began to secure recognition and some of its forms were adopted by better-known musicians. "Khiyal", writes Dr. Halim, "which required considerable exertion and exactitude made less appeal, not to speak of the acrobatic and mathematical music embodied in Dhrupad. A music which made an appeal to sensual emotions suited the peoples' temperament better. In these conditions two different forms of light music took their origin—Thumri and Tappa, both springing from the provinical court of Lucknow. Thumri may very conveniently be classified as love music because apart from making an appeal to the senses, by harping on notes, or by the repetition of a word or syllable in scores of beautiful settings, its subject matter consists of the feeling between lover and the beloved. It differs from the Khiyal in the sense that, whereas in the Khiyal love is symbolic and allegorical, in Thumri it is actual and real. Tappa was invented by Shori, a court musician of Lucknow. Its origin is traced to the song of

the camel-drives of the Punjab, its rhythm beign determined by the pace of the camel. Some even trace its antiquity to the Tartar-Mongol cameleers.Shori's contribution consisted in converting an old outlandish popular mode into a civilized form of music. But it must be remembered that Thumri and Tappa are regarded as Dhuns or tunes of music and do not conform to the actual rules of grammar as rigidly as Dhrupad and Khiyal do. Dhrupad and Khiyal singing did not go out of vogue. They existed side by side but suffered in competition with their more popular rivals, juste numerated."[21]

CHAPTFR XXVIII

MUSLIM CIVILIZATION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

Legacy of Muslim Era

In the Indo-Pak subcontinent Muslims came across a civilization which, in many respects, was a complete antithesis of Islam. The Hindus had highly developed speculative and contemplative arts, but under the caste system life had little to offer, materially or spiritually, to the lower classes who constituted the vast majority of the population. Caste determined every phase of human life, the profession to be adopted and the knowledge to be acquired. A Hindu scholar summing up the condition of the Hindu society in those days, writes : "The power of the Brahmins had become oppressive. The rules of caste became more and more stringent as Kulinism was sereotyped. While better ideals in religion were upheld by the Brahmins, the gap between man and man was widened by caste restrictions. The lower strata of society groaned under the autocracy of the higher, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes. They were also debarred from having any access to a higher life, and the religion of the new school (Puranik) became the monopoly of the Brahmins as if it were the commodity of the market place."[1]

Islam was a stranger to all this. In India, Islam played a humanitarian and liberating role partly by offering within its fold, complete equality and an opportunity for social, economic, intellectual, and spiritual development to the millions who were leading a sub-human existence. Speaking of the influence of Islam on countless converts in Bengal Sir Willim Hunter wrote :

"To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and lowcaste tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the gospel of the unity of God and the equality of man in its sight to a despised and neglected population. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conception of God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low castes of Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the

outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organisation".[2]

The indirect results of the impact of Islam on the structure of the Hindu society were no less [important. After its contact with Islam the character of Hinduism was materially changed.[3] A new conception of human relationship began to grow in the Hindu society; reformers such as Ramanand, Nanak, and Chaitaniya arose in all parts of the country, and began to preach against the rigidity of the caste, emphasizing the importance of good deeds rather than of birth. As a result, the rigours of the caste system were released, and life became more bearable for the lower classes.

According to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar the rise of vernacular literature in India was the fruit of peace and economic prosperity under the Muslim empire of Delhi,[4] but this is not the whole truth. Peace and prosperity were, of course, conducive to literary activity, but regional literatures would not have developed if the Muslim rulers had not actively assisted and patronizhd literary efforts in the languages of the people. Almost all Muslim courts in India maintained a tradition of encouraging art and literature and this naturally helped the regional literatures. But it was not merely a matter of goodwill. Muslim nobles and kings could encourage popular languages because they were not hampered by the Hindu ban on patronage of all languages except Sanskrit. For Hindus Sanskrit was "Deva Bhasha" or the Divine Language, and all the powerful Brahmins threatened with Divine displeasure all those who cultivated other languages. "If a person hears the stories of the eighteen Puranas or of the Ramayana recited in Bengali he will be thrown into the hell called the Rourava".[5] Muslims were free from this taboo. They freely encouraged the languages of the people, and the part played by Muslim rulers in the rise of Bengali and Hindi has been outlined elsewhere.

Indian administration even under the British followed, in a large measure, the lines evolved in the course of centuries by Alaud Din Khalji, Sher Shah Suri and Akbar, and extended by Aurangzeb to the Deccan. The centralized system of government and revenue administration, which the British perfected in India was obviously not based on the County system of old England, and was only a continuation and an improved Westernised form of the Mughul system of government. This is generally recognized. Stanley Lane-

Poole wrote in 1903: "English Collector, Magistrates follow much the same system, in essential outline, as that which Akbar adopted, ...". It is not possible to dwell at length on Muslim legacy in the field of administration, but those broad aspects of political heritage which influenced national life may be briefly maintained. The first is that Muslim rulers unified India and centralized administration as had never been the case before. Not only was the extent of Ala-ud-Din Khalji's and Aurangzeb's empires greater than that of Asoka, but there was closer co-ordination between various parts than ever existed under any Hindu or Buddhist king. "The Mughul empire at its greatest extent covered a large portion of our country than the Indian dominion of Asoka or Samudragupta. These Hindu empires also consisted of loosely united collections of independent provinces which did not acquire any homogenity, nor created a sense of political unity or nationality, among their people. Each province led its own life, continued its old familiar system of government (though under the agent of the central power.), and used its local tongue ; on the other hand, the two hundred years of Mughul rule, from the accession of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah (1556-1749), gave to the whole of northern India and much of the Deccan also, uniformity of the official language, administrative system and also a popular lingua franca for all classes, except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. Even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughul Emperors, their administrative system, official nomenclature, court etiquette, and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu Rajahs".[6]

The unification and centralization which was made possible by the administrative ability and skill of the Muslim rulers, opened up a new chapter in the history of India, and led to closer political, linguistic, cultural, and spiritual integration of various parts of the subcontinent. It is impossible to study all these aspects here, but the extent of Muslim influence on Indian society may be seen from the fact that the consolidation of Hinduism owed not a little to the political consolidation of India. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has summed up the following as "the gifts of the Muslim age to India",

"(i) Restoration of touch with the outer world, which included the revival of an Indian navy and sea-borne trade, both of which had been lost since the decline of the Cholas.

(ii) Internal peace over a large part of India, especially north of the Vindhyas.

(iii) Uniformity secured by the imposition of the same type of administration.

(iv) Uniformity of social manners and dress among the upper classes, irrespective of creed.

(v) Indo-Saracen art, in which the mediaeval Hindu and Chinese schools were blended together. Also, a new style of architecture, and the promotion of industries of a refined kind (e.g. shawl, inlaying work, kimkhwab, muslin, carpet, etc.)

(vi) A common lingua franca, called Hindustani or Rekhta, and an official prose style (mostly the creation of Hindu munshis writing Persian, and even borrowed by the Maratha *chitnises* for their own vernacular).

(vii) Rise of our vernacular literature, as the fruits of peace and economic prosperity under the empire of Delhi.

(viii) Monotheistic religious revival and Sufism.

(ix) Historical literature.

(x) Improvements in the art of war and in civilization in general.

Impact of Indo-Muslim Culture In Foreign Lands.

It is commonly assumed that Muslim India was only "at the receiving end," and made no contribution to the cultural or spiritual life of other countries. This view is not correct. The subject has yet to be studied adequately, but there are enough indications to show that although the attention of Indian Muslims was devoted largely to the huge problems within the Indo-Pak subcontinent, their spiritual and cultural impact on the outside world, especially the Muslim countries, was not negligible. To take religious influences first, the celebrated Dutch scholar Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has established that the spread of Islam in Malaya and Indonesia was the work of missionaries and traders from Indo Pak subcontinent. The study of the cultural life of Malaya by Sir Richard Winstedt has also shown that the cultural and literary life in Malaya was closely modelled on that of Muslim India. From the middle of the seventeenth century, influence of Muslims of Indo-Pak subcontinent increased, particularly on account of those saints and scholars who settled in Hejaz. They included Sheikh Sibghatullah of Broach, who established a monastery near Medina and became a renowned teacher. His pupil Sheikh Ahmad Shanawi was the teacher of Maulana Ahmad

Kashashi (1660), whose pupils included well-known Indonesian scholars and authors, like Abdul Rauf. European scholars also speak highly of Nuruddin Randeri (originally from Rander, near Surat), who settled down in Indonesia and wrote a large number of works in Malayan language during the middle of the seventeeth century. Windstedt writes about him:

"A stern critic of the heterodox views of two Sumatran pantheists was Shaikh Nuruddin bin Ali al-Raniri, son of a Gujrati by a Malay mother, a prolific author, who settled in Acheh and wrote a well-known book on the pillars of Islam called *Sirat al-mustakim* and a scholarly history entitled *Bustan al-Salatin*, "The Garden of Kings," with a conclusion on science, including physiognomy and medicine. He wrote also many polemical treatises......Nur-ud-Din was highly educated and is one of the most distinguished thinkers who wrote in Malay."[7]

The influence of Indian Islam was even more marked in the western direction. From the dawn of the Muslim rule many pious and able individuals moved to Iraq, Hejaz and other areas in the heart of the Muslim world, and made important contributions to the cultural and religious life of their adopted homelands. Contact between Arabia and India was most extensive during the Arab rule in Sind, and in an earlier chapter, we have referred to some Sindhi scholare, who distinguished themselves in Baghdad. Amongst them Bu Ali Sindhi by initiating the great Sufi Bayazid Bustami in *tauhid* profoundly influenced the history of Sufi thought. In the Ghaznavid period we come across the great scholar, Imam Hasan Sighani—the traditionalist, philologist and diplomat who gained prominence at the Abbasid court. To more recent times belongs Murtaza Zabidi, a native of Bilgram and a pupil of Shah Waliullah, who lived so long at Sabid in Yemau, that he came to be known as Zabidi and even scholars like D. B. Macdonald have made a mistake about his place of origin. Ultimately he moved to Cairo to become "the best scholar of his age, not only in Egypt but in the whole of the Islamic would." His ten-volume commentary on Qamus was the main foundation of Lane's Arabic Lexicon, and according to D.B. Macdonolad, profoundly influenced the course of Islamic studies and intellectual trends.[8] Another native of Indo-Pak subcontinent, who gained renown in foreign lands was Rahmatullah al-Hindi. Apart from the foundation of *Madrasa-i-Saulativa* in Mecca he wrote *Izhar-al-*

Haqq "the first great classic of modern Muslim polemic" against Christianity, which according to Dorman "has never been superseded." Originally written in Persian, it has been translated into Arabic, Turkish, French, English and German. The Arabic version has been repeatelly printed in Egypt, and became the basis for subsequent Muslim polemical writing in dealing with the Christian missionaries in the Ottoman empire and elsewhere.

The contribution of Muslim India to the history of Sufism in *bilad-i-Islam* was even more noteworthy. The historians of Islam in Sudan have recorded that the most popular Sufi order in that country i.e. Qadiriyya was introduced there by an Indian Muslim, Taj-ud-Din Bihari. Perhaps equally important was the spread of the Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiya order in the Ottoman Empire. Naqshbandiya order originated in Central Asia, and one might have reasonably expected that the branch of the order established in Turkey would be from Central Asia direct. Actually this is not so. The Sufi order which originally became popular in Ottoman Turkey was the local order of Baktashis, but it was later superseded by the Mujaddidya (Indian) branch of the Naqshbandiya order. The most important spirtual link between Muslim India and Ottoman Turkey was provided by Shaikh Khalid Kurd of Sulaimania (1776-1816), who studied under Shah Ghulam Ali and Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, and returned to Kurdistan to become the foremost saint of that country. [a]

Spiritual contacts between Muslim India and other Muslim countries through itinerant saints and wandering scholars have yet to be studied by historians. It is, however, interesting to read in works like Gibb's History of Ottoman Poetry that in two out of four classical periods Turkish poets followed Hind-Pakistan. The Third Period beginning with the end of the Sixteenth Century was dominated by the style of Urfi and Faizi, and in the Fourth Period, roughly corresponding with the eighteenth century, the influence of Saib and Bedil,[9] along with that of Shaukat was dominant. Bedil is even now one of most popular poets in Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, and the influence of *Sabak-i-Hindi*

(a) See Rose's edition of Brown's *Davvishes* p. 446, regarding Shaikh Khalid's eminence. A modern Turkish scholar, Dr. Kufravi made the history of Naqshbandiya order in Turkey the subject matter of his thesis. In this he devotes one chapter to Indian influences. For details regarding *Asafi-al-Muwarid*, an Arabic biography of Shaikh Khalid, see Catalogue of Bankipur Library, Vol. XII. P. 90.

outside the borders of the Indian subcontinent would be interesting to study.

Cultural contacts between Mughul India and the Ottoman Empire must have been reasonably close, inspite of distance. We find that the fame of Mullah Abdul Hakim of Sialkot reached Turkey during his lifetime. The celebrated Turkish bibliographer, Haji Khalifa refers to him in his Kashf-ul-Zunun and says that his commentary on Khiyali's book was the best amongst many. Political embassies between Mughul Emperors and Ottoman Sultans were seldom successful, but the reception which Dara Shukoh's scholarly envoy, Mulla Shakir[10] got at the hands of scholars in Istanbul was warm and sincere. It is even more interesting to see that in the eighteenth century, the legal compendium most extensively used in the Ottoman Empire, was the one compiled in Muslim Jndia under the supervision of Emperor Aurangzeb. Sir Hamilton Gibb and Prof. Bowen write in their Study of Islamic Society and the West,: "Indeed it was a compendium of legal decisions, the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, compiled by a commission of jurists in India about the end of the seventeenth century, which was one of the books most widely used in the Ottoman lands in the eighteenth century."[11] They quote the famous author Muradi about these Fatwas, "They became famous in the Hejaz, Egypt, Syria and Rum, were universally used, and formed a source upon which the *Muftis* drew for their Fatwas."[12]

There are indications of attention being given to literature and art produced in Muslim India, even in Western Europe. The modern study of Hinduism in Europe began with Dupont's translations of Dara Shukoh's Sirr-i-Akbar. The celebrated European painters were also showing lively interest in Mughul miniatures. "The fact that no less a figure than the great Rembrandt was one of the first to be captivated by the artistic quality of figural paintings from a Muslim country speaks for itself. He owned a collection of twenty-five Mughul miniatures which he liked so much that he copied them when, about 1656, adverse conditions forced him to part with them. That it was not an unusal caprice of Rembrandt to have such miniatures in his possession is shown by the fact that the same paintings were later owned by several leading English painters of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The president of the

Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds greatly admired another fine set, now one of the treasures of the British Museum."[13]

Spirit of Indo-Muslim Culture

We have come to the end of our account of Muslim civilization during the period of Muslim rule in Indo-Pak subcontinent. Its warp and woof was made up of four different strands—the indigenous (which will include not only the Indian, but also the Afghan element), the Islamic (or Arabic), the Turkish and the Persian. Recently there has been a tendency to overlook the indigenous component but its influence is deep rooted and all-pervading. It has been pewerful, not only on account of the predominantly non-Muslim environment in which Indo-Muslim culture developed or because of the heritage of an ancient civilization, but because of the Indian origin of the vast majority of the Muslims of this subcontinent. Indian element is in their very blood, and shows itself not only in-numerous usages and practices carried over from their ancestral Hindu society, but even in unconscious reactions and the basic mental make-up. Influence of Islam has been equally comprehensive, and with the vigorous Islamic revial of the later centuries has tended to overshadow the indigenous element. The Turkish rulers and aristocracy contributed most in the sphere of government, law, dress, and food. The Persian element was prominent in the realm of literature, fine arts, mysticism and philosophy.

All the aforementioned elements made valuable contributions towards the making of Indo-Muslim civilization. Essentially, however, the two basic components, which give this civilization its peculiar flavour were two—the Indian and the Islamic. It represents the creative efforts and reactions of a Muslim society in a predominantly non-Muslim area. This peculiar situation has resuited in developments and trends, which distinguish the course of Muslim civilization in this subcontinent from developments in countries where population is predominantly Muslim. This peculiar situation of Indian Islam and the dissimilarity between two main elements of Indo-Muslim civilization has resulted in a curious phenomenon. At times the attractions of the native element proved powerful, and there was a large-scale assimilation of indigenous elements, as under Akbar, Dara Shukoh, and in the writings of Kabir. At other times there was a vigorous reaction against non-Muslim elements, resulting in greater repugnance towards them than was traditional in the history of Islam. These

two conflicting trends, inherent in the local situation, have resulted in some other features also. It is not without significance that the puritanical Wahabism has won maximum support, outside its own desert home, in Indo-Pak subcontinent. The presence of large non-Muslim element has also been a persistent challenge for missionary effort, in which the Muslims of the subcontinent have distinguished themselves, even in recent times. The vast resources which the local situation placed at the disposal of the Muslim rulers have also been a major factor in the quality and grandeur of the Muslim civilization in the subcontinent.

The local situation has resulted in a basic conflict, and as Tripathi has pointed out, we can easily see even in two sons of Shahjahan—Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh—the basic conflict of Indian Islam. This situation has resulted in tensions and occasionally in cenflicts, but, outside somewhat narrow circles, the long-term result of two heterogenous elements constituting the warp and woof of Indian Islam has been a growth of forbearance and toleration of conflicting practices and beliefs. Conflicts could not persist indefinitely, and inevitably an attitude of "live and let live" was developed. The degree of religious tolerance prevalent in Mughul India struck all foreign travellers. Bartold in his survey of Muslim Culture, comparing the Muslim civilization in Indo-Pak subcontinent with the developments in other Musl'm lands pinpoints this fact. "Only India under the grand Mughuls lived under different conditions and the Islamic State in that country was superior to contemporary Europe in riches and religious toleration". This toleration extended not only towards non-Muslims, but also to the minority sects of Islam. Perhaps in no country outside Iran, where Shiaism is the state religion, has Shia genius had such an opportunity for making a contribution in the realm of literature, administration, and statecraft. Even in the religious sphere the contributions of Shia leaders, like Mulla Muhammad Yazdi in Akbar's days and Syed Amir Ali in the modern times, has not been confined to their own sect. Sunnis, on the other hand, have not hesitated to follow Shia leaders, and in fact a good few of them are *taffilis* in sentiment if not in belief. All this has been possible because of the normal prevalence of an attitude of toleration. This forbearance, subject to the deep attachment to Islam, which is a characteristic of the Muslims in the subcontinent, extends relatively speaking to the European civilization also.

In the realm of fine arts there has been great collaboration between Muslims and non-Muslims. Music, as patronised by Muslim rulers and practised by Muslim artists was fundamentally Hindu. Mughul painting was essentially Persian in origin, but the lists of the distinguished native artists at the Mughul court contained more Hindu names than Muslim. Even in architecture, in certain areas (*e.g.*, Gujarat) and at certain times, the Hindu influence was not small.

In understanding the character of the Muslim approach to the problems in Indo-Pak subcontinent, it is worth remembering that though revivalist thinkers like Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani and Iqbal have exercised a powerful influence, the religious teacher with the greatest following and influence has easily been Shah Wali Ullah, perhaps the most catholic and broad-minded of religious reformers of the modern Muslim world. He, his sons, and their disciples dominated the Muslim thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their influence is very much alive today. The powerful *Jahad* movement which they organized in the north-west did not succeed, but the religious revival which their followers brought about in Bengal was a movement of utmost importance. More than that, they reorganized religious education on lines which have been adopted in almost all *madrasas* and are a major factor in shaping the Muslim minds.

A position similar to that of Shah Waliullah in the religious sphere has been occupied by Ghalib in recent times, in the literary field. He was the father of Urdu prose, the greatest of Urdu poets and in Persian poetry only ranks below, Amir Khusrau and Iqbal. He has been universally popular with the Hindus and the Muslims, and his poetry reflects a personality of broad sympathies, deep humanity and liberal views. Amir Khusrau who occupied a similar position in the pre-Mughul period, and may be said to have laid the foundation of the Indo-Muslim cultural tradition, followed the same lines.

The personalities and contributions of Akbar and Mujadid Alif Sani, Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb are of great interest, and particularly the role of Mujadid and Aurangzeb in reactivating and consolidating Islam has been of the greatest importance, but perhaps, they represented extreme swings of the pendulum. The normal Muslim tradition in the subcontinent has been of "the middle of the road"—represented by Khwaja Muinuddin Ajmeri, Shah Waliullah, Amir Khusrau and Ghalib.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afif :	Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi by Shams-i-Siraj' Afif.
Ashraf :	Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan.
Badauni :	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh.
Barani :	Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi.
Chaudhuri :	Bengal under Akbar & Jahangir.
C.H.I :	Cambridge History of India.
C.H.P :	Cultural Heritage of Pakistan.
E & D :	History of India as told by its own Historians by Elliot and Dowson.
J.A.S.B :	Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
J.A.S.P :	Journal Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.
Law :	Promotion of Learning in India during the Muhammadan Rule by Muhammadans, by N.N. Law.
Moreland :	Agrarian System of Moslem India.
Qureshi :	The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
D.C. Sen :	History of Bengal.
Tara Chand :	Influence of Islam on Indian Culture.
Tripathi :	Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.

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10. M. L. Raychaudri, Din-i-Ilahi.
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12. Ibid, Foot Note.
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ERRATA

Page 25 Line 4 read 'Muhammad Shah' instead of 'Muham-Shah.'
„ 25 „ 16 read 'Mansura' instead of 'Mansurah.'
„ 32 „ 27 read 'Bahram' instead of 'Bahham.'
„ 34 „ 7 read 'Benares' instead of 'Benaras.'
„ 60 „ 27 read 'Aibak' instead of 'Abek.'
„ 65 „ 26 read 'really' instead of 'realy.'
„ 66 „ 38 add Number 1 after presence.
„ 67 „ 12 add Number 2 after Shams Dabir.
„ 68 „ 21 add Number 3 after century.
„ 73 „ 20 add Number 1 after origin.
„ 79 „ 18 read but instead of lent
„ 79 „ 20 add Number 4 after Isami.
„ 79 „ 20 add Number 5 after Chiragh-i- Delhi.
„ 79 „ 17 read 'but' instead of 'bn.t'
„ 51 „ 15 read 'Siasat Namah' instead of 'Siasat Nam.'
„ 89 „ 11 read 'difficulties' instead of 'dsfficulties.'
„ 89 „ 17 read 'necessary' instead of 'neecssary.'
„ 90 „ 19 read 'Ghiyas-ud-Din' instead of 'Ghiyas-ul-Din.'
„ 91 „ 8 read 'Muhammad Bin Tughluq' instead of 'Muhammad Din Tughluq.'
„ 91 „ 13 read 'Gurshashp' instead of 'Gurshasep.'
„ 92 „ 22 read 'required' instead of 'rrequired.'
„ 95 „ 7 read 'concentrated' instead of 'concentraed.'
„ 99 „ 40 read 'voluminous' instead of 'voluminou.'
„ 100 „ read 'rapproachment' instead of 'reaproachment.'
„ 104 „ 36 read 'expansoin' instead of 'expanson.'
„ 111 „ 19 read 'Suhadeva (d)' instead of 'Suaadevak.'
„ 111 „ 37 read 'Sinhabhat' instead of 'Sinhabhat (d)'.
„ 119 „ 36 read 'archival' instead of 'achival.'
„ 120 „ 28 read Sixty' instead of 'Sisty.'
„ 120 Footnote (e) read :—

"It is interesting to speculate on the role which "diplomacy" played in British conquest of Indo-Pak Sub-continent—*e.g.* at Plassey, Buxar, Firuzpur."

Page 119 Line 34 add 9 after "destsoyed".
„ 124 „ 39 read 'Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi' instead of 'Tarich-i-Firuz Shahi'
„ 125 „ 31 add 'who' after the word "ruler."
„ 128 Sub-head. read 'Departments of state' instead of 'Departmentof state.'
„ 131 Line 33 read 'Sultanate' instead of 'Sultanat.'
„ 131 „ 34 read 'military' instead of 'milltary.'
„ 134 „ 36 read 'like' instead of 'lika.'
„ 137 „ 11 read 'denominations' instead of 'dominations.'
„ 137 „ 23 read 'Fakhr' instead of 'Fakhar.'
„ 147 12 Delete (C)
„ 148 „ 40 read 'provinces' instead of 'rovinces.'
„ 151 „ 21 read 'Gurshashp' instead of 'Gursharp.'
„ 157 „ 32 read 'by' instead of 'bey.'
„ 161 „ 8 read 'defiant' instead of 'dafiant'
„ 174 „ 3 read 'Dabir-ul-Mulk' instead of 'Dablr-ul-Mulk.'
„ 178 „ 6 read 'regained' instead of 'regined.'
„ 178 „ 9 read 'continuance' instead of 'coutinuance.'
„ 178 „ 32 read 'numerous' instead of 'unmberous.'
„ 180 „ 17 read 'Ramayana' instead of 'Romayana.'
„ 180 „ 35 read 'rulers' instead of 'ruleres.'
„ 181 „ 31 read 'than' instead of 'then'
„ 183 „ 16 add inverted comas before which.
„ 187 „ 20 read 'construction' instead of 'eonstruction.'
„ 194 „ 26 read 'contrast' instead of 'contract'
„ 196 „ 20 read 'minstrel' instead of 'minstrsel'
„ 203 „ 3 read 'the field' instead 'the efield.'
„ 203 „ 40 read 'Roy Chaudhari' instead of 'Rayahandhari.'
„ 205 „ 37 read 'sphere' instead of 'shpere.'
„ 209 „ 19 read 'records' instead of 'rccords.'
„ 209 „ 22 read 'turned' instead of 'turne'
„ 215 „ 16 read 'ruled' instead of 'rnled.'
„ 217 „ 30 read 'Baluch Chiefs' instead 'Baluch Chief.'
„ 226 „ 12 read 'Arabian Sea' instead of 'Arbian Sea.'
„ 232 Lines 1 and 26 read 'Todar Mal' instead of 'Todarmal.'
„ 234 Line 28 read 'Shia' instead of 'Shii.'
„ 242 „ 30 read 'under the' instead of 'undert he'

Page 245 Line 33 read 'ecclesiastical' instead of 'ecclliastical'
„ 255 „ 5 read 'compliance' instead of 'compliauce.'
„ 259 „ 14 read 'he' instead of 'be'
„ 260 „ 2 read 'curiosity' instead of 'curiority.'
„ 264 „ — read 'Chapter XVIII' instead of 'Chapter XVII'
„ 266 „ 2 read 'open letter' instead of 'open latter.'
„ 267 „ 30 read 'rhetori' instead of 'rehetone.'
„ 272 „ 37 read '12' instead of '2' after preacher.
„ 272 „ 39 read 'worse' instead of 'worst.'
„ 216 „ 36 read 'Gandhara' instead of 'Geudhara.'
„ 234 „ 29 read the following for foot note 'a'
„ 279 „ 13 read 'and' instead of 'aud.'
„ 279 „ 33 read 'against' instead of 'aganist.'
„ 281 „ 29 read 'fraudulent' instead of 'frand lent.
„ 282 „ 12 read 'excessive' instead of 'excssive.'
„ 282 „ 13 read 'bureaucrats' instead of 'bureacrats.'
„ 285 „ 17 read 'memory' instead of 'momory.'
„ 288 „ 9 read 'example' instead of 'exemple.'
„ 290 „ 9 read 'relations' instead of 'relation.'
„ 299 „ 32 read 'Muslim religion' instead of 'Muslims religion.'
„ 300 „ 9 read 'determined' instead of 'dertermind.'
„ 304 „ 3 read 'celebrated' instead of 'celiebrated.'
„ 304 „ 3 read 'Mukandarama's' instead of Mukandnrana's'.
„ 304 „ 8 read 'diet' instead of 'die.'
„ 304 „ 9 read 'constant target' instead of 'constant-target.'
„ 307 „ 4 read 'Akoray' instead of Akorai.'
„ 311 „ 10 read 'complaint' instead of 'comlaint.'
„ 313 „ 37 read 'Aurangzeb's' instead of 'Aurangzebs.'
„ 313 „ 39 read 'Sambhaji' instead of 'Shambhaji.'
„ 325 „ 11 read 'was' instead of 'were.'
„ 333 „ 35 read 'April 22, 1711, instead of 'April, 22, 111.'
„ 334 „ 13 read 'battle' instead of 'battle."
„ 334 „ 15 read 'favour' instead of 'faveur.'
„ 334 „ 16 read 'became' instead of 'becamc.'
„ 338 „ 6 read 'property' instead of properry.'
„ 339 „ 3 read 'Umadat-ul-Mulk' instead of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk.'
„ 345 „ 22 read 'Sarkar' instead of 'Sarker.'

Page	Line	Correction
345	40	read 'Sarkar' instead of 'Sanker.'
346	5	read 'succeeded' instead of 'cucceeded.'
365	39	read 'complimentary' instead of 'complimentray.'
365	40	read 'affected' instead of 'afficted.'
366	3	read 'above' instead of 'abovc.'
368	11	read 'Hole' instead of 'Hoel.'
370	17	read 'vacuum' instead of 'vacum,' and put a full-stop (.) after it.
373	40	read 'Hastings' instead of 'Hastigs.'
391	7	read 'Eighteenth Century' instead of 'Eigtheenth-Ccntury.'
391	19 & 20.	Read 'Muhammad' instead of 'Mohummad
394	30	read 'Singh' instead of 'Snig.'
397	32 (and elsewhere).	Read 'Shah Waliullah.' instead of 'Shah Wali Ullah.'
400	36	read 'Shariat' instead of 'Snariat.'
408	1	read 'Zigzag' instead of 'Zigzeg.'
408	21	read 'Singh' instead of 'Sing.'
410	39	read 'Yusuf' instead of 'Yusif.'
410	40	add 'of' after excellence.
412	36	read 'Bentick' instead of 'Bentinck.'
414	7	read 'Company's' instead of 'in Company's.'
414	32	read 'political' instead of 'politlcal.'
415	13	read 'publications' instead of 'publicatlons.'
425	8	read 'their ranks' instead of 'his rank.'
426	8	read 'however' instead of 'howerer.'
427	24	read 'establishment' instead of 'establishement.'
440	23	read 'Vincent' instead of 'Vincient.'
440	32	read 'analyses' instead of 'analysises.'
483	30	read 'II' instead of 'III'
494	36	read 'Macdonald' instead of 'Macdonolad.'